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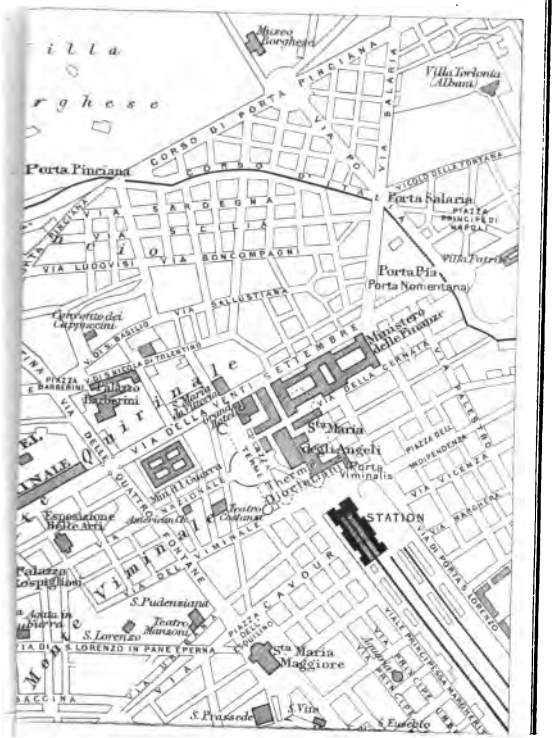
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WALKS IN ROME

(INCLUDING TIVOLI, FRASCATI, AND ALBANO)

BY

AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE

AUTHOR OF

'VENICE,' 'SICILY,' 'DAYS NEAR ROME,' 'FLORENCE,' ETC.

SEVENTEENTH EDITION

WITH PLANS, &c.

BY

ST. CLAIR BADDELEY

AUTHOR OF 'ROBERT THE WISE, KING OF NAPLES,' ETC.

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ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

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CORRIGENDA

Page 35, line 34, *for* 'Via Sistine' *read* 'Via Sistina.'
,, 77, ,, 6, *for* 'Tarpein Rock' *read* 'Tarpeian Rock.'
,, 110, ,, 11, *for* 'Cosmo' *read* 'Cosma.'
,, 111, ,, 37, *for* 'Pastorria Traiana' *read* 'Pasticerria Traiana.'
,, 114, ,, 3 from bottom, *for* 'Venus Genitrix' *read* 'Venus Genetrix.'
,, 117, ,, 14 from bottom, *for* 'sports' *read* 'spoils.'
,, 117, ,, 9 from bottom, *for* 'adorned' *read* 'adored.'
,, 117, ,, 5, *for* 'portion' *read* 'position.'
,, 150, ,, 23, *for* '(Temple Sacrae Urbis), in' *read* '(Templum Sacrae Urbis), is.'
,, 176, ,, 16 from bottom, *for* 'Gaetani' *read* 'Caëtani.'
,, 201, ,, 17 from bottom, *for* 'Scali Caci' *read* 'Scalae Caci.'
,, 204, ,, 4 from bottom, *for* 'Dion Cassius' *read* 'Dio Cassius.'
,, 213, ,, 6 from bottom, *for* 'Cladius' *read* 'Claudius.'
,, 215, ,, 16, *for* '310 B.C.' *read* '390 B.C.'
,, 220, ,, 1 and 4 from bottom, *for* 'exhedra' *read* 'exedra.'
,, 328, ,, 1, *for* 'Caëtan' *read* 'Caëtani.'
,, 491, ,, 13 from bottom, *for* 'Poticleitos' *read* 'Polycleitos.'
,, 491, ,, 18 from bottom, *for* 'Euripedes' *read* 'Euripides.'
,, 514, ,, 2, *for* 'Madonne' *read* 'Madonna.'
,, 564, ,, 11 from bottom, *for* 'Aesculapios' *read* 'Aesculapius.'
,, 584, ,, 17, *for* 'FABRICUS' *read* 'FABRICIUS.'
,, 632, ,, 5 from bottom, *for* 'Custellana' *read* 'Castellana.'

it with least mental preparation are those least fitted to enjoy it. That preparation, however, is not so easy to achieve as it used to be. In the old days, the happy old days of vetturino travelling, there were many quiet hours, when the country was not too beautiful and the towns not too interesting, in which Gibbon and Merivale and Milman were the pleasantest of travelling companions, and when books on Italian art and poetry served to illustrate and illuminate the graver studies which were gradually making Italy, not only a beautiful panorama, but a country filled with forms which were daily growing into more familiar acquaintance. Perugia and Spoleto, Terni and Civita Castellana, led fitly then up to the greater interests of Rome, as courtiers to a king. But now there are no such opportunities of preparation, and, in spite of old landmarks, travellers who pay a hurried visit to Rome are bewildered by the vast mass of interest before them, by the endless labyrinth of minor objects which they desire, or, still oftener, feel it a duty to visit. The natives are unable to assist them, for it is still as true as in the days of Petrarch, that 'nowhere is Rome less known than in Rome itself.'[1] Their Murray, their Baedeker, and their Bradshaw indicate appalling lists of churches, temples, and villas which ought to be seen, but do not distribute them in a manner which will render their inspection easy. The promised pleasure seems rapidly to change into an endless vista of labour to be fulfilled and of fatigue to be gone through; henceforward the hours spent at Rome are rather hours of endurance than of pleasure: his cicerone drags the traveller in one direction; his antiquarian friend, his artistic acquaintance, would fain drag him in others; he is confused by accumulated misty glimmerings from historical facts once learnt at school, but long since forgotten—of artistic information, which he feels that he ought to have gleaned from years of social intercourse, but which, from want of use, has never made any depth of impression—by shadowy ideas as to the story of this king and that emperor, of this pope and that saint, which, from insufficient time, and the absence of books of reference, he has no opportunity of clearing up. It is, therefore in the hope of aiding some of these bewildered ones, and of rendering their walks in Rome more easy and more interesting, that the following chapters are written. They aim at gathering up of the information of others, and a gleaning from what has been already given to the world in better and fuller, but less portable form; while, in their plan, they attempt to guide the traveller in his daily wanderings through the city and its suburbs.

There is one point which cannot be sufficiently impressed upon those who wish to take away more than a mere surface impression of Rome; it is, never to see too much; never try to 'do' Rome. Nothing can be more depressing to those who really value Rome than to meet Englishmen hunting in couples through the Vatican galleries, one looking for the number of the statue in the

[1] *Letters to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna.*

guide-book, the other *not* finding it; than to hear Americans describe the Forum as the dustiest heap of old ruins they had ever looked upon; or say of the Coliseum, that 'it will be a handsome building when it is *finished*;' than to encounter a husband who boasts of having seen everything in Rome in three days, while the wife laments that, in recollection, she cannot distinguish the Vatican from the Capitol, or S. Peter's from S. Paul's. Better far to leave half the ruins and nine-tenths of the churches unseen, and to see well the rest; to see them not once, but again and often again; to watch them, to live with them, to love them, till they have become a part of life and life's recollections. And it is the same in the galleries: for what impression can be carried away by those who wander over the whole Vatican at once but that of a chaos of marble limbs?—at best a nightmare in which Venus and Mercury, Jupiter and Juno, play the principal parts. But, if the traveller will benefit by the Vatican, he must make friends with a few of the statues, pay them visits, and grow constantly into greater intimacy; then the purity of their outlines and the serenity of their god-like grace will have power over him, raising his spirit to a perception of beauty of which he had no idea before, and enabling him to discern the traces of genius in the humbler works of those who may be struggling and striving after the best, but who, while they have found the right path which leads to the great end, are still very far off it.

In any case, however, it must not be supposed that one short residence at Rome will be sufficient to make a foreigner acquainted with half of its varied treasures; or even, in most cases, that its attractions will become apparent to the passing stranger. The squalid appearance of some of its modern streets, and still more the hideous mutilations and additions due to a pretentious commercialism, will go far to neutralise the effect of its ancient buildings and the grandeur of historic recollections. The late Mr. J. M. Whistler left Rome after but three days, saying, 'Ruins don't count. This is only a stucco-town. I am going.' The only object he consented to be pleased with was the Velasquez in the Doria Palace. It is only by returning again and again, by allowing the *feeling* of Rome to saturate you, when you have constantly revisited the same view, the same ruin, the same picture, under varying circumstances, that Rome develops itself upon your heart, and changes from a disagreeable, unwholesome acquaintance, into a dear and intimate friend seldom long absent from your thoughts. 'Whoever,' said Chateaubriand, 'has nothing else left in life, should come to live in Rome; there he will find for society a land which will nourish his reflections, walks which will always tell him something new. The stone which crumbles under his feet will speak to him, and even the dust which the wind raises under his footsteps will seem to bear with it something of human grandeur.' 'I have now been here seven days, and by degrees have formed in my mind a general idea of the city. While I am thus making myself acquainted with the plan of old

and new Rome, viewing the ruins and the buildings, visiting this and that villa, the grandest and most remarkable objects are slowly and leisurely contemplated. I do but keep my eyes open and see, and then go and come again, for it is only in Rome one can duly prepare oneself for Rome. It must, however, be confessed that it is a sad business to track out ancient Rome in modern Rome; but it must be done; and we may hope for incalculable gratification.'—*Goethe* (November 7, 1786).

'When we have once known Rome,' wrote Hawthorne, 'and left her where she lies—left her in utter weariness, no doubt, of her narrow, crooked, intricate streets, so uncomfortably paved with little squares of lava that to tread over them is a penitential pilgrimage; so indescribably ugly, moreover, so cold, so alley-like, into which the sun never falls, and where a chill wind forces its deadly breath into our lungs—left her, tired of the sight of those immense seven-storied, yellow-washed hovels, or call them palaces, where all that is dreary in domestic life seems magnified and multiplied, and weary of climbing those staircases which ascend from a ground floor of cook-shops and cobblers'-stalls, stables, and regiments of cavalry, to a middle region of princes, cardinals, and ambassadors, and an upper tier of artists, just beneath the unattainable sky—left her, worn out with shivering at the cheerless and smoky fireside by day, and feasting with our own substance the ravenous population of a Roman bed at night—left her, sick at heart of Italian trickery, which has uprooted whatever faith in man's integrity had endured till now, and sick at stomach of sour bread, sour wine, rancid butter, and bad cookery, needlessly bestowed on evil meats—left her, disgusted with the pretence of holiness and the reality of nastiness, each equally omnipresent—left her, half lifeless from the languid atmosphere, the vital principle of which has been used up long ago or corrupted by myriads of slaughters—left her, crushed down in spirit by the desolation of her ruin and the hopelessness of her future—left her, in short, hating her with all our might, and adding our individual curse to the infinite anathema which her old crimes have unmistakably brought down;—when we have left Rome in such a mood as this, we are astonished by the discovery, by-and-by, that our heart-strings have mysteriously attached themselves to the Eternal City, and are drawing us thitherward again, as if it were more familiar, more intimately our home, than even the spot where we were born.'

This is the attractive and sympathetic power of Rome which Byron so fully appreciated—

'O Rome! my country! city of the soul!
The orphans of the heart must turn to thee,
Lone mother of dead empires! and controul
In their shut breasts their petty misery.
What are our woes and sufferance? Come and see
The cypress, hear the owl, and plod your way
O'er steps of broken thrones and temples. Ye
Whose agonies are evils of a day—
A world is at our feet as fragile as our clay.

The Niobe of nations! there she stands
Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe,
An empty urn within her withered hands,
Whose sacred dust was scattered long ago;
The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now;
The very sepulchres lie tenantless
Of their heroic dwellers: dost thou flow,
Old Tiber! through a marble wilderness?
Rise, with thy yellow waves, and mantle her distress!'

The impressiveness of an arrival at the Eternal City was formerly enhanced by the solemn singularity of the country through which it was slowly approached. 'Those who arrive at Rome now by the railway,' says Mrs. Craven in her 'Anne Severin,' 'and rush like a whirlwind into a station, cannot imagine the effect which the words 'Ecco Roma' formerly produced when, on arriving at the point in the road from which the Eternal City could be descried for the first time, the postillion stopped his horses, and, pointing it out to the traveller in the distance, pronounced them with that Roman accent which is grave and sonorous as the name of Rome itself.'

'How pleasing,' says Cardinal Wiseman, 'was the usual indication to early travellers, by voice and outstretched whip, embodied in the well-known exclamation of every vetturino, 'Ecco Roma.' To one 'lasso maris et viarum,' like Horace, these words brought the first promise of approaching rest. A few more miles of weary hills, every one of which, from its summit, gave a more swelling and majestic outline to what so far constituted "Roma," that is, the great cupola, not of the church, but of the city, its only discernible part, cutting, like a huge peak, into the clear wintry sky, and the long journey was ended, and ended by the full realisation of well-cherished hopes.'

Most travellers, perhaps, in the old days, came by sea from Marseilles and arrived from Civita Vecchia, by the dreary road which leads through Palo, and near the base of the hills upon which stands Cervetri, the ancient Caere,—from the junction of whose name and customs the word 'ceremony' is held to have arisen,—so especially useful in the great neighbouring city. 'This road from Civita Vecchia,' writes Miss Edwards, 'lies among shapeless hillocks, shaggy with bush and briar. Far away on one side gleams a line of soft blue sea—on the other lie mountains as blue, but not more distant. Not a sound stirs the stagnant air. Not a tree, not a housetop, breaks the wide monotony. The dust lies beneath the wheels like a carpet, and follows like a cloud. The grass is yellow, the weeds are parched; and where there have been wayside pools, the ground is cracked and dry. Now we pass a crumbling fragment of something that may have been a tomb or temple centuries ago. Now we come upon a little wide-eyed peasant boy keeping goats among the ruins, like Giotto of old. Presently a buffalo lifts his black mane above the neighbouring hillock, and rushes away before we can do more than point to the spot on which we saw it. Thus the day attains its noon, and the sun hangs overhead like a brazen shield, brilliant but cold. Thus, too, we reach the brow of a long

and steep ascent, where our driver pulls up to rest his weary beasts. The sea has now faded almost out of sight; the mountains look larger and nearer, with streaks of snow upon their summits, the Campagna reaches on and on and shows no sign of limit or of verdure; while, in the midst of the clear air, half way, so it would seem, between you and the purple Sabine range, rises one solemn solitary dome. Can it be the dome of S. Peter's?'

The great virtue of the Civita Vecchia route lay in the fact that, after all the utter dreariness of many miles of the least interesting part of the Campagna, the traveller was almost stunned by the transition, when, on suddenly passing the Porta Cavalleggieri, he found himself in the piazza of S. Peter's, with its wide-curving colonnades and high-springing fountains; indeed, the first building he saw was S. Peter's, the first palace that of the Pope, the Vatican. But the more gradual approach by land from Viterbo and Tuscany possessed equal, if not superior, interest.

'When we turned the summit above Viterbo,' wrote Dr. Arnold, 'and opened on the view on the other side, it might be called the first approach to Rome. At the distance of more than forty miles, it was, of course, impossible to see the town, and, besides, the distance was hazy; but we were looking on the scene of the Roman history; we were standing on the outward edge of the frame of the great picture; and though the features of it were not to be traced distinctly, yet we had the consciousness that they were before us. Here, too, we first saw the Mediterranean, the Alban hills, I think, in the remote distance, and just beneath us, on the left, Soracte, an outlier of the Apennines, which has got to the right bank of the Tiber, and stands out by itself most magnificently. Close under us, in front, was the Ciminian lake (Bracciano), the crater of an extinct volcano, surrounded, as they all are, with their basin of wooded hills, and lying like a beautiful mirror stretched out before us. Then there was the grand beauty of Italian scenery, the depth of the valleys, the endless variety of the mountain outline, and the towns perched upon the mountain summits, and this now seen under a mottled sky, which threw an ever-varying light and shadow over the valley beneath, and all the freshness of the young spring. We descended along one of the rims of this lake to Ronciglione, and from thence, still descending on the whole, to Monterosi. Here the famous Campagna begins, and it certainly is one of the most striking tracts of country I ever beheld. It is by no means a perfect flat, except between Rome and the sea: but rather like the Bagshot Heath country, ridges of hills, with intermediate valleys, and the road often running between high, steep banks, and sometimes crossing sluggish streams sunk in a deep bed. All these banks are overgrown with broom, now in full flower; and the same plant was luxuriant everywhere. There seemed no apparent reason why the country should be so desolate; the grass was growing richly everywhere. There was no marsh anywhere visible, but all looked as fresh and healthy as any of our chalk downs in England. But it is a wide wilderness; no villages, scarcely any houses, and here and there

a lonely ruin of a single square tower, which I suppose used to serve as a stronghold for men and cattle in the plundering warfare in the Middle Ages. It was after crowning the top of one of these lines of hills, a little on the Roman side of Baccano, at five minutes after six, according to my watch, that we had the first view of Rome itself. I expected to see S. Peter's rising above the line of the horizon, as York Minster does; but instead of that, it was within the horizon, and so was much less conspicuous, that from the nature of the ground, it looked mean and stumpy. Nothing else marked the site of the city, but the trees of the gardens, and a number of white villas specking the opposite bank of the Tiber for some little distance above the town, and then suddenly ceasing. But the whole scene that burst upon our view, when taken in all its parts, was most interesting. Full in front rose the Alban hills, the great white villas on their sides distinctly visible, even at that distance, which was more than thirty miles. On the left were the Apennines, and Tivoli was distinctly to be seen on the summit of its mountain, on one of the lowest and nearest parts of the chain. On the right, and all before us, lay the Campagna, whose perfectly level outline was succeeded by that of the sea, which was scarcely more so. It began now to get dark, and as there is hardly any twilight, it was dark soon after we left La Storta, the last post before you enter Rome. The air blew fresh and cool, and we had a pleasant drive over the remaining part of the Campagna, till we descended into the valley of the Tiber, and crossed it by the Milvian bridge. About two miles farther on we reached the walls of Rome, and entered it by the Porta del Popolo.'

Niebuhr, coming the same way, says: 'It was with solemn feelings that this morning, from the barren heights of the moor-like Campagna, I first caught sight of the cupola of S. Peter's, and then of the city from the bridge, where all the majesty of her buildings and her history seem to lie spread out before the eye of the stranger; and afterwards entered by the Porta del Popolo.'

Madame de Staël gives us the impression which the same subject would produce on a different type of character:—

'Le Comte d'Erfeuil faisait de comiques lamentations sur les environs de Rome. "Quoi," disait-il, "point de maison de campagne, point de voiture, rien qui annonce le voisinage d'une grande ville! Ah! bon Dieu, quelle tristesse!" En approchant de Rome, les postillons s'écrièrent avec transport: "*Voyez, voyez, c'est la coupole de Saint-Pierre!*" Les Napolitains montrent aussi le Vésuve; et la mer fait de même l'orgueil des habitants des côtes. "On croirait voir le dôme des Invalides," s'écria le Comte d'Erfeuil.'

It was by this approach that most of its distinguished pilgrims have entered the capital of the Catholic world: monks, who came hither to obtain the foundation of their Orders; saints, who thirsted to worship at the shrines of their predecessors, or who came to found Orders, like Francis and Dominic; priests and prelates from distant lands—many coming in turn to receive here the highest dignity which Christendom could offer; kings and emperors, to ask coronation at the hands of the reigning pontiff; and, among all these, came

by this road, in the full fervour of Catholic enthusiasm, Martin Luther, the future enemy of Rome, but then its devoted adherent. 'When Luther came to Rome,' says Ampère, in his 'Portraits de Rome à divers âges,' 'the future reformer was a young monk, obscure and fervent; he had no presentiment, when he set foot in the great Babylon, that ten years later he would burn the bull of the Pope in the public square of Wittenberg. His heart experienced nothing but pious emotions; he addressed to Rome in salutation the ancient hymn of the pilgrims; he cried, "I salute thee, O holy Rome, Rome venerable through the blood and the tombs of the martyrs." But after having prostrated on the threshold, he raised himself, he entered into the temple, he did not find the God he looked for; the city of the saints and martyrs was a city of murderers and prostitutes. The arts which marked this corruption were powerless over the stolid senses, and scandalised the austere spirit of the German monk; he scarcely gave a passing glance at the ruins of pagan Rome, and, inwardly horrified by all that he saw, he quitted Rome in a frame of mind very different from that which he brought with him; he knelt then with the devotion of the pilgrims, now he returned in a disposition like that of the *frondeurs* of the Middle Ages, but more serious than theirs. This Rome of which he had been the dupe, and concerning which he was disabused, should hear of him again; the day would come when, amid the merry toasts at his table, he would cry three times, "I would not have missed going to Rome for a thousand florins, for I should always have been uneasy lest I should have been rendering injustice to the Pope."'

Until recent years life in Rome seemed to be free from many of the petty troubles which beset it in other places; and there are still few foreign towns which offer so many comforts and advantages to English visitors. The hotels, indeed, are expensive, and the rent of apartments is high; but when the latter is once paid, living is rather cheap than otherwise, especially for those who do not object to dine from a *trattoria* and to drive in hackney-carriages. Prices, however, are enormously raised since the end of the 18th century, when Alfieri only paid ten scudi a month for the whole Strozzi Palace, furnished, with the stables, and the use of the villa.

The climate of Rome, although it presents an average of 160 fine days in the year, is variable. If the *scirocco* blows, it is mild and very relaxing; but the winters are sometimes subject to the severe dry cold of the *tramontana*, which exacts even greater precaution than an English east wind. The *libeccio*, or N.-W. wind from the sea, is the most agreeable to the Roman. Nothing can be more mistaken than the impression that those who go to Italy are sure to enjoy there a mild and congenial temperature. The climate of Rome has been liable to severity, even from the earliest times of its history. Dionysius speaks of one year in the time of the Republic when the snow at Rome lay seven feet deep, and many men and cattle died of the cold[1] (B.C. 401). Another year the

[1] Dionysius, xii. 8.

snow lay for forty days, trees perished, and cattle died of hunger.[1] Present times are a great improvement on those: snow seldom lies upon the ground for many hours together, and the beautiful fountains of the city are only hung with icicles long enough to allow the photographers to profit by them; but still the climate is not to be trifled with, and violent transitions from the hot sunshine to the cool shade of the street or church often prove fatal. 'No one but dogs and Englishmen,' say the Romans, 'ever walk in the sun.'

Long before the days of Tiberius, altars to the Goddess of Fever were in existence, but the *malaria*, which used to be much dreaded by the natives, generally lies dormant during the winter months, and seldom affect strangers unless they live in insalubrious quarters of the city near recent excavations, or are inordinately imprudent in sitting out in the sunset. With the heats of the late summer this insidious ague-fever is apt to follow exertion, and particularly to attack those who are employed in field labour. From July to November the Villa Borghese and the Villa Doria are uninhabitable, and the more deserted hills—the Coelian, the Aventine, and part of the Esquiline—used to be a constant prey to fever. The malaria, however, flies before a crowd of human life, and the Ghetto (Borghetto), teeming with inhabitants, was always perfectly free from it. In the Campagna, desolated from the time of Gregory the Great (590–604), and rendered unhealthy by the cessation of drainage — with the exception of Porto d'Anzio, which has always been healthy—no town or village is safe in the month of September, and to this cause the desolation of so many formerly populous sites (especially those of Veii and Galera) may be attributed :—

> 'Roma, vorax hominum, donat ardua colla virorum ;
> Roma, ferax febrium, necis est uberrima fugum :
> Romanae febres stabili sunt jure fideles.'

Thus wrote Pietro Damiano in the tenth century, and those who refuse to be on their guard will find it true still. But with the rapid development of scientific cultivation the Campagna is surely losing this drawback.

The greatest risk at Rome is incurred by those who, coming out of the hot sunshine, spend long hours standing about in the Vatican and the other galleries, especially the Lateran, which are deadly cold during the winter months. As March comes on this chill wears away, the sun enters, and in April and May the temperature of the galleries (except those of the Lateran) is delightful, and it is impossible to find a more agreeable retreat. It is in the hope of inducing strangers to spend more time in the study of these wonderful museums, and of giving additional interest to the hours which are passed there, that so much is said about their contents in these volumes. As far as possible it has been desired to evade any mere catalogue of their collections—so that no mention has been made

[1] Livy, v. 13.

of objects which possess secondary artistic or historical interest; while by introducing anecdotes connected with those to which attention is drawn, or by quoting the opinion of accepted authorities concerning them, an endeavour has been made to fix them in the recollection.

The immense extent of Rome, and the wide distances to be traversed between its different ruins and churches, is in itself a sufficient reason for devoting more time to it than to the other cities of Italy. Surprise will doubtless be felt that so few pagan ruins remain, considering the enormous number which are known to have existed, even down to a comparatively late period. A monumental record of A.D. 540, published by Cardinal Mai, mentions 324 streets, 2 capitols—the Tarpeian and that on the Quirinal—80 gilt bronze statues of the gods (only the Hercules remains), 66 ivory statues of the gods, 46,608 houses, 17,097 palaces, 13,052 fountains, 3785 statues of emperors and generals in bronze, 22 great equestrian statues of bronze (only Marcus Aurelius remains), 2 colossi (Marcus Aurelius and Trajan), 9026 baths, 31 theatres, and 8 amphitheatres! It was Nicholas V. (1447–54) who first tried to make Rome the city of the Popes, not of the Emperors, because 'only the learned could understand the grounds of the papal authority, the unlearned needed the testimony of their eyes, the sight of the magnificent memorials which embodied the history of papal greatness.' That even so many classical remains still exist as we now see is due in part to the pleading of Raffaelle, who implored Julius II. to 'protect the few relics left to testify to the power and greatness of that divine love of Antiquity whose memory was inspiration to all who were capable of higher things.' But the preservation of ancient buildings is above all due to the fact, that in the early centuries of established Christianity many a pagan building capable of containing a congregation was converted into a church, chapel, or convent.

'Rome, according to an old saying, contains as many churches as there are days in the year. This statement is too modest; the "great catalogue" published by Cardinal Mai mentions over a thousand places of worship, while nine hundred and eighteen are registered in Professor Armellini's "Chiese di Roma." A great many have disappeared since the first institution, and are known only from ruins, or inscriptions and chronicles. Others have been disfigured by 'restorations.' Without denying the fact that the sacred buildings of Rome excel in quantity rather than quality, there is no doubt that as a whole they form the best artistic and historic collection in the world. Every age, from the apostolic to the present, every school, every style has its representatives in the churches of Rome. Let students, archæologists, and architects provide themselves with a chronological table of its sacred buildings, and select the best specimens for every quarter of a century, beginning with the oratory of Aquila and Priscilla, mentioned in the Epistles, and ending with the latest contemporary creations, they cannot find a better subject for their education in art and history.'—*Lanciani.*

The thirty-five years of United Italy—1870–1905—if they have done well by archaeology, have done more for the destruction of the artistic beauty of Rome than all the invasions of the Goths and Vandals. They have done for the city what the sixteenth century Popes did for the Forum. If the Government, the Munici-

pality, and, it must be confessed, the Roman aristocracy, had been united together since 1870, with the *sole* object of annihilating the attraction and interest of Rome, they could not have done it more effectually. Except for definite archaeologists, much of the old charm is gone for ever, the whole aspect of the city is changed, and the picturesqueness of former days must now be sought in such obscure corners as have escaped the hands of the spoiler. The glorious gardens of the Villa Negroni, Villa Corsini, and Villa Ludovisi, with their groves of cypress and ilex, have been annihilated: many precious street memorials of mediaeval history have been swept away; ancient convents have been levelled with the ground or turned into barracks; historic churches have been yellow-washed or modernised; every tree of importance in the city—including the noble ilexes of Christina of Sweden—has been cut down; the pagan ruins have been denuded of all that gave them picturesqueness or beauty; and several of the finest fountains have been demolished or stinted of half their waters. The Palaces of Caesar have been stripped of the flowers and ivy which formerly adorned them; albeit to Giacomo Boni belongs the additional merit of initiating the replanting of such classic sites with the flowers most loved by the ancients, *i.e.*, myrtles, roses, laurels, pomegranates, and oleanders. But even this design met with spiteful opposition. The glorious view from the Pincio has been destroyed by the barrack-like houses and the monstrous Palazzo di Giustizia, built between the Tiber and S. Peter's. The Tiber itself has been strait-jacketed all the way along its picturesque course, to the ruining of the effect of the Island, of most of the bridges, of the lovely Farnesina gardens, and to the grievous injury of the inestimable frescoes in that palace. The unspeakable new bridges block out the best views on the river-banks. The Baths of Caracalla, which, until 1870, was one of the most beautiful spots in the world, is now scarcely more attractive than the ruins of a London warehouse. Many of the most interesting temples have been dwarfed by the vulgarest of modern building. Even the Coliseum has been deprived not only of its shrines, but of its marvellous flora, and in dragging out the roots of its shrubs more of the building was destroyed than would have fallen naturally perhaps in five centuries.

'These are the acts of a stupid and brutal ignorance, or of a venal and shameful speculation; without excuse or palliation, and inflicting on the city thus sacrificed an injury and an outrage as gross as it is pitiful. The plea of utility or necessity cannot hold for a moment here; these gasworks, these factories, these new streets, could, with equal ease and usefulness, have been erected on waste grounds, where there was little or nothing of natural or architectural beauty to be destroyed. Instead of this, a perversity which amounts to malignity, places them invariably on sites where either some architectural treasure-house of art is swept away to give room for them, or else some exquisite view of water or land is ruined by their deformity and stench.'—*Ouida.*

'The works have gone on without harmony, order, or governing principles. Walls and houses have been erected which have had to be demolished to make room for the piers of the new bridges; the Tiber is shut in by a dyke without any sluices having been made; . . . in a word, tens of millions have been

squandered by the municipality and the State without any plan or co-ordinate idea.'—*Popolo Romano.*

'A will, with a genius, might have grasped the idea embodied, or hidden, in mediæval Rome, and unfolded it, beautified and dignified, over the vacant spaces of the Seven Hills. Italy was ready, within generous limits, to be paymaster. Italians longed for Rome as Rome was. The Roman Town Council had bestowed upon them for their royal capital a paltry and spurious copy of Paris boulevards. Nothing so pretentious, commonplace, unspiritual and dull has ever been produced as neo-regal Rome. In addition to a display of poverty of artistic ideas almost amounting to genius, the Roman municipality is, moreover, acknowledged to have set at defiance all the rules of recent sanitary science in a manner incomparably its own.'—*The Times* (leading article), January 10, 1888.

'The blame must be cast especially on the members of the Roman aristocracy. . . . We have seen three of them sell the very gardens which surrounded their city mansions, allowing these mansions to be contaminated by the contact of ignoble tenement houses. We have seen every single one of the patrician villas—the Patrizi, the Sciarra, the Massimo, the Lucernari, the Mirafiori, the Wolkonsky, the Giustiniani, the Torlonia, the Campana, the San Faustino—destroyed, their casinos dismantled, and their beautiful old trees burnt into charcoal.'—*Lanciani.*

With one or two exceptions nothing can possibly be more repulsive than the buildings of Rome since her, as yet, futile transformation into a commercial centre—'since Rome, poorest of cities, has been trying to appear rich.'

'The construction of houses in the new part of the city, and especially in those sections which have been demolished and rebuilt, has been carried on under regulations so bad, or so easily evaded, that the new quarter is the most disgraceful appendix to a great city to be found in all Europe. The houses are huge tasteless stucco palaces, so high as to shut off the sunlight—necessary above all things in Rome—from the lower storeys of the houses opposite. They are ill-constructed, so that in more than one case they have fallen into the spaces in front of them, and flimsy and ill-contrived, so that one hears the common domestic sounds from apartment to apartment, and from storey to storey. There is the least possible attention to the sanitary requisites which decency would permit—in short, the quarter is a huge congeries of "jerry" dwellings, built on speculation, and in which no person who regards personal comfort would continue to reside, except on compulsion, and it is, in general, æsthetically and economically a disgrace to Rome.'—*The Times*, June 15, 1887.

'The municipal authorities of Rome, when it became the national capital, had the most splendid opportunity to distinguish themselves in the future as builders that any corporate body ever had. With taste and the opportunities the municipal council actually enjoyed, namely, unlimited space, a site of unrivalled picturesqueness, the secular ideal of the landscape painters of all countries, the lavish enthusiasm of a young and hopeful nationality, rich in hope and the resources of the sanguine future, the nucleus of a sober and dignified architecture, with almost unlimited responsibility over the resources of the city, and the aid of those of the nation, Rome might and should have been made the most beautiful city in the world. What the municipality has done is to make it impossible, without the intervention of a great earthquake, that it ever should be anything but the most absurd of all the cheap imitations of Paris.'—*The Times*, January 10, 1888.

D'Annunzio joins in the lamentation over what is lost—

'On these patrician lawns, where, only the previous spring, the violets had blossomed more numberless than the blades of grass, were now mounds of lime, heaps of bricks, the wheels of stone-laden carts creaked on the turf, on

the air were the oaths of the drivers, the shouts of the overseers, while every hour hastened the brutal work which was to efface and occupy the sacred soil once dedicated to Beauty and to Dreams. There passed over Rome a blighting blizzard of barbarism, menacing all that greatness and loveliness which were without equals in the memory of the world. Even the laurels and rose-trees of the Villa Sciarra, for so many nights of so many summers hymned by their nightingales, fell destroyed, or remained in their desecration behind the gates of little gardens parcelled out to the little cockney boxes of tradesmen. The gigantic Ludovisan cypresses, those of the Aurora, those which spread the clouds of their solemn and mystic antiquity above the Olympian brows of Goethe, were now laid prone in line one after another, with all their dishonoured roots stretching towards the pallid sky, the black dishonoured roots which still seemed to hold in their immense network the web of a life greater than our own.'—*Trans. by Ouida.*

It is typical of the absurd misuse of the funds at the disposal of the Municipality, when, in some remote square, fifty able-bodied men are seen lying upon their stomachs, engaged in picking out with penknives the tiny mosses and grasses between the stones of the pavement. In the same way hundreds of men are employed in perpetually rooting up all the grass and flowers along the hedges in the outskirts of Rome, and keeping them down to the level of dust-heaps. In modern Rome a blade of grass or a wild-flower is characterised as an 'indecenza.'

We have good reason, however, over and above all this, to fear the forced development of Rome into an industrial city, such as it never was at any period of its history—into what the commercial folk call '*something worthy of the capital of United Italy;*' and we know what *that* means. Among other things it means the formation of a belt of hideous factories around the city and a cordon of manufacturers' chimneys. It means a great harbour joined to the city by a canal independent of the Tiber; and it means the entire utilisation of the water-power at Tivoli for electrical purposes. It means furthermore the extension of the jerry-built present surburbs into the Campagna; doubling and trebling of the population, and pulling the city about in all manner of ways to suit that appalling contingency. That is what is likely to come.

Victor Emmanuel, by solemn speeches at Florence, when receiving the Roman *plébiscite*, and by speeches at Rome in parliament, promised over and over again that the property and privileges of Catholic institutions should be respected and secured. Yet, in October 1871, the papal palace of the Quirinal was broken into and seized. Then came the spoliation and ruin of the eight great convents—S. Maria in Vallicella, SS. Apostoli, S. Silvestro in Capite, S. Silvestro di Monte Cavallo, S. Maria delle Vergine, S. Andrea della Valle, S. Maria sopra Minerva, and S. Agostino. A seizure of the gardens and monasteries of nuns followed; and on May 27, 1873, the iniquitous bill was passed which drove the monks and nuns from their homes, robbing them of their dowries by a process which was simply theft, making them dependent upon ill-paid pensions varying from sixpence to tenpence a day, and putting their lands and houses up to public auction.

No attempt has been made in these pages to describe the country round the city, saving a few of the most ordinary drives and ex-

cursions outside the walls. But the railways to Naples, Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and Viterbo have now brought a vast variety of new excursions within the range of a day's expedition. The papal citadel of Anagni, the temples of Cori and Norba, the cyclopean remains of Segni, Alatri, Cervetri, and Corneto, the gorge of Civita Castellana with the wild heights of Soracte, Anguillara and Bracciano by their lovely lake, may now become as familiar as the oft-visited Tivoli, Ostia, and Albano.

From the experience of many years the writer can truly say that the more intimately the scenes of Rome become known, the more deeply they become engraven upon the inmost affections. It is not a hurried visit to the Coliseum, with guide-book and cicerone, which will enable one to drink in the fulness of its beauty; but a long and familiar friendship with its solemn walls, in the ever-varying grandeur of golden sunlight and grey shadow—till, after many days' companionship, its stones become dear to one as those of no other building ever can be; and it is not a rapid inspection of the huge cheerless basilicas and churches, with their stolen marbles, gilded ceilings, and ill-suited monuments, which arouses sympathy, but it is the long investigation of their precious fragments of ancient cloister and sculptured fountain of mouldering fresco and mediaeval tomb, of mosaic-crowned gateway and palm-shadowed garden,—the gradually acquired knowledge of the wondrous story which clings around each of these ancient things, and which tells how each has a motive and significance entirely unsuspected and unrecognised by the passing eye.

'Yet to the wondrous St. Peter's and yet to the solemn Rotunda,
Mingling with heroes and gods, yet to the Vatican walls,
Yet we may go, and recline, while a whole mighty world seems above us,
Gathered and fixed to all time into one roofing supreme;
Yet may we, thinking on these things, exclude what is meaner around us.'
—*Clough.*

Those who wish to fix the scenes and events of Roman history securely in their minds will do best perhaps to take them in groups. Suppose, for instance, that any travellers wish to study the history of S. Laurence, let them first visit the beautiful little chapel in the Vatican, where the whole story of his life is portrayed in the lovely frescoes of Angelico da Fiesole. Let them stand on the greensward by the Navicella, where he distributed the treasures of the Church in front of the house of S. Ciriaca. Let them visit S. Lorenzo in Fonte, where he was imprisoned, and baptized his fellow-prisoners in the fountain which gives the church its name. Let them go hence to S. Lorenzo Panisperna, built upon the scene of his martyrdom, which is there portrayed in a fresco. Let them see his traditional chains and the supposed gridiron on which he suffered at S. Lorenzo in Lucina. And, lastly, at the great basilica of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, let them admire the mighty church which for twelve hundred years has marked the site of that little chapel which Constantine built near the lowly catacomb in which the martyr was laid by his deacon Hippolytus.

Let us turn to a very different character—Rienzi. How vivid will his story seem to those who take their stand on the now void site precisely between the old Jewish synagogue and the modern embankment where his mean habitation once stood among many flanking the river, where he was born—the son of a publican and a washerwoman! They will find him again at the little church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, whither he summoned the citizens at midnight to hold a meeting for the re-establishment of the Good Estate; and at the Porticus of Octavia, on whose ancient walls he painted his second allegory of the sufferings of the Romans under the oppression of the great patrician families, thus flaunting defiance in the eyes of the Savelli, who could look down upon the picture from the windows of their palace above the Theatre of Marcellus. At S. Giorgio in Velabro the pediment still remains under the old terra-cotta cornice, where an inscription proclaimed that the reign of the Good Estate was begun. We must follow Rienzi thence, bare-headed, but clad in armour, to the Capitol and to the Lateran, where he took his mystic baptism in the bath of green basalt in which Constantine is falsely said to have been baptized. We must think of his pitiful flight, after his short-lived glories were over (Oct. 1354), down the steps of the Capitol, and of his wife looking out of the window witnessing his murder at the foot of the basaltic lioness, which looks scarcely older now than on the night on which she was, perhaps, sprinkled with his blood. Lastly, we may remember that his dead body was hung, a target for the stones of those whom he had so lately overawed, in the little piazza of S. Marcello in Corso, and that it was mockingly burnt by the Jews on a pile of thistles near the then desolate mausoleum of Augustus, by order of Colonna, because he had styled himself 'Semper Augustus.'

It is by thus entwining these forcible Roman scenes with one another, till they appear to be the continuous links of a story, that they are best fixed in the mind. They should also be read about, not merely in histories or guide-books, but in the works of those who, from long residence in Italy and the deep love which they bear her, have become impressed with the Italian spirit. Important books on Roman subjects are the 'Remains of Ancient Rome,' by Professor Middleton; a 'History of the City of Rome, its Structures and Monuments,' by T. H. Dyer; 'Ancient Rome,' and 'Pagan and Christian Rome,' of Rodolfo Lanciani. Then, much delightful reading may be found in the works of Gregorovius, from his history of the 'City of Rome' to his enchanting 'Lateinische Sommer,' and his graphic little sketches *à propos* of burial-places of the Popes. The writer has often been laughed at for recommending and quoting novels in speaking of Rome and its interests. Yet in few graver works occur such glimpses of Rome, of Roman character, Roman manners, as can be found in Hawthorne's 'Marble Faun'; in 'Mademoiselle Mori'; in the 'Improvisatore' of Hans Andersen; in the 'Daniella' of George Sand; in the 'Rome' of Zola, the 'Saracinesca' and 'St. Ilario' of Marion Crawford, and the pagan-spirited 'Ariadne' of Ouida. Still, most of all should English and

American visitors who can read Italian, consult the publications of Commendatore G. Boni, now at the head of Archaeological inquiry in Rome; and the volumes of the British School of Rome.[1]

So much has been written about Rome that, in quoting from the remarks of others in these volumes, selection has been the great difficulty, and the rule has been followed that the most learned books are not always the most instructive or the most interesting. It has been sought to gather up and present to the reader such a succession of word-pictures from various authors as may not only make the scenes of Rome more significant at the time, but may deepen their impression afterwards. No endeavour has been made to enter deeply into archaeological questions, to define the exact limits of the wall of Servius Tullius, the precise position of the Tarpeian Rock, or whence the pottery came of which Monte Testaccio has been formed. The best Roman archaeology is that which without either inaccuracy or exaggeration preserves unclouded the human interest amid the ever-darkening winds of technical hypotheses. It is chiefly interesting in so far as it is shown to be the aesthetic, or the scientific, reflection of human needs. One of the most profound sources of our fascination by things Roman is due to our knowledge of this people's passionate reverence of old, for the customs and traditions of their forefathers. As John Addington Symonds describes—

> 'Then, from the very soil of silent Rome,
> You shall grow wise, and, walking, live again
> The lives of buried peoples, and become
> A child by right of that eternal home,
> Cradle and grave of empires, on whose walls
> The sun himself subdued to reverence falls.'

'Rome,' Winckelmann says, 'is the high school which is open to all the world.' It can supply every mental requirement if men will only apply at the right point of the fountain. 'Certainly,' wrote Goethe, 'people out of Rome have no idea how one is schooled there. One has to be born again, so to speak, and one learns to look back upon one's old ideas as upon the shoes of childhood.' Still, the travellers who enjoy Rome most are those who have studied it thoroughly before leaving their own homes. In the multiplicity of engagements in which a foreigner soon becomes involved, there is little time for historical research, and few are able to do more than read up their guide-books, so that half the pleasure and much of the advantage of a visit to Rome are thrown away; while those who arrive with the foundation already prepared, easily and naturally acquire, amid the scenes around which the history of the world revolved, an amount of information which will be astonishing even to themselves.

The pagan monuments of Rome have been written of and discussed in every sort of manner ever since they were built, and the catacombs have now also found able historians and guides; about the later Christian monuments far less has hitherto been said.

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[1] Palazzo Odescalchi.

There is a natural coolness in the Protestant mind toward much that is connected with the story of the Saints. Many believe, with Addison, that 'the Christian antiquities are so embroiled in fable and legend, that one derives but little satisfaction from searching into them.' And yet, as Mrs. Jameson observes, when all that the scientific historian can desire is taken away from the reminiscences of those who, by martyrdom for their faith, have consecrated the homes of their earthly life, how much remains!—'Ah, so much to awaken, to elevate, to touch the heart; so much that will not fade from the memory; so much that may make a part of our after-life!'

If we would profit by Rome to the uttermost, we must put away all prejudices, whether Catholic or Protestant or Jewish, and we must believe that it is not in one class of Roman interests alone that much is to be learnt. Those who devote themselves exclusively to the relics of the Kingly Period, to the republic, or to the Empire, and who see no interest in the memorials of the Middle Ages and the greater Popes, take only half of the blessing of Rome, and perhaps the half which has the least of human sympathy in it. Archaeology and history should help the beauties of Rome to leave their noblest impress, in arousing feelings worthy of the greatest of pagan heroes, of the noblest of Latin poets, of the most inspired of sculptors and painters, as well as of that Paul of Tarsus, who passed into Rome by the Appian Way, upon whom the shadow of the Pyramid of Caius Cestius may have fallen as finally he passed out of Rome in that tragic procession of which it is the sole surviving witness.

An early morning view of the great city is less familiar than others, and very beautiful are the effects of the dawn! At 6.30 A.M., between us and the Alban Hills the planet Venus hangs softly brilliant in the twilight. Every minute the various towers with the bells in them are showing clearer cut, until the sun, preparing us for his coming, floods with gold the eastern sky and its fleecy scarves of cirrus, throwing those hills, with Monte Cavo and her convent cresting their long majestic wave of purple, into bold relief. Presently even their lower line—their foot-hills—begins to stand out; and while bells start a-ringing, and wheels trundle, and street-cries liven the chilly air, suddenly the huge orb peeps up from beyond Colonna and glitters at once on the crosses and lightning-conductors over Rome below us,—as though he were shouting through the silence 'Awake!' Dome after dome, and dewy cypress-top after cypress-top, has caught the pale gold, while the wren and the black-bird in the garden of the brown monks sweetly proclaim S. Francis and the day-spring.

Then the entire flank of the Janiculan ridge, with the façade of S. Pietro-in-Montorio and the Paolina fountain, acknowledges the event, and presently the ugly silver dome of the new synagogue breaks aflame, and its ribs glitter with the glory of Jehovah there above the obscure hollow of the river-side Ghetto; while more dimly this has been poured upon the towers of S. Alessio, Sta. Sabina, and the Benedictines, on the ancient Aventine, and along the topmost rim of the Coliseum.

CHAPTER I

DULL-USEFUL INFORMATION

The *Population* of Rome in 1897 was 489,965; in 1850, 170,824; in 1513, 40,000, and in the time of Hadrian, over a million.

Hotels (Prices rise at Easter).—For passing travellers or bachelors, the best are: The Palace Hotel in Via Veneto, **H. d'Angleterre,** Via Bocca di Leone. The **H. de Russie** (close to the Piazza del Popolo) is comfortable and well managed. H. de Londres, Piazza di Spagna, is suited for a long residence, and is central. H. Moderne, in the Corso. The H. Europa is also in the Piazza di Mignanelli. The H. Quirinale, in the Via Nazionale, near the railway station, is one of the largest hotels in Rome. Facing the station is the large H. Continentale. The luxurious, amusing, and noisy Grand H. is in the Piazza dei Termini. H. Hassler, Trinità de' Monti, is in a beautiful situation, but the rooms at the back are to be avoided. The well-managed, but expensive, H. Bristol is in the Piazza Barberini. The **H. Eden,** Via Ludovisi, is situated between the old and new town streets, and commands fine views. Excellent service. The **H. Beausite,** 45 Via Ludovisi, nearly in the same situation, is well managed. Hotel du Sud, close by, is less expensive, but far less well managed. The **H. d'Italie,** Via Quattro Fontane, is comfortable and reasonable, and is especially well directed. The H. Pincio is at the corner of the Via Gregoriana. The H. Marini is in the Via del Tritone. The H. d'Allemagne, Via Condotti, and the Anglo-Americano, Via Frattina, are well-spoken of; much frequented by Americans. [Wagner, Brahms, and Grieg have all stayed at this latter hotel.] The H. Minerva, Piazza della Minerva, near the Pantheon, is more of a commercial inn, but good and reasonable, and suited to those who come to Rome to study art or antiquities. The vast H. Excelsior, Via Ludovisi; H. Nazionale in the Piazza de Monte Citorio is a good inn; here also is the lately improved H. Milano. The H. Laurati, in the Via Nazionale, above the Forum of Trajan, is excellent and reasonable, but not frequented by English. The H. Bellevue, 163 Via Nazionale. **H. Suisse** is new and commodious; situated in Via Veneto: where also is the **Palace Hotel,** with all the latest improvements. H. Regina, Via Veneto, opposite the Royal Palace.

Pensions.—The best are Pensione Ludovisi, Via Veneto; Pension Hayden, 42 Piazza Poli; Madame François, 47 Corso; Bethell, 41 Via Babuino; Pension des Anglais, P. Barberini 5 (lift), 7–8 lire; Pècori, Via del Quirinale 43 (baths), 7–8 lire; Pirri, Via S. Niccolo da Tolentino 78, 8–9 lire; Suore della S. Croce (Swiss nuns), Via S. Basilio 8; Hurdle-Lomi, Via del Tritone 36, 7–9 lire. The *wine*, generally mixed, and absurdly expensive in the hotels, is often better in the pension; while in the restaurants it is both cheap and good. There can be no excuse for bad wine or bread in Rome.

Apartments have greatly increased in price. An apartment for a small family in one of the best situations can seldom be obtained for less than from 300 to 500 francs a month. The English almost all prefer to reside in the neighbourhood of the Piazza di Spagna. The best situations are the sunny side of the Piazza itself, the Trinità de' Monti, the Via Gregoriana, Via Sistina, Via Porta Pinciana, and Via Ludovisi. Less good situations are the Corso, Via Condotti, Via Due Macelli, Via Frattina, Capo le Case, Via Quattro Fontane, Via Babuino, and Via della Croce, in which last, however, are many

good apartments. In the last few years many apartments have been prepared for letting in the Via Nazionale, Via Ludovisi, and other new streets. On the other side of the Corso suites of rooms are less expensive, but they are not convenient for persons who make a short residence in Rome. In many of the palaces are large apartments which let by the year. In the new town (Macao), houses are often ill-built and ill-drained.

Carriages.—1 horse, the course, 1 lira; the hour, 2; at night, 1 lira. Coupé at night must be arranged with. Most of the drivers are Neapolitans. Beware of false 1-lira pieces in exchange, bearing date 1862.

Bicycles may be hired at 112 and 488 Corso; 114 Via Quattro Fontane; and 260 Corso Vittorio Emanuele.

Restaurants.—San Carlo, in Corso 120; Umberto, Via della Mercede; Berardi, 75 Via della Croce; Bordone, Via Nazionale; Ranieri, 26 Via Mario de' Fiori; Nazionale, 109 Via del Seminario, near the Pantheon; Della Rosetta, Piazza del Pantheon; La Flora, in Via Sistina; La Felicetta, P. del Oratorio.

Caffès.—Caffè di Roma, 426 Corso; Caffè Nazionale or Aragno, 179 Corso; Caffè d'Italia, 133 Corso; Caffè Greco, 86 Via Condotti.[1]

Tea-rooms.—22 Piazza di Spagna, and Caffè Nazionale, 179 Corso, and Capo le Case.

Trattorie send out dinners to families in apartments in a tin box with a stove, for which the bearer calls the next morning. A dinner for six francs used to be sufficient for three persons, and to leave enough for luncheon next day.

English Church, **All Saints,** in the Via Babuino, on the left. Services at 8.30 A.M., 11 A.M., and 3 P.M. on Sundays; daily service twice on week-days. *American* **Church of S. Paul,** Via Nazionale, services, 8.30, 10.45, and 4. *Trinity Church*, Piazza S. Silvestro. **Presbyterian Church,** 7 Via Venti Settembre. *Vaudois Church*, 106 Via Nazionale, opposite the Theatre. **English Roman Catholic Church,** Piazza S. Silvestro. *English Convent*, 16 Via S. Sebastiano. *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, Via della Scrofa 64.

British and American Archæological Society.—72 Via S. Nicola da Tolentino. Hon. sec., Mr. H. Wilson (*pro tem.*).

British School of Archaeology.—Palazzo Odescalchi.

American School of Archaeology—5. Via Vicenza.

Omnibuses and Electric Tramways start from—	(and *vice versâ*).
Piazza di Spagna to	S. Pietro.
Piazza del Popolo to	Piazza Venezia, by the head of the Corso.
	The Railway Station, by Piazza di Spagna and Quirinal Tunnel.
	Ponte Molle, by Via Flaminia (tramway).
Piazza della Dogana to	Porta San Lorenzo (for Tivoli).
Piazza S. Silvestro to	Piazza S. Giovanni Laterano and Piazza Venezia.
Piazza Rienzi to	Piazza S. Silvestro.
Piazza Navona to	Piazza Vittorio Emanuele.
Piazza Venezia to	S. Pietro, S. Paolo.
	Piazza del Popolo, by the Ripetta.
	Piazza Cavour, Prati di Castello.
	Railway Station, by Via Nazionale (tramway).
	Via Cavour, S. G. Lateran (tramway).
Piazza Montanara to	S. Paolo fuori le Mura (tramway).
	Via Porta S. Lorenzo, by the Pantheon.

1 "The Caffè Greco, founded in the days of Salvator Rosa, has become a German pastry-cookery, and the place where once all the artists of Rome used to meet, along with poets and the minor brood of the Muses, is no longer to be recognised by the relic-hunter."—*W. J. Stillman.*

Piazza della Cancelleria to	Porta Pia, by Piazza Colonna and Via Tritone.
	Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, by the Forum of Trajan.
	Piazza S. Pantaleo, Coliseum, S. J. Lateran.
S. Pantaleo to	Porta Salaria, by the Fountain of Trevi.
	S. Giovanni Laterano, by the Forum of Trajan and the Coliseum.
	Piazza Termini, Cemetery of S. Lorenzo.
S. Apollinare to	Piazza Guglielmo Pepe, by the Gesù, Forum of Trajan and the Monti.
Forum of Trajan to	Piazza dei Quiriti ai Prati, by the Via Botteghe Oscure, Ponte S. Angelo, and Porta Angelica.
Piazza S. Silvestro to	**S. Agnese fuori le Mura** (tramway).
Piazza del Cinquecento	to Cemetery of S. Lorenzo (tramway).

The **Steam Tramway to Tivoli,** or for the Villa Hadriana, starts from—
Porta S. Lorenzo, 1st-class return, 6 fr.
2nd-class return, 4.50 fr.
The yellow '*orario*' or time-table can be bought at any kiosk.

Theatres.—Nazionale, Via Nazionale; Argentina (opera), Via Torre Argentina; **Costanzi** (opera), Via Firenze; Valle (comedy), Via della Valle; Metastasio, Via Palla corda; Manzoni, Via Urbana; Quirino, Via delle Vergine; Rossini (marionettes), Via di S. Chiara.

Church Music.—The best, except at the services in the Sistine Chapel, is to be heard on Sunday mornings at the German Church of S. Maria dell' Anima. But it lacks variety. The Lateran has good voices: as also S. Maria Maggiore.

Foxhounds meet twice a week in the Campagna from November till March 20. The meets are posted at Piale's Library. Throw-off at 11.

Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.—12 Via S. Giacomo. Sec., L. Hawkesley, Esq. Every encouragement needed.

Ufficio della Beneficenza.—Piazza Nicosia 35 (Charity Information Office).

Post Office.—Piazzo S. Silvestro, close to the Corso, open from 8 A.M. to 9.30 P.M. Letters for England or America (on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, *viâ* Havre at 9 P.M.) should be posted at the head office before 1 P.M. or 9 P.M.

Telegraph Offices.—Piazza S. Silvestro. *Branch Offices*, 20 Piazza Barberini; 35 Piazza Rusticucci; **Via Ludovisi 29**; 123 Via Venti Settembre; and in the Piazza delle Terme.

British Embassy.—Near Porta Pia, Via 20 Settembre.

British Consul.—C. C. Morgan, Esq., Via Condotti.

American Embassy.—Palazzo Amici, 16 Piazza S. Bernardo (hours, 10–1).

American Consulate.—16 Piazza S. Bernardo, near Grand Hotel.

Bankers.—Sebaste & Reale, 20 Piazza di Spagna; Nast-Kolb & Schumacher, 87 Via S. Claudio; **Plowden,** 2 Piazza SS. Apostoli; Messrs. **Morgan,** Via Condotti; Roesler Franz & Sons, Via Condotti 20.

Customs.—Everything in regard to Custom duties is now arranged in Rome for the minimum of profit to the State and the maximum of annoyance to travellers. The Italian theory that works of art belong of inherent right to the country where they were created is carried to ridiculous excess. A permission ('permesso') from the Museo is necessary for every article of vertu which a foreigner who has been residing in Italy wishes to remove to his own country. Nevertheless, they pull down the house of Michelangelo, let the Campanile of S. Mark collapse, and the Turin Library be for 30 years in danger of fire.

For sending Boxes to England.—French, Lemon & Co., Piazza di Spagna, corner of Via Frattina.

For sending out Boxes to Rome.—Pitt & Scott, 23 Cannon Street, London.

Physicians.—Von Fleischl, P. Rondanini 33; Brock, Via Veneto; Bonar, 114 Babuino; Fenwick, 42 Sistina; A. Flach, 40 Via Veneto.

Homœopathic.—Dr. Liberali, 101 Corso Vittorio Emanuele.

Oculists.—Giuseppe Norsa, 237 Via Nazionale; Krahnstöver, 5 Via Venti Settembre.

Sick Nurses are to be heard of at the Anglo-American Nursing Home, 265 Via Nomentana, where also patients (without infectious disorders) are received and nursed,—a great boon to those taken ill in hotels; also at 41 Via Palestro; Miss Watson; and Via Castel-Fidardo 45.

Dentists.—Dr. Webb, Via Nazionale (expensive, but excellent); Fenchell & Curtis, P. di Spagna 93.

Chemists.—A. Wall, 12 Via S. Susanna; Roberts, 36 Piazza Lucina; Sinimberghi-Evans, 65 Via Condotti; Baker, 42 Piazza di Spagna; and Borioni, 98 Via Babuino, are usually employed by English visitors; but the Italian chemists' shops in the Corso and Frattina are as good, and much less expensive. *Homœopathic.*—Alleori, 8 Via Frattina.

Vet. Surgeon.—D. G. Bernabei, 33 Via Veneto.

House Agents.—Contini, 6 Via Condotti; Toti, 54 Piazza di Spagna.

Orders for sketching in the Forum, Palace of Cæsars, and other ruins must be obtained (free) at the office of the Ministero della Publica Istruzione, Piazza della Minerva, on the left of the church (upstairs, 2nd piano).

Libraries.—Vatican, Vittorio Emanuele, Casanatense, Chigiana, Angelica, Vallicelliana, and Barberini.

L. Casanatense, Via di S. Ignazio, 52, 9–3.
L. Vaticana, Padre Ehrle, 9–1.
L. Vallicelliana, Chiesa Nuova, 9–3.
L. Angelica, S. Agostino, 9–3.

Museums, &c.—The day of free admittance to Museums, Galleries, &c., was transferred in 1902 from Sunday to Thursday—merely to get a larger number of fees. The Forum and Palatine remain free on Sundays.

Circulating Library.—**Piale,** 1 and 2 Piazza di Spagna, has a capital library of 20,000 volumes, and a large assortment of Magazines and Reviews in different languages. All important new works are added on publication. The latest English telegrams are posted, and notices of the 'funzioni' are always to be found here. **Miss Wilson,** 22 Piazza di Spagna, has a small well-managed library, and notices of all kinds are posted here.

Money-Changer.—Carbucci, 88 Piazza di Spagna.

Agencies.—Cook, 2 Piazza di Spagna and P. di Termini; French, Lemon & Co.

Booksellers.—**Piale,** Piazza di Spagna; **Spithoever,** Piazza di Spagna; **Bocca,** 216 Corso; **Paravia,** 56 Piazzi SS. Apostoli. **Old Books.**—A. Nardecchia, 42 Via dell' Università.

Livery Stables.—Fratelli Treves, Corso 383; Fenini, outside Porta del Popolo; Pieretti (riding-master), Palazzo Rospigliosi. Horses, 20 lire a day.

Photographers.—*For Portraits:* Suscipi, 7 Via del Quirinale; Le Lieure, 19 Via del Mortaro; Schemboche, 54 Via Mercede. *For Views and Architectural Details:* **Moscioni,** 76 Via Condotti; Alinari & Cook, Corso 137A; Vasari, Via Mercede 38.

Drawing Materials.—Dovizelli, 136 Via Babuino; Corteselli, 150 Via Sistina. For commoner articles and stationery, Ricci, Piazza S. Claudio.

Engravings.—At the Stamperia Nazionale (fixed prices), 6 Via della Stamperia; at Luszatis, in Piazza di Trevi.

Antiquities—A. Castellani, Via de' Poli; Giacomini, 16 Via Sistina; Noci, 29 Via Fontanella Borghese; Corvisieri, 86 Via Due Macelli (Sales); Alserigo, 78 Via Due Macelli. Via del Babuino, generally.

Police (Questura).—Via S. Apostoli 17.

Baths.—Corso 151; Via Venezia 9A.

Terra-Cotta Reproductions.—Manifattura di Signa, Via del Babuino 50.

Casts.—Marsili, Via Frattina 16.

Bronzes.—Rainaldi, 83 Via del Babuino; Nelli, 111 Via Babuino; Boschetti, 73 Via Condotti; Rohrich, 62 Via Due Macelli.

Cameos.—Ciapponi (portraits), 9 Via S. Sebastianello; Saulini, 96 Via Babuino; Neri, 133 Via Babuino; Galant, 9 Piazza di Spagna.

Mosaics.—Rinaldi, 125 Via Babuino; Boschetti, 14 Via Condotti; Roccheggiani, 14 Via Condotti.

Jewellers.—Agostino Boni, Corso; Tombini, 74 Piazza di Spagna; Negri, 59 Piazza di Spagna; Fasoli, 94 Piazza di Spagna; Tanfani, 166 Corso.

Roman Pearls.—Rey, 122 Via Babuino; Lacchini, 19 Piazza di Spagna.

Engraver (for visiting-cards, &c.)—Ricci, 214 Corso.

Tailor (Sarto).—Segre, 136 Corso; Reanda, 61 Piazza SS. Apostoli; Shreider, Piazza di Spagna; Randanini, Corso 181.

Shoemaker (Calzolájo).—Jesi, 130 Corso; Berardi, 59 Via Fontanella di Borghese.

Shops for Ladies' Dress.—Bocconi, Corso; Agostini, 205 Via Tritone; Pontecorvo, 171 Corso; Mezzi, 91 Via Frattina; Delfina Coda, 155 Corso; Sebastianini, 61 Via Condotti; **Madame Giordani,** 26 Via S. Niccolo da Tolentino.

Hairdressers (Parrucchiére).—Lancia, 138 Via Nazionale; Giardinieri, 234 Corso; Pasquali, 423 Corso.

Roman Ribbons and Shawls.—Bianchi, 82 Via della Minerva; Fontana, 117 Via Babuino; 69 Piazza di Spagna; Orsola, Via Sistina 28.

Gloves.—Ugolini, 56 Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina; Nerola, 142 Corso.

Carpets and small Household Articles.—Cagiati, 250 Corso.

Bakers.—Valan, 98 Via Babuino; Colalucci, 94 Via Babuino.

German Beer (Birraria).—S. Albrecht, Via di S. Giuseppe.

Grocers (also for *Oil and Wood, &c*).—Luigioni, 70 Piazza di Spagna; Casoni, 32 Piazza di Spagna.

English Dairy.—Palmegiana, 66 Piazza di Spagna; **Andreoni, 105 Via Sistina.**

Pastrycooks (Pasticciére).—Giuliani, 76 Via Nazionale; Romazzetti, 195 Via Nazionale; Ronzi & Singer, Piazza Colonna.

Tobacco (English), 4 lire 50 c. per ½ lb. Havana cigars, P. Sciarra.

English Jams.—**Chubb's,** Il Giardino, Palombara-Sabina (best).

Beggars.—Scarcely one in a hundred deserves help; but theirs is a most flourishing trade, and if any one watches a beggar on a hill, it will be seen that he earns—during the season—an average of two lire an hour. Maimed limbs and borrowed children are often exhibited with impunity. It is better never to give anything to a professional beggar. 'I poveri vergognosi' are those in real need; amongst the lower-upper and middle classes, who are ashamed to beg, there is often terrible distress. Purse-snatching is common, owing partly to the open manner foreigners have of carrying their purses.

Artists' Studios.—

Carlandi, Onorato, landscapes—one of the best water-colour artists,—2 to 5 on Thursdays, 33 Via Margutta. Gives lessons.
Ferrari, Giuseppe, figures and portraits in water-colours, 55A Via Margutta.

Sculptors' Studios.—

Apolloni, 53C Via Margutta.
Ezekiel, 18 Piazza delle Terme. The most picturesque studio in Rome.
Story, Waldo, 7 Via S. Martino.
Monteverde, P. dell' Indipendenza 8.

It is impossible for a traveller who spends only a week or ten days in Rome to see a tenth part of the sights which it contains. Perhaps the most importants objects are:

Churches.—S. Peter's, **S. Giovanni Laterano,** S. Maria Maggiore, **S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, S. Paolo fuori le Mura,** S. Agnese fuori le Mura, Ara Coeli, **S. Clemente,** S. Pietro in Montorio, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Sabina, S. Prassede and S. Pudentiana, S. Gregorio, S. Stefano Rotondo, **S. Maria in Cosmedin,** S. Maria sopra Minerva, S. Maria del Popolo, **S. Maria Antiqua** in the Forum. (Most are closed from 12–3 P.M.)

Palaces. — Vatican, Capitol, Barberini, and, if possible, Corsini, Colonna, Doria, Rospigliosi, Spada, Farnese, and Farnesina, Cancelleria.

Villas.—Doria, **Borghese,** Mattei, **Medici.**

Ruins.—**Palaces of the Cæsars,** Temples in Forum, Colisseum, and, if possible, the ruins in the former Ghetto, the Baths of Caracalla, the Pantheon, and the **Porta Maggiore.**

It is desirable for the traveller who is pressed for time to apply to his Banker for orders for any sights for which such are necessary at the time. He should also buy an 'orario' giving the times of the trains. The following scheme will give a good general idea of Rome and its neighbourhood in a few days. The sights printed in italics can only be seen on the days to which they are ascribed:—

Monday.—General view of Capitol, ascend the tower; Gallery of Sculptures, Ara Coeli Church, General view of Forum, Colisseum, S. John Lateran (with cloisters), and drive out to the Via Latina and the aqueducts at Tavolato.

Tuesday.—Morning: S. Peter's and the Vatican Stanze and Pinacoteca. Afternoon: *Villa Albani* (if open), S. Agnese, and drive to the Ponte Nomentano.

Wednesday.—Morning: S. Prassede, S. Pudentiana, S. Maria Maggiore. Afternoon: S. Sabina, Priorato Garden, English Cemetery, S. Paolo, and the Tre Fontane.

Thursday.—Morning: the Palatine. Afternoon: drive on the Via Appia as far as Torre Mezza Strada; in returning see the Baths of Caracalla.

Friday.—Morning: Palazzo Doria, S. Maria in Cosmedin, cross the Tiber to S. Cecilia and S. Maria in Trastevere; and end in the afternoon at S. Pietro in Montorio and the *Villa Doria* (or on Monday), or S. Onofrio.

Saturday.—Frascati and Albano. To Frascati early by train, take tram, carriage, or go on foot by Rocca di Papa, to Monte Cavo; take luncheon (carried) at the Temple, and return by Palazzuolo and the upper and lower galleries to Albano. Thence, take train to Rome.

Sunday.—Morning: S. Maria del Popolo after English Church. Afternoon: S. Peter's again; drive to Monte Mario (Villa Madama), or in the Villa Borghese, and end with the Pincio and Trinità de' Monte.

2nd Monday.—Go to Tivoli (the Cascades, Cascatelle, and Villa d'Este), or to Hadrian's Villa.

2nd Tuesday.—Morning: Vatican Sculptures. Afternoon: S. Gregorio, S. Stefano in Rotondo, S. Clemente, S. Pietro in Vincoli (sunset), S. Maria degli Angeli, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, and drive out to the Torre del Schiavi, returning by the Porta Maggiore.

2nd Wednesday. — Morning: Palazzo Barberini, *Palazzo Rospigliosi*, and *Colonna Gardens.* Afternoon: Forum in detail, SS. Cosmo e Damiano (Mosaics), and ascend the Coliseum.

2nd Thursday.—Morning: The Sistine Chapel, S. Onofrio, and the Passeggiata Margherita. Afternoon: The Pictures at the Villa Borghese. (Umberto 1a.)

The following list may be useful as suggestions to some of the best subjects for artists who wish to draw at Rome, and have not much time to search for themselves. Many of these spots, however, have lost the great beauty which formerly distinguished them. Many, mentioned in earlier editions of these volumes, are utterly destroyed.

Morning Light:

Temple of Saturn (Forum).
Arch of Constantine from the Coliseum (early).
Coliseum from behind S. Francesca Romana (early).
Views from the Palace of Severus.
Arch of Septimius Severus, Foro Romano.
In the Garden of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.
In the Garden of S. Buonaventura (Palatine).
In the Colonna Gardens.
From the door of the Villa Medici.
Courtyard behind the Tor di Nona.
At S. Cosimato (much spoiled).
The back entrance of Ara Coeli (early).
From the back entrance of Ara Coeli.
Fountain, Piazza S. Pietro.
Courtyard near the Fontana Tartarughe.
Looking to the Arch of Titus up the Via Sacra.
In the Cloister of the Lateran.
At S. Cesareo.
Porta S. Sebastiano (inner view).
Porta Latina. Vigna Corini.
Near the so-called Temple of Bacchus.
On the Via Appia, beyond on this side, Cecilia Metella.
Torre di Mezza Strada, on the Via Appia.
Ponte Nomentano, looking to Mons Sacer.
Torre dei Schiavi, looking toward Tivoli.
Aqueducts at Tavolata.

Evening Light:

From the Terrace of the Villa Doria (S. Peter's).
On the Palace of Severus—looking to S. Balbina.
On the Palace of Caligula—looking to the Coliseum.
Apse of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.
Garden of the Villa Mattei.
Garden of the Priorato.
In the Villa Borghese—several subjects.
Cloister, S. Cosimato.
Torre dei Schiava, looking toward Rome.
Via Latina, looking toward the Aqueducts.
Via Latina, looking toward Rome.
Towers of Cervara and Cerveletta.
On Via Appia, beyond Cecilia Metella.

The months of October, November, and December are the best for drawing. The colouring is then magnificent; it is enhanced by the tints of decaying vegetation, and the shadows are strong and clear. January is generally cold for sitting out, and February often wet; and before the end of March the vegetation is often so far advanced that the Alban Hills, which have retained glorious sapphire and amethyst tints throughout winter, change into commonplace green downs; while the Campagna, from the crimson and gold of its dying thistles and finochii, becomes a green plain waving with flowers.

Foreigners are too apt to follow the custom of driving exclusively in the Villa Borghese, the Villa Doria, and on the Pincio, and getting out to walk there during their drives. For those who do not care always to see the human world, a delightful variety of drives can be found; and it is a most agreeable plan for invalids, without carriages of their own, to take a 'course' to S. Pietro in Montorio, or the Passeggiata Margherita, and walk there instead of on the Pincio. **A carriage for the return** may always be found at the Coliseum or in the Trastevere.

FESTIVALS

Details will be found in the *Diario Romano* (60 c.) or in the *Roman Herald*, or in bills placed in the windows of the leading booksellers.

S. Sebastiano, Via Appia. Jan. 20.
S. Agnese. Dedication of the Lambs. Jan. 21.
S. Paolo F. le M. Jan. 25.
S. Clemente. Feb. 1.
S. Francesca Romana. March 9.
S. Gregorio. March 12 (10.15 A.M.).
S. Filippo Neri, Palazzo Massimi. March 16 and May 26.
Annunciation. S. Maria sopra Minerva. March 25.
S. Giorgio in Velabro. April 23.
S. Clemente (lower church illuminated, 3 P.M.). Nov. 23.
S. Saba (Aventine). Dec. 5.
S. Maria Maggiore. 'Santa Culla' exhibited. Dec. 24–5.
Ara-Coeli (preaching of children). Dec. 25.
S. Giovanni Laterano. Dec. 27.
S. Paolo F. le M. Dec. 28.
S. Silvestro in Capite. Dec. 31.

CHAPTER II

THE CORSO AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

The Piazza del Popolo—Obelisk—S. Maria del Popolo—(The Pincio—Villa Medici—Trinità de' Monti)—(Via Babuino—Via Margutta—Piazza di Spagna—Propaganda)—(Via Ripetta—SS. Rocco e Martino—S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni)—S. Giacomo degli Incurabili—Via Vittoria—Mausoleum of Augustus—S. Carlo in Corso—Via Condotti—Palazzo Borghese—Palazzo Ruspoli—S. Lorenzo in Lucina—S. Silvestro in Capite—S. Andrea della Fratte—Palazzo Chigi—Piazza Colonna—Palace and Obelisk of Monte Citorio—Temple of Neptune—Fountain of Trevi—Palazzo Poli—Palazzo Sciarra—The Caravita—S. Ignazio—S. Marcello—S. Maria in Via Lata—Palazzo Doria Pamfili—Palazzo Salviati—Palazzo Odescalchi—Palazzo Colonna—Church of SS. Apostoli—Palazzo Savorelli—Palazzo Bonaparte—Palazzo di Venezia—Palazzo Torlonia—Ripresa dei Barberi—S. Marco—Church of Il Gesù—Palazzo Altieri.

ONE of the first objects of every traveller will naturally be to reach the Capitol, and look down thence upon ancient Rome; but as he will go down the Corso in order to do this, and must daily pass most of its surrounding buildings, we will first speak of those objects which, ere long, will become the most familiar to him.

A stranger's first lesson in Roman topography should be learnt standing in the **Piazza del Popolo**, whence three important streets branch off like three fingers—the Corso (I.) in the centre, leading to the Capitol, beyond which lies the Forum and the Palatine; the **Babuino**, on the left, leading to the Piazza di Spagna and the English quarter; the **Ripetta**, on the right, leading to the Castle of S. Angelo and S. Peter's. The scene is one well known from pictures and engravings. The space between the streets is occupied by twin churches, erected by Cardinal Gastaldi.

'Les deux églises élevées à la Place du Peuple par le Cardinal Gastaldi à l'entrée du Corso, sont d'un effet médiocre. Comment un cardinal n'a-t-il pas senti qu'il ne faut pas élever une église pour *faire pendant* à quelque chose? C'est ravaler la majesté divine.'—*Stendhal*, i. 172.

These churches are believed to occupy the site of the magnificent tomb of the terrible Sulla, who died at Puteoli B.C. 82, but was honoured at Rome with a public funeral, at which patrician ladies burnt masses of incense and perfumes on his funeral pyre. In his day, of course, it was nearly a mile from the city walls, on the Via Flaminia.

This piazza was a favourite place for executing brigands, until 1860; the wives of the brigands occasionally became models; their sons sometimes rose, as in the case of Antonelli, to be cardinals.

The **Obelisk** of the Piazza del Popolo was placed on this site by Sixtus V. in 1589, but was originally brought to Rome and erected in the Circus Maximus in honour of Apollo, his favourite divinity, by the Emperor Augustus. It belongs to the thirteenth century before Christ and relates to Seti and his son Rameses II. It is therefore the second oldest in the city.

'Apollo was the patron of the spot which had given a name to the great victory of Actium; Apollo himself, it was proclaimed, had fought for Rome and for Octavius on that auspicious day; the same Apollo, the Sun-god, had shuddered in his bright career at the murder of the Dictator, and terrified the nations by the eclipse of his divine countenance.' . . . Therefore, 'besides building a temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill, the Emperor Augustus sought to honour him by transplanting to the Circus Maximus (the sports of which were under his special protection), an obelisk from Heliopolis, in Egypt. This flame-shaped column was a symbol of the sun, and originally bore a blazing orb upon its summit. It is interesting to trace an intelligible motive for the first introduction into Europe of these grotesque and unsightly monuments of Eastern superstition.'—*Merivale, 'Hist. of the Romans.'*

'This red granite obelisk, oldest of things, even in Rome, rises in the centre of the piazza, with a fourfold fountain at its base. All Roman works and ruins (whether of the empire, the far-off republic, or the still more distant kings) assume a transient, a visionary and impalpable character when we think that this indestructible monument supplied one of the recollections which Moses and the Israelites bore from Egypt into the desert. Perchance, on beholding the cloudy pillar and fiery column, they whispered awe-stricken to one another, "In its shape it is like that old obelisk which we and our fathers have so often seen on the borders of the Nile." And now that very obelisk, with hardly a trace of decay upon it, is the first thing that the modern traveller sees after entering the Flaminian Gate.'—*Hawthorne's 'Transformation.'*

It was on the left of the piazza, at the foot of what was even then called 'the Hill of Gardens,' that Nero was buried (A.D. 68), in the ancestral property of the Domitii.

'When Nero was dead, his nurse Ecloge, with Alexandra and Acte, the famous concubine, having wrapped his remains in rich white stuff, embroidered with gold, deposited them in the Domitian monument, which is seen in the Campus Martius, under the Hill of Gardens. The tomb was of porphyry, having an altar of Luna marble, surrounded by a balustrade of Thasos marble.'—*Suetonius.*

Mediaeval tradition tells that from the tomb of Nero afterwards grew a gigantic walnut-tree, which became the resort of innumerable crows—so as to become quite a pest to the neighbourhood. In the twelfth century, Pope Paschal II. (1099–1118) dreamt that these crows were demons, and that the Blessed Virgin commanded him to cut down and burn the tree ('albero malnato'), and build a sanctuary to her honour in its place. A church was then built by means of a collection amongst the common people; hence the name which it still retains of 'S. Mary of the People.'

S. Maria del Popolo, with a façade of travertine, was rebuilt by Baccio Pintelli for Sixtus IV. in 1480. As the favourite burial-place of the Della Rovere family, it became a museum of renaissance art. It was modernised by Bernini for Alexander VII. (Fabio Chigi, 1655–67), of whom it was also the family burial-place, but it still retains many fragments of beautiful fifteenth-century work

(the principal door of the nave is an example); and its interior is a museum of sculpture and painting. Here Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of Pope Alexander VI., returned public thanks, at the age of twenty-two, for her betrothal to her third husband, Alfonso d'Este.

Entering the church by the west door, and following the R. aisle, the **1st chapel** (Venuti, formerly della Rovere[1]) is adorned with exquisite paintings by *Pinturicchio*. Over the altar is the Nativity (one of the most beautiful frescoes in the city); in the lunettes are scenes from the life of St. Jerome. Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere, who built this chapel and dedicated it to 'the Virgin and S. Jerome,' is buried on the left, in a fifteenth-century tomb; on the right is the monument of Cardinal di Castro. Both of these tombs and many others in this church have interesting and varied lunettes of the Virgin and Child.

The **2nd chapel**, of the Cibo family, with twelve columns of Sicilian jasper, has an altar-piece representing the Assumption of the Virgin, by *Carlo Maratta*. In the cupola is the Almighty, surrounded by the heavenly host.[2]

The **3rd chapel** is the oratory erected by Giovanni della Rovere, Duke of Sora and Sinigaglia, for his burial-place, and decorated after his death by Pinturicchio, for his brother Domenico. Over the altar are the Madonna and four saints; above, God the Father, surrounded by angels. In the other lunettes, scenes in the life of the Virgin: that of the Virgin studying in the Temple, a rare subject, is especially beautiful. In a frieze round the lower part of the wall is a series of martyrdoms in grisaille. On the right is the tomb of Giovanni della Rovere, brother of Julius II., ob. 1483. On the left is a late fifteenth-century bronze figure of a bishop, unknown, lying on a carven and gilded marble sarcophagus. The heraldic hexagonal tiles are interesting.

The **4th chapel** has a fine fifteenth-century altar-relief of S. Catherine between S. Antony of Padua and S. Vincent. On the right is the tomb of Marc-Antonio Albertoni, ob. 1485 of the plague; on the left, that of Cardinal Costa, of Lisbon, ob. 1508, erected in his lifetime. In this tomb is a beautiful lunette of the Virgin adored by angels.

Entering the **R. transept**, is seen the tomb of Cardinal Podocantharos of Cyprus, a specimen of late fifteenth-century work. A door near this leads into a **cloister**, where is preserved, over a door, the gothic altar-piece of the church of Sixtus IV., representing the Coronation of the Virgin, and two fine tombs—Rocca, Archbishop of Salerno, ob. 1482, and Gomiel, Bishop of Burgos, ob. 1514.

The **choir** (shown when there is no service) has a vault by *Pinturicchio*, painted for Giuliano della Rovere. In the centre are the Madonna and Saviour, surrounded by the Evangelists and Sibyls; in

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[1] Observe here and elsewhere the arms (stemma) of the Della Rovere—an oak tree. Robur, an oak,—hence Rovere.

[2] The beautiful fifteenth-century tomb of Cardinal Cibo, adorned with statuettes of four virgin saints, and used as the reredos of an altar at S. Cosimato in Trastevere, was taken thither from this chapel.

the corners, the Fathers of the Church—Gregory, Ambrose, Jérome, and Agustine. Beneath are the tombs of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza (1505) and Cardinal Girolamo Basso (1507), nephews of Sixtus IV. (Francesco della Rovere), beautiful works of *Andrea da Sansovino*. These exquisitely wrought tombs were erected at the expense of Julius II., himself a Della Rovere, who also gave the windows, painted by *Claude* and *Guillaume de Marseilles*, the only good specimens of stained glass in Rome. Vasari regarded the figure of Temperance, over one of the tombs, as 'something quite divine, and possessing to perfection the spirit of the antique.'

The high-altar is surmounted by a miraculous image of the Virgin, inscribed, 'Tu honorificentia populi nostri,' which was placed in this church (1227) by Gregory IX., and which, having been 'successfully invoked' by Gregory XIII., in the great plague of 1578, was, till 1870, annually adored by the Pope of the period, who prostrated himself before it upon the 8th of September. The chapel on the left of this has an Assumption, by *Annibale Caracci*.

In the left transept is the tomb of Cardinal Bernardino Lonati, with a fifteenth-century relief of the Resurrection.

Returning to the left aisle, the last chapel but one is that of the Chigi family, in which the famous banker, Agostino Chigi (who built the Farnesina), is buried, and in which *Raffaelle* is represented at once as an architect, a painter, and a sculptor. He planned the chapel itself; he drew the strange design of the mosaic on the vaulting (carried out by *Aloisio della Pace*), which represents an extraordinary mixture of Paganism and Christianity—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn (as the planets), conducted by angels, being represented with and surrounding Jehovah; and he modelled the beautiful statue of Jonah standing on the whale, which was sculptured in the marble by *Lorenzetto*. The same artist sculptured the figure of Elijah—those of Daniel and Habakkuk being by *Bernini*. It is interesting to mark that, in the figure of Jonah, *Raffaelle* departed from the prophetic ideal of a bearded figure in a mantle, and took as his model the beautiful nude figure of the youthful Antinous, who gave himself up to a voluntary death by water for his master Hadrian and the State, as Jonah for the vessel and its crew. The figure was sculptured from marble plundered from the temple of Castor and Pollux. The altar-piece of the chapel, representing the Nativity of the Virgin, is a fine work of *Sebastiano del Piombo*, who is buried in this church, near which he lived, and died of a fever, June 1547. He (Sebastiano Luciani) had received the sinecure office of the Piombi from Clement VII. in 1531. On the pier adjoining this chapel is the strange monument by *Posi* (1771) of a Princess Maria Odescalchi Chigi, who died in childbirth at the age of twenty, erected by her husband, who describes himself 'in solitudine et luctu superstes.'

The last chapel contains two fifteenth-century ciboria, and the tomb of Cardinal Antonio Pallavicini, 1507.

On the left of the principal entrance is the remarkable monument of Gio. Batt. Gislenus, the companion and friend of Casimir I.

of Poland (ob. 1670). At the top is his portrait while living, inscribed 'Neque hic vivus;' then a medallion of a chrysalis, 'In nidulo meo moriar;' opposite to which is a medallion of a butterfly emerging, 'Ut Phoenix multiplicabo dies;' below is a skeleton of giallo antico in a white marble winding-sheet, 'Neque hic mortuus.'

> 'Non v' accorgete voi che noi siam vermi
> Nati a formar l' angelica farfalla
> Che vola alla giustizia senza schermi?'
> —*Dante, Purg.* x. 124.

Martin Luther 'often spoke of death as the Christian's true birth, and this life as but a growing into the chrysalis-shell, in which the spirit lives till its being is developed, and it bursts the shell, casts off the web, struggles into life, spread its wings, and soars up to God.'

The Augustinian Convent adjoining this church was the residence of Luther while he was in Rome. Here he celebrated mass immediately on his arrival, after he had prostrated himself upon the earth, saying, 'Hail, sacred Rome! thrice sacred for the blood of the martyrs shed here!' Here, also, he celebrated mass for the last time before he departed from Rome, to become the most formidable of her enemies.

'Lui, pauvre écolier, élevé si durement, qui souvent, pendant son enfance, n'avait pour oreiller qu'une dalle froide, il passe devant, des temples tout de marbre, devant des colonnes d'albâtre, de gigantesques obélisques de granite, des fontaines jaillissantes, des *villas* fraîches et embellies de jardins, de fleurs, de cascades et de grottes. Veut-il prier? il entre dans une église qui lui semble une monde véritable, où les diamants scintillent sur l'autel, l'or aux soffites, le marbre aux colonnes, la mosaïque aux chapelles, au lieu d'un de ces temples rustiques qui n'ont dans sa patrie pour tout ornement que quelques roses qu'une main pieuse va déposer sur l'autel le jour du dimanche. Est-il fatigué de la route? il trouve sur son chemin, non plus un modeste banc de bois, mais un siège d'albâtre antique récemment déterré. Cherche-t-il une sainte image? il n'aperçoit que des fantaisies païennes, des divinités olympiques, Apollon, Vénus, Mars, Jupiter, auxquelles travaillent mille mains de sculpteurs. De toutes ces merveilles, il ne comprit rien, il ne vit rien. Aucun rayon de la couronne de Raphaël, de Michel Ange, n'éblouit ses regards; il resta froid et muet devant tous les trésors de peinture et de sculpture rassemblés dans les églises; son oreille fut fermée aux chants du Dante, que le peuple répétait autour de lui. Il était entré à Rome en pélerin, il en sort comme Coriolan, et s'écrie avec Bembo: "Adieu, Rome, que doit fuir quiconque veut vivre saintement! Adieu, ville où tout est permis, excepté d'être homme de bien."'—*Audin*, '*Histoire de Luther*,' c. ii.

It was in front of this church that the cardinals and magnates of Rome met to receive the apostate Christina of Sweden upon her entrance into the city (1654).

In 1854 a number of 'malfattori' who during a festa in the town had robbed a number of peasant women and girls while their husbands were in the taverns, and torn the gold earrings from their ears, were executed in public here, on a platform, by being beaten to death.

On the left side of the piazza rises the **Pincio**, or Collis Hortorum, on which the Acilii Glabriones had a magnificent palace. The

terraces are adorned with rostral-columns, statues, and marble bas-reliefs, interspersed with cypresses and pines. A winding road, lined with mimosa and other flowering shrubs, leads to the upper platform, now laid out in public drives and gardens, but, until *c.* 1811, a deserted waste, where, in the Middle Ages, the ghost of Nero was believed to wander.

From the platform of the Pincio terrace the Eternal City is seen and heard at our feet, and beyond it the far-spreading Campagna, till a silver line marks the sea melting into the horizon beyond Ostia. All these churches, towers, and palace roofs become much more than mere names in the course of the winter, but at first all is bewilderment. Rome within Rome threatens difficulty; but we must not be afraid, and all will come clear. Two great buildings alone need arrest the attention.

'Westward beyond the Tiber is the **Castle of S. Angelo,** the immense tomb of a pagan emperor, with the archangel on its summit. . . . Still farther off, a mighty pile of buildings, surrounded by a vast dome, which all of us have shaped and swelled outward, like a huge bubble, to the utmost scope of our imaginations long before we see it floating over the worship of the city. At any nearer view the grandeur of **S. Peter's** hides itself behind the immensity of its separate parts, so that we only see the front, only the sides, only the pillared length and loftiness of the portico, and not the mighty whole. But at this distance the entire outline of the world's cathedral, as well as that of the palace of the world's chief priest, is taken in at once. In such remoteness, moreover, the imagination is not debarred from rendering its assistance, even while we have the reality before our eyes, and helping the weakness of human sense to do justice to so grand an object. It requires both faith and fancy to enable us to feel, what is nevertheless so true, that yonder, in front of the purple outline of the hills, is the grandest edifice ever built by man, painted against God's loveliest sky.'—*Hawthorne.*

Since 1880 the long delicate lines and tender green of the Prati di Castello, which up to that time extended from S. Peter's to the then noble cypresses of the Porta del Popolo, have been effaced, and one of the most interesting views in the world has been spoilt by the erection of a succession of stuccoed buildings in the worst, not the best, style of Chicago, and the formation of a straight road of unparalleled ugliness. Every afternoon, except Friday, a military band plays on the Pincio, when immense crowds collect, showing every phase of Roman life. It is on Sunday especially that the terrace may be seen in what Miss Thackeray calls 'a fashionable halo of sunset and pink parasols'; but all begin to disperse as the Ave Maria bell rings from the churches, either to descend into the city, or to hear Benediction sung by the nuns in the Trinità de' Monti.

'When the fashionable hour of rendezvous arrives, the same spot, which a few minutes before was immersed in silence and solitude, changes as it were with the rapidity of a scene in a pantomime to an animated panorama. The scene is rendered not a little ludicrous by the miniature representation of the Ring in Hyde Park in a small compass. An entire revolution of the carriage-drive is performed in the short period of three minutes as near as may be, and the perpetual recurrence of the same physiognomies and the same carriages trotting round and round for two successive hours, necessarily reminds

one of the proceedings of a country fair, or children whirling in a roundabout.'—*Sir G. Head's 'Tour in Rome.'*

'The Pincian Hill is the favourite promenade of the Roman aristocracy. At the present day, however, like most other Roman possessions, it belongs less to the native inhabitants than to the barbarians from Gaul, Great Britain, and beyond the sea, who have established a peaceful usurpation over all that is enjoyable or memorable in the Eternal City. These foreign guests are indeed ungrateful if they do not breathe a prayer for Pope Clement (Pius VIII.), or whatever Holy Father it may have been, who levelled the summit of the mount so skilfully, and bounded it with the parapet of the city wall; who laid out those broad walks and drives, and overhung them with the shade of many kinds of trees; who scattered the flowers of all seasons, and of every clime, abundantly over those smooth central lawns; who scooped out hollows in fit places, and, setting great basons of marble in them, caused ever-gushing fountains to fill them to the brim; who reared up the immemorial obelisk out of the soil that had long hidden it; who placed pedestals along the borders of the avenues, and covered them with busts of that multitude of worthies—statesmen, heroes, artists, men of letters and of song—whom the whole world claims as its chief ornaments, though Italy has produced them all. In a word, the Pincian garden is one of the things that reconcile the stranger (since he fully appreciates the enjoyment, and feels nothing of the cost) to the rule of an irresponsible dynasty of Holy Fathers, who seem to have arrived at making life as agreeable an affair as it could well be.

'Here, all day, come nurserymaids, burdened with rosy English babies, or guiding the footsteps of little travellers from the far western world. Here, in the sunny afternoon, roll and rumble all kinds of carriages, from the cardinal's old-fashioned and gorgeous purple carriage to the gay barouche of modern date. Here horsemen gallop on thoroughbred steeds. Here, in short, all the transitory population of Rome, the world's great watering-place, rides, drives, or promenades; here are beautiful sunsets; and here, whichever way you turn your eyes, are scenes as well worth gazing at, both in themselves and for their historical interest, as any that the sun ever rose and set upon. Here, too, on certain afternoons in the week, a military band flings out rich music over the poor old city, flooding her with strains as loud as those of her own echoless triumphs.'—*Hawthorne.*

'De cette terrasse admirable, très haute, très large, se déroulait une des vues les plus merveilleuses de Rome. Au delà du Tibre, par-dessus le chaos bâtard du nouveau quartier des Prés du Château, se dressait Saint-Pierre, entre les verdures du mont Mario et du Janicule. Puis, c'était à gauche toute la vieille ville, une étendue de toits sans bornes, une mer roulante d'édifices, à perte de vue. Mais les regards, toujours, revenaient à Saint-Pierre, trônant dans l'azur, d'une grandeur pure et souveraine, et de la terrasse, au fond du ciel immense, les lents couchers du soleil, derrière le colosse, étaient sublimes.'—*Zola.*

The garden of the Pincio is small. It was laid out early in the nineteenth century by Valadier, the hill, till 1811, having been occupied by the Vigna dei Frati del Popolo (Augustinian monks), from which date two old umbrella pines survive near the central fountain of Moses. At a crossways is placed an **Obelisk,** brought from the Varian Gardens (S. Croce in Gerusalemme) in 1822, and which the hieroglyphics show to have been erected, in the joint names of Hadrian and his empress Sabina, to the beloved Antinous, who was drowned in the Nile A.D. 131. The casino occupies part of the site of the palace of the Acilii, and beneath it is an ancient piscina.

From the remotest angle of the garden we look down upon the strange fragment of wall known as the **Muro-Torto,** which, in all

the different restorations of the walls, even in that under Pius IX., has never been restored, because it is believed that this corner is under the especial protection of the Apostle Peter, and that he defended it in person during the siege by Vitiges (A.D. 539).[1]

'Le Muro-Torto offre un souvenir curieux. On nomme ainsi un pan de muraille qui, avant de faire partie du rempart d'Honorius, avait servi à soutenir la terrasse du jardin de Domitius, et qui, du temps de Bélisaire, était déjà incliné comme il l'est aujourd'hui. Procope raconte que Bélisaire voulait le rebâtir, mais que les Romains l'en empêchèrent, affirmant que ce point n'était pas exposé, parce que Saint Pierre avait promis de le défendre. Procope ajoute : " Personne n'a osé réparer ce mur, et il reste encore dans le même état." Nous pouvons en dire autant que Procope, et le mur, détaché de la colline à laquelle il s'appuyait, reste encore incliné et semble près de tomber. Ce détail du siège de Rome est confirmé par l'aspect singulier du Muro-Torto, qui *semble toujours près de tomber*, et subsiste dans le même état depuis quatorze siècles, comme s'il était soutenu miraculeusement par la main de Saint Pierre. On ne saurait guère trouver pour l'autorité temporelle des papes un meilleur symbole.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 697.

'At the farthest point of the Pincio, you look down from the parapet upon the Muro-Torto, a massive fragment of the oldest Roman wall, which juts over, as if ready to tumble down by its own weight, yet seems still the most indestructible piece of work that men's hands ever piled together. In the blue distance rise Soracte and other heights, which have gleamed afar, to our imagination, but look scarcely real to our bodily eyes, because being dreamed about so much, they have taken aërial tints which belong only to a dream. These, nevertheless, are the solid framework of hills that shut in Rome and its broad surrounding Campagna : no land of dreams, but the broadest page of history, crowded so full with memorable events that one obliterates another, as if Time had crossed and recrossed his own records till they grew illegible.'—*Hawthorne.*

It is intended to make a bridge from the Muro-Torto connecting the Pincio and the Villa Borghese, which has now become a public park, and the terror of riders and children owing to motor cars.

A votive marble tablet found in 1868 proves that the Pincio formed part of the gardens of the Acilii Glabriones, which also comprised the site of the Villa Medici, the convent and garden of the Trinità, and a portion of the Villa Borghese. This family was conspicuous in Roman history from the time of the battle at Thermopylae, in which the consul Acilius Glabrio (B.C. 191) and M. Portius Cato defeated Antiochus and the Ætolian coalition against Rome. His great-grandson, the consul of 67, commander-in-chief in the Mithridatic war, was the praetor urbanus who presided (B.C. 70) over the impeachment of Verres. In imperial times the name of the family occurs eleven times in the *fasti consulares*. That members of the family—by no means noblest among the noble, as Herodianus calls them—early embraced Christianity is proven by the discovery of the tomb of Manius Acilius Verus and Acilia Priscilla (son and daughter of Manius Acilius Glabrio, consul A.D. 152) in the Catacomb of Priscilla, on the Via Salaria.

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1 Rome has six times been fortified by walls—by Romulus, Servius Tullius, Aurelian, Honorius, Leo IV., and Urban VIII.

Before imperial times on the eastern part of the hill, beyond the Trinità, stood the villa of the millionaire Lucullus, who had amassed his enormous wealth while general of the Roman armies in Asia.

'The life of Lucullus was like an ancient comedy, where first we see great actions, both political and military, and afterwards feasts, debauches, races by torchlight, and every kind of frivolous amusement. For among frivolous amusements I cannot but reckon his sumptuous villas, walks, and baths; and still more so the paintings, statues, and other works of art which he collected at immense expense, idly squandering away upon them the vast fortune he amassed in the wars. Insomuch that now, when luxury is so much advanced, the gardens of Lucullus rank with those of the kings, and are esteemed the most magnificent even of these.'—*Plutarch.*

Here, in his Pincian villa, Lucullus gave his celebrated feast to Cicero and Pompey, merely mentioning to a slave beforehand that he should sup in the hall of Apollo, which was understood as a command to prepare all that was sumptuous. It cost 50,000 drachma, =(?) £2000. After Lucullus the villa belonged to Valerius Asiaticus, and in the reign of Claudius it was coveted by his third wife, Messalina. She suborned Silius, her son's tutor, to accuse Asiaticus of a licentious life and of corrupting the army.

Being condemned to death, he 'declined the counsel of his friends to starve himself, a course which might leave an interval for the chance of pardon; and after the lofty fashion of the ancient Romans, bathed, perfumed, and supped magnificently, and then opened his veins, and let himself bleed to death. Before dying he inspected the pyre prepared for him in his own gardens, and ordered it to be removed to another spot, that an umbrageous plantation which overhung it might not be injured by the flames.

'As soon as she heard of his death, Messalina took possession of the villa, and held high revel there with her numerous lovers, with the most favoured of whom, Silius, she had actually gone through the religious rites of marriage in the lifetime of the emperor, who was absent at Ostia. But a conspiracy among the freedmen of the royal household informed the emperor of what was taking place, and at last even Claudius was aroused to a sense of her enormities.

'In her suburban palace, Messalina was abandoning herself to voluptuous transports. The season was mid-autumn; the vintage was in full progress, the wine-press was groaning, the ruddy juice was streaming; women girt with scanty fawnskins danced as drunken Bacchanals around her: while she herself, with her hair loose and disordered, brandished the thyrsus in the midst; and Silius by her side, buskined and crowned with ivy, tossed his head to the flaunting strains of Silenus and the Satyrs. Vettius, one, it seems, of the wanton's less fortunate paramours, attended the ceremony, and climbed in merriment a lofty tree in the garden. When asked what he saw, he replied, "an awful storm from Ostia;" and whether there was actually such an appearance, or whether the words were spoken at random, they were accepted afterwards as an omen of the catastrophe which quickly followed.

'For now, in the midst of these wanton orgies, the rumour quickly spread, and swiftly messengers arrived to confirm it, that Claudius knew it all. The lovers part: Silius for the Forum and the tribunals; Messalina for the shade of her gardens on the Pincio, the price of the blood of the murdered Asiaticus. Once the empress attempted to go forth to meet Claudius, taking her children with her, and accompanied by Vibidia, the eldest of the vestal virgins, whom she persuaded to intercede for her; but her enemies prevented her gaining access to her husband; Vibidia was satisfied for the moment by vague promises of a later hearing; and upon the arrival of

Claudius in Rome, Silius and the other principal lovers of the empress were put to death. Still Messalina hoped. She had withdrawn again to the gardens of Lucullus, and was there engaged in composing addresses of supplication to her husband, in which her pride and long-accustomed insolence still faintly struggled with her fears. The emperor still paltered with the treason. He had retired to his palace; he had bathed, anointed, and lain down to supper; and, warmed with wine and generous cheer, he had actually despatched a message to the *poor creature*, as he called her, bidding her come the next day and plead her cause before him. But her enemy Narcissus, knowing how easy might be the passage from compassion to love, glided from the chamber, and boldly ordered a tribune and some centurions to go and slay his victim. "Such," he said, "was the emperor's command;" and his word was obeyed without hesitation. Under the direction of the freedman Euodus, the armed men sought the outcast in her gardens, where she lay prostrate on the ground, by the side of her mother Lepida. While their fortunes flourished, dissensions had existed between the two; but now in her last distress, the mother had refused to desert her child, and only strove to nerve her resolution to a voluntary death. "Life," she urged, "is over; nought remains but to look for a decent exit from it." But the soul of the reprobate was corrupted by her vices: she retained no sense of honour; she continued to weep and groan as if hope still existed; when suddenly the doors were burst open, the tribune and his swordsmen appeared before her, and Euodus assailed her, dumb-stricken as she lay, with contumelious and brutal reproaches. Roused at last to the consciousness of her desperate condition, she took a weapon from one of the men's hands and pressed it trembling against her throat and bosom. Still she wanted resolution to give the thrust, and it was by a blow of the tribune's falchion that the horrid deed was finally accomplished.'—*Merivale*, '*Hist. of the Romans under the Empire.*'

The columns and precious marbles of the Domus Pinciana were removed to Ravenna by Theodoric; but some of the mosaic floors that have felt the feet and been swept by the garments of these people of other days are still lying *in situ* beneath No. 57 Via Sistina and 46 Via Gregoriana. At No. 48 Via Sistine lived Thorwaldsen for forty years.

From the garden of the Pincio a terraced road (beneath which are the long-closed catacombs of S. Felix) leads to the **Villa Medici**, built for Cardinal Ricci da Montepulciano by Annibale Lippi in 1540, with material taken, in great measure, from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Shortly afterwards it passed into the hands of the Medici family, and was greatly enlarged by Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici, afterwards Leo XI. In 1801 the Academy for French Art Students, founded by Louis XIV., was established here. The villa contains a fine collection of casts, open every day except Sunday.

Behind the villa, occupying the site of the gardens of the Acilin Villa, is a beautiful **Garden** (which can be visited on Wednesdays and Saturdays by application to the porter). The terrace, which looks down N.W. upon the Villa Borghese, is bordered by ancient sarcophagi, and has a colossal statue of Rome. The garden site of the villa has sometimes been ascribed to Michelangelo. The lion in the loggia was carved by Flaminio Vacca from part of a marble column found near the Tarpeian rock, belonging to the Temple of Capitoline Jove.

Amongst the statues at the back of the villa is one—between two

pillars—to which a head recalling that of the Meleager, of great beauty and Greek workmanship, has been added. It has been attributed to Scopas.

'La plus grande coquetterie de la maison, c'est la façade postérieure. Elle tient son rang parmi les chefs-d'œuvre de la Renaissance. On dirait que l'architecte a épuisé une mine de bas-reliefs grecs et romains pour en tapiser son palais. Le jardin est de la même époque : il date du temps où l'aristocratie romaine professait le plus profond dédain pour les fleurs. On n'y voit que des massifs de verdure, alignés avec un soin scrupuleux. Six pelouses, entourées de haies à hauteur d'appui, s'étendent devant la villa et laissent courir la vue jusqu'au mont Soracte, qui ferme l'horizon. A gauche, quatre fois quatre carrés de gazon s'encadrent dans de hautes murailles de lauriers, de buis gigantesques et de chênes verts. Les murailles se rejoignent au-dessus des allées et les enveloppent d'une ombre fraîche et mystérieuse. A droite, une terrasse d'un style noble encadre un bois de chênes verts, tordus et éventrés par le temps. J'y vais quelquefois travailler à l'ombre ; et le merle rivalise avec le rossignol au-dessus de ma tête, comme un beau chantre de village peut rivaliser avec Mario ou Roger. Un peu plus loin, une vigne toute rustique s'étend jusqu'à la porte Pinciana, où Bélisaire a mendié, dit-on. Les jardins petits et grands sont semés de statues d'Hermès, et de marbres de toute sorte. L'eau coule dans des sarcophages antiques ou jaillit dans des vasques de marbre : le marbre et l'eau sont les deux luxes de Rome.'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine*.'

'The grounds of the Villa Medici are laid out in the old fashion of straight paths, with borders of box, which form hedges of great height and density, and are shorn and trimmed to the evenness of a wall of stone at the top and sides. There are green alleys, with long vistas, overshadowed by ilex-trees ; and at each intersection of the paths the visitor finds seats of lichen-covered stone to repose upon, and marble statues that look forlornly at him, regretful of their lost noses. In the more open portions of the garden, before the sculptured front of the villa, you see fountains and flower-beds ; and in their season, a profusion of roses, from which the genial sun of Italy distils a fragrance to be scattered abroad by the no less genial breeze.'—*Hawthorne*.

The clipped walks give a fair idea of a neglected ancient Roman garden, in which no tree was allowed to grow in its own way, but was forced by the *topiarius* into a prescribed form, and walls of green bay or box were made with niches, doors, or windows, as in architectural designs.

'Quel merveilleux jardin encore, avec ses buis, sespins, ses allées de magnificence et de charme ! quel réfuge de rêverie antique que le très vieux et très noir bois de chênes verts, où, dans le bronze luisant des feuilles, le soleil à son déclin jette des lueurs brasillantes d'or rouge ! Il y faut monter par un escalier interminable, et de là-haut, du belvédère qui domine, on possède Rome entière d'un regard, comme si, en élargissant les bras, on allait la prendre toute.'—*Zola*, '*Rome*.'

A second gate will admit to the higher terrace of the **Boschetto** ; a tiny wood of ancient cropped ilexes, from which a steep flight of steps leads up **Il Parnaso** to the 'Belvidere,' an artificial mound formed on an ancient nympheum by Cardinal Ricci, whence, until the recent destruction of the Villa Ludovisi, a most exquisite view might be obtained over it.

'They asked the porter for the key of the Bosco, which was given, and they entered a grove of ilexes, whose gloomy shade effectually shut out the radiant sunshine that still illuminated the western sky. They then ascended a long and exceedingly steep flight of steps, leading up to a high mound covered with ilexes. Here both stood still, side by side, gazing silently on the city,

where dome and bell-tower stood out against a sky of gold: the desolate Monte Mario and its stone pines rising dark to the right. Behind, close at hand, were sombre ilex woods, amid which rose here and there the spire of a cypress or a ruined arch, and on the highest point, the white Villa Ludovisi; beyond stretched the Campagna, girdled by hills melting into light under the evening sky.'—'*Mademoiselle Mori.*'

From the door of the Villa Medici is the scene familiar to artists, of a fountain shaded by clipped ilexes, framing a distant view of S. Peter's.

'Je vois (de la Villa Medici) les quatre cinquièmes de la ville; je compte les sept collines, je parcours les rues régulières qui s'étendent entre le cours et la place d'Espagne, je fais le dénombrement des palais, des églises, des dômes, et des clochers; je m'égare dans le Ghetto et dans le Trastévère. Je ne vois pas des ruines autant que j'en voudrais: elles sont ramassées là-bas, sur ma gauche, aux environs du Forum. Cependant nous avons tout près de nous la colonne Antonine et le mausolée d'Adrien. La vue est fermée agréablement par les pins de la villa Pamphili, qui réunissent leurs larges parasols et font comme une table à mille pieds pour un repas de géants. L'horizon fuit à gauche à des distances infinies; la plaine est nue, onduleuse et bleue comme la mer. Mais si je vous mettais en présence d'un spectacle si étendu et si divers, un seul objet attirerait vos regards, un seul frapperait votre attention: vous n'auriez des yeux que pour Saint-Pierre. Son dôme est moitié dans la ville, moitié dans le ciel. Quand j'ouvre ma fenêtre, vers cinq heures du matin, je vois Rome noyée dans les brouillards de la fièvre: seul, le dôme de Saint-Pierre est coloré par la lumière rose du soleil levant.' —*About.*

The terrace ('La Passeggiata') ends at the **Obelisk**[1] of the **Trinità de' Monti,** erected here in 1789 by Pius VI.

'When the Ave Maria sounds, it is time to go to the church of Trinità de' Monti, where French nuns sing; and it is charming to hear them. I declare to heaven that I am become quite tolerant, and listen to bad music with edification; but what can I do? The composition is perfectly ridiculous, the organ-playing even more absurd: but it is twilight, and the whole of the small bright church is filled with persons kneeling, lit up by the sinking sun each time that the door is opened; both the singing nuns have the sweetest voices in the world, quite tender and touching, more especially when one of them sings the responses in her melodious voice, which we are accustomed to hear chaunted by priests in a loud, harsh, monotonous tone. The impression is very singular; moreover, it is well known that no one is permitted to see the fair singers, so this caused me to form a strange resolution. I have composed something to suit their voices, which I have observed very minutely, and I mean to send it to them. It will be pleasant to hear my chaunt performed by persons I never saw, especially as they must in turn sing it to the "barbaro Tedesco," whom they also never beheld.'—*Mendelssohn's Letters.*

'In the evenings people go to the Trinità to hear the nuns sing from the organ-gallery. It sounds like the singing of angels. One sees in the choir troops of young scholars, moving with slow and measured steps, with their long white veils, like a flock of spirits.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

The Church of the Trinità de' Monti was built by Charles VIII. of France in 1495, at the request of S. Francesco di Paola. In the

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[1] The obelisk was formerly in the gardens of Sallust. Faunus in 1548 (*Dell' Antichità di Roma*), and Pirrho Ligorio in 1552, saw it lying there. Thence it was removed by Clement XII., in 1735, to the small quadrangle near S. John Lateran, where it was seen still prostrate in 1771 (Rossini, *Il Mercurio Errante*). Pius VI. employed the architect Antinori to erect it in its present position.

time of the French Revolution it was plundered, but was restored by Louis XVIII. in 1817. It contained several interesting paintings.

In the **2nd chapel** (L.) is the descent from the Cross, the masterpiece of *Daniele da Volterra*, declared by Nicholas Poussin to be the third picture in the world, but terribly injured by the French in their attempts to remove it.

'Daniele da Volterra's Descent from the Cross is one of the celebrated pictures of the world, and has very grand features. The body is not skilfully sustained; nevertheless the number of strong men employed about it makes up in sheer muscle for the absence of skill. Here are four ladders against the cross, stalwart figures standing, ascending, and descending upon each, so that the space between the cross and the ground is absolutely alive with magnificent lines. The Virgin lies on one side, and is like a grand creature struck down by a sudden death-blow. She has fallen, like Ananias in Raffaele's cartoon, with her head bent backwards, and her arms under her. The crown of thorns has been taken from the dead brow, and rests on the end of one of the ladders.'—*Lady Eastlake.*

The **3rd chapel** (R.) contains an Assumption of the Virgin, another work of *Daniele da Volterra*. The fifth chapel is adorned with frescoes of his school. The sixth has frescoes of the school of *Perugino*. The frescoes in the R. transept are by *F. Zuccavo* and *Pierino del Vaga;* in that of the procession of S. Gregory the mausoleum of Hadrian is represented as it appeared in the time of Leo X.

The adjoining **Convent of the Sacré Cœur** is much frequented as a place of education. The nuns are all persons of rank. When a lady takes the veil, her nearest relations inherit her property, except about £1000, which goes to the convent. The nuns—Dames du Sacré Cœur—are allowed to retain no personal property, but if they still wish to have the use of their books, they give them to the convent library. They receive visitors every afternoon, and quantities of people go to them from curiosity, on the plea of seeking advice.

From the Trinità the two popular streets—Sistina and Gregoriana—branch off; the former leading in a direct line (though the name changes) to S. Maria Maggiore, and thence to S. John Lateran and S. Croce in Gerusalemme. The house adjoining the Trinità was that of Nicholas Poussin; that at the angle of the two streets, called the **Tempietto**, was once inhabited by Claude Lorraine. At the back of it, towards Via Gregoriana, is a curious porch formed by a monster. The adjoining house (64 Sistina) — formerly known as Palazzo della Regina di Polonia, from Maria Casimira, Queen of Poland, who resided there for some years — was inhabited by the Zuccari family, and has paintings on the ground floor by *Federigo Zuccaro*. It is still the property of the same family. One of the rooms on the second floor was adorned with frescoes by modern German artists (Overbeck, Schadow, Cornelius, Veit) at the expense of the Prussian Consul Bartholdy, but they were all removed to Germany in 1886. At No. 138 a tablet marks the house where Rossini (1790–1857) lived and wrote.

Behind the Via Sistina is the **Villa Malta**, where, in 1789, the notorious Cagliostro held his meetings and practised his so-called miracles of increasing the size of precious stones and turning water into wine.

(2.) On the left of the Piazza del Popolo, the **Via Babuino** (baboon) branches off, deriving its name from a mutilated figure on a fountain halfway down it, removed since the fall of the Papal Government, one of the many robberies of street interest to be deplored. On the right is the **English Church,** the work of Street, chiefly erected by the generous exertions of Mrs. Henry Walpole and Mr. Alexander Christy. A few steps farther is the Greek **Church of S. Atanasio,** attached to a college founded by Gregory XIII. in 1580. In No. 144 John Gibson, the sculptor, died, January 27, 1866.

Behind this street is the **Via Margutta,** almost entirely inhabited by artists and sculptors, and which contained the Costume Academy of 'Gigi,' well known through many generations of artists, but recently it has been destroyed. Models are now obtained at the **Circolo degli Artisti**.

'The Via Margutta is a street of studios and stables, crossed at the upper end by a little roofed gallery with a single window, like a shabby Bridge of Sighs. Horses are continually being washed and currycombed outside their stable doors; frequent heaps of *immondezzago* make the air unfragrant; and the perspective is frequently damaged by rows of linen suspended across the road from window to window. Unsightly as they are, however, these obstacles in no wise affect the popularity of the Via Margutta, either as a residence for the artist or a lounge for the amateur. Fashionable patrons leave their carriages at the corner, and pick their way daintily among the gutters and dust-heaps. A boar-hunt by Vallatti compensates for an unlucky splash; and a Campagna sunset of Desoulavey glows all the richer for the squalor through which it is approached.'—*Barbara's History.*

The **Vicolo d'Aliberti,** which unites the Via Margutta to the Babuino, derives its name from having contained the celebrated Teatro delle Dame, built by M. d'Alibert (1718) with other folk's money. This became the principal theatre of the eighteenth century, for which Metastasio wrote his plays, and where the compositions of Porpora, Leo, Durante, Galuppi, Jomelli, &c., were first given to the public.

The Babuino ends in the irregular but central square, the **Piazza di Spagna,** where many of the best hotels and shops are situated. Every house is let to foreigners. Even in 1580 Montaigne wrote of Rome as 'rappiécée d'estrangiers, une ville où chacun prant sa part de l'oisifveté ecclésiastique.' Hence the Trinità is reached by a magnificent flight of steps, which was built by Alessandro Specchi at the expense of a private individual, M. Gueffier, secretary to the French embassy at Rome under Innocent XIII.

'No art-loving visitor to Rome can ever have passed the noble flight of steps which leads from the Piazza di Spagna to the Church of the Trinità de' Monti without longing to transfer to his sketch-book the picturesque groups of models who there spend their day, basking in the beams of the wintry sun, and eating those little boiled beans whose yellow husks bestrew every place where the lower-class Romans congregate—practising, in short, the *dolce far niente.* Beppo, the celebrated lame beggar, is no longer to be seen there, having been banished to the steps of the church of S. Agostino; but there is old Felice, with conical hat, brown cloak, and bagpipes, father of half the models on the steps. He has been seen in an artist's studio in Paris, and is reported to have performed on foot the double journey between Rome and that capital. There are two or three younger men in blue jackets and goatskin breeches; as many women in folded linen head-dresses and red or blue skirts; and a sprinkling of children of both sexes, in costumes the

miniature fac-similes of their elders. All these speedily learn to recognise a visitor who is interested in that especial branch of art which is embodied in models, and at every turn in the street such a one is met by the flash of white teeth and the gracious sweetness of an Italian smile.'—*H. M. B.*

'Among what may be called the cubs or minor lions of Rome, there was one that amused me mightily. It is always to be found there; and its den is on the great flight of steps that lead from the Piazza di Spagna to the church of the Trinità de' Monti. In plainer words, these steps are the great place of resort for the artists' "models," and there they are constantly waiting to be hired. The first time I went up there I could not conceive why the faces seemed so familiar to me; why they appeared to have beset me, for years, in every possible variety of action and costume; and how it came to pass that they started up before me, in Rome, in the broad day, like so many saddled and bridled nightmares. I soon found that we had made acquaintance, and improved it, for several years on the walls of various Exhibition Galleries. There is one old gentleman with long white hair and an immense beard, who, to my knowledge, has gone half through the catalogues of the Royal Academy. This is the venerable or patriarchal model. He carries a long staff; and every knob and twist in that staff I have seen, faithfully delineated, innumerable times. There is another man in a blue cloak, who always pretends to be asleep in the sun (when there is any), and who, I need not say, is always very wide awake, and very attentive to the disposition of his legs. This is the *dolce far niente* model. There is another man in a brown cloak, who leans against a wall, with his arms folded in his mantle, and looks out of the corners of his eyes, which are just visible beneath his broad slouched hat. This is the assassin model. There is another man, who constantly looks over his own shoulder, and is always going away, but never goes. This is the haughty or scornful model. As to Domestic Happiness and Holy Families, they should come very cheap, for there are heaps of them, all up the steps; and the cream of the thing is, that they are all the falsest vagabonds in the world, especially made up for the purpose, and having no counterparts in Rome or any other part of the habitable globe.'—*Dickens.*

'Climb these steps when the sun is setting. From a hundred belfries the bells ring for Ave Maria, and there, across the town, and in a blaze of golden glory, stands the great dome of St. Peter's; and from the terrace of the Villa Medici you can see the whole wonderful view, faintly pencilled Soracte far to your right, and below you and around you the City and the Seven Hills.'—*Vera.*

The steps are filled with colour by the flower-sellers and models, who, banished by the new tramway from their old position round the fountain in the piazza, have been allowed to take refuge here. The house on the right of the steps, marked by an inscription, is that in which Keats died, February 24, 1821 (first floor).

The **Barcaccia** (restored), the fountain at the foot of the steps, executed for the Chigi (Alex. VII.) by *Bernini*, is a fantastic stone boat. In ancient days here stood the Piscina of the Aqua Virgo: and the famous gardens of Lucullus and the Valerii looked down over it. In front of the **Palazzo di Spagna** (the residence of the Spanish ambassador to the Pope, and where Alfieri triumphed in a magnificent representation of his 'Antigone' under Pius VI.), which gives its name to the square, stands a **Column** of cipollino, supporting a statue of the Virgin, erected by Pius IX. in 1854, in honour of his dogma of the Immaculate Conception. At the base are figures of Moses, David, Isaiah, and Ezekiel.

The Piazza di Spagna may be considered as the centre of what is called the 'English quarter' of Rome, of which the Corso forms the boundary.

'Every winter there is a gay and pleasant English colony in Rome, of course more or less remarkable for rank, fashion and agreeability, with every varying year. Thrown together every day, and night after night: flocking to the same picture galleries, statue galleries, Pincian drives, and church functions, the English colonists at Rome perforce become intimate, in many cases friendly. They have an English library, where the various meets for the week are placarded: on such a day the Vatican galleries are open; the next is the feast of Saint so-and-so; on Wednesday there will be music and vespers in the Sistine Chapel; on Thursday the Pope will bless the animals—sheep, horses, and what not; and flocks of English accordingly rush to witness the benediction of droves of donkeys. In a word, the ancient city of the Caesars, the august fanes of the Popes, with their splendour and ceremony, are all mapped out and arranged for English diversion.'—*Thackeray.*

The Piazza is closed by the **Collegio di Propaganda Fede,** founded in 1622 by Gregory XV., but enlarged by Urban VIII (Barberini), who built the present edifice from plans of Bernini. Like all the buildings erected by this Pope, its chief decorations are the bees of the Barberini. The object of the College is the education of youths of all nations as missionaries. The students now work in the neighbouring Piazza Mignanelli.

'The origin of the Propaganda is properly to be sought in an edict of Gregory XIII., by which the direction of Eastern missions was confided to a certain number of cardinals, who were commanded to promote the printing of catechisms in the less known tongues. But the institution was not firmly established; it was unprovided with the requisite means, and was by no means comprehensive in its views. It was at the suggestion of the great preacher Girolami da Narni that the idea was first conceived of extending the above-named institution. At his suggestion a congregation was established in all due form, and by this body regular meetings were to be held for the guidance and conduct of missions in every part of the world. The first funds were advanced by Gregory; his nephew contributed from his private property; and since this institution was in fact adapted to a want, the pressure of which was then felt, it increased in prosperity and splendour. Who does not know the services performed by the Propaganda for the diffusion of philosophical studies? and not this only: the institution has generally laboured (in its earliest years, most successfully, perhaps) to fulfil its vocation in a liberal and noble spirit.'—*Ranke,* '*Hist. of the Popes.*'

In January a festival is held here, when speeches are recited by the pupils in all their different languages. The public is admitted by ticket. The printing-office for foreign languages—Tipografia Poliglotta—has long been celebrated. The **Borgia Museum**, on the second floor, is shown free on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. An interesting relic, however, is the map of the world, with the line which Alexander VI. drew to mark the division of Spain and Portugal in the Indian discoveries.

In the opposite Piazza Mignanelli, Joseph Mallord Turner spent the winter of 1828–29 at No. 12, and painted there his views of Orvieto, Palestrina, and several other pictures—a good-tempered, funny little gentleman, continuously sketching at his window.

(3.) The **Via di Ripetta** leaves the Piazza del Popolo on the right. A semicircular space on the right of the street used to present a lively scene every Saturday at noon, during the drawing of the Roman lottery.

'In the middle of the balcony, on the rail, is fixed a glass barrel, with a handle to turn it round. Behind it stand three or four officials, who have been just now ushered in with a blast from two trumpeters, also stationed in the balcony. Immediately behind the glass barrel itself stands a boy of some twelve or thirteen years, dressed in the white uniform of one of the orphan establishments, with a huge white shovel hat. Some time is occupied by the folding, and putting into the barrel, pieces of paper, inscribed with the numbers, from one upwards. Each of these is proclaimed, as folded and put in, by one of the officials who acts as spokesman or crier. At last, after eighty-seven, eighty-eight, and eighty-nine have been given out, he raises his voice to a chant, and sings forth, *Numero novanta*, "number ninety," this completing the number put in.

'And now, or before this, appears on the balcony another character—no less a person than a Monsignore, who appears, not in his ordinary, but in his more solemn official costume; and this connects the ceremonial directly with the spiritual authority of the realm. And now commences the drawing. The barrel having been for some time turned rapidly round to shuffle the numbers, the orphan takes off his hat, makes the sign of the cross, and having waved his open hand in the air to show that it is empty, inserts it into the barrel, and draws out a number, giving it to the Monsignore, who opens it and hands it to the crier. This latter then proclaims it—"*Prima estratta, numero venti cinque*." Then the trumpets blow their blast, and the same is repeated four times more, the proclamation each time, *Seconda estratta*, *Terza*, *Quarta*, *Quinta*, &c., five numbers being thus the whole drawn, out of ninety put in. This done, with various expressions of surprise, delight, or disappointment from the crowd below, the officials disappear, the square empties itself, and all is as usual till the next Saturday at the same time. . . .

'In almost every street in Rome are shops devoted to the purchase of lottery tickets. Two numbers purchased with the double chance of those two numbers turning up are called an *ambo*, and three purchased with the treble chance of those three turning up are called a *terno*, and, of course, the higher and more perilous the stake, the richer the prize, if obtained.'—*Alford's Letters from Abroad.*

The Quay of the Ripetta, a graceful construction of Clement XI. in 1707, equally admired by artists and architects, was destroyed in 1874, to make way for an ugly iron bridge over the Tiber. An ancient ship was found here, imbedded in the mud, in 1876. The district on the farther side, occupied by fields and gardens till 1883, has since been covered with stucco barracks in the worst possible taste.

'A cette place, autrefois, s'étendaient en terrain plat les prairies du Château Saint-Ange, coupées de peupliers, tout le long du Tibre, jusqu'aux premières pentes du Mont Mario, vastes herbages, aimés des artistes, pour le prémier plan de riante verdure qu'ils faisaient au Borgo et au dôme lointain de Saint-Pierre. Et c'est maintenant, au milieu de cette plaine bouleversée, lépreuse et blanchâtre, une ville entière, une ville de maisons massives, colossales, des cubes de pierres réguliers, tous pareils, avec des rues larges, se coupant à l'angle droit, un immense damier aux cases symétriques. D'un bout à l'autre, les mêmes façades se reproduisent, on aurait dit des séries de couvents, de casernes, d'hôpitaux, dont les lignes identiques se continuent sans fin. Et l'étonnement, l'impression extraordinaire et pénible, vient surtout de la catastrophe, inexplicable d'abord, qui a immobilisé cette ville en pleine construction, comme si, par quelque matin maudit, un magicien de désastre avait, d'un coup de baguette, arrêté les travaux, vidé les chantiers turbulents, laissé les bâtisses telles qu'elles étaient, à cette minute précise, dans un morne abandon. Tous les états successifs se retrouvent, depuis les terrassements, les trous profonds creusés pour les fondations, restés béants et que des herbes folles avaient envahis, jusqu'aux maisons entièrement debout, achevées et habitées. Il y'a des maisons dont les murs sortent à peine du sol; il y'en a d'autres qui atteignent le deuxième, le troisième étage, avec

leurs planchers de solières de fer à jour, leurs fenêtres ouvertes sur le ciel ; il y'en a d'autres, montées complétement, couvertes de leur toit, telles que les carcasses livrées aux batailles des vents, toutes semblables à des cages vides. Puis c'est des maisons terminées, mais dont on n'a pas eu le temps d'enduire les murs extérieures ; et d'autres qui sont demeurées sans boiseries, ni aux portes, ni aux fenêtres ; et d'autres qui ont bien leurs portes et leurs persiennes, mais clouées, telles que des couvercles de cercueil, les appartements morts, sans une âme ; et d'autres enfin habitées, quelques unes en partie, très-peu totalement, vivantes de la plus inattendue des populations. Rien ne peut rendre l'affreuse tristesse de ces choses.'—*Zola*, '*Rome*.'

The fields which formerly existed here on the site of the Horti Neronis, and of which the long lines formed such a beautiful foreground to the Vatican and S. Peter's, were of historic interest, being the Prata Quinctia of Cincinnatus.

'L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, the only hope of the Roman people, lived beyond the Tiber, opposite the place where the Navalia are, where he cultivated the four acres of ground which are now called the Quinctian meadows. There the messengers of the senate found him leaning on his spade, either digging a trench or ploughing, but certainly occupied in some field labour. The salutation, "May it be well with you and the republic," was given and returned in the usual form, and he was requested to put on his toga to receive a message from the senate. Amazed, and asking if anything was wrong, he desired his wife Racilia to fetch his toga from the cottage, and having wiped off the sweat and dust with which he was covered, he came forward dressed in his toga to the messengers, who saluted him as dictator, and congratulated him.'—*Livy*, iii. 26.

Here there was anciently a *trajectus*, or ferry, like the *traghetti* of the present day at Venice.

The churches on the left of the Ripetta are, first, **SS. Rocco e Martino**, 1657, by Antonio de' Rossi ; remodelled façade by Valadier (1815). The columns of rare Breccia at the high altar were taken from an ancient building on the site of the Orto Botanico. The hospital adjoining was admirably managed under the Papal rule.

Opposite the bridge, stands **S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni**, built for Sixtus V. by Fontana. It contains, near the altar, a striking figure of S. Jerome, seated, with a book upon his knees.

In front of this church Niccolò Montenegro, Priore di Sodefoyta, was attacked, and three of his servants killed, by ruffians hired by Donna Olimpia Pamfili ; and down this street Legend declares that the terrible Olimpia is sometimes borne through the night in a fiery carriage drawn by four headless horses, which vanishes on reaching the Piazza del Popolo.

We will now follow the **Corso** (1), which, in spite of its narrowness, is the finest street in Rome. It is greatly to be regretted that this street, which is nearly a mile long, does not end at the steps of the Capitol, which would have produced a striking effect. In 1886 it was further injured by the destruction of the grand tower of Paul II., which rose at the end of the vista, upon the Capitoline. The Corso follows the line of the ancient Via Flaminia, and in consequence was once spanned by four triumphal arches—of Marcus Aurelius (?), Domitian, Claudius, and Gordian—but all these have disappeared. The palaces of the Corso are

often mere fronts—'facciate con mobilia e quadri dietro.' The street is lined with balconies, which, during the Carnival, are filled with gay groups of maskers flinging confetti. These balconies are also a relic of imperial times, having been invented at Rome, where they were originally called 'Moeniana,' from the tribune Moenius, who designed them to accommodate spectators of processions in the streets below.

'The Corso is a street a mile long; a street of shops, and palaces, and private houses, sometimes opening into a broad piazza. There are verandas and balconies, of all shapes and sizes, to almost every house—not on one storey alone, but often to one room or another on every storey—put there in general with so little order or regularity, that if year after year, and season after season, it had rained balconies, hailed balconies, snowed balconies, blown balconies, they could scarcely have come into existence in a more disorderly manner.'—*Dickens.*

Zola's description still applies to afternoons in the Corso.

'C'était la promiscuité en plein air, toute Rome entassée dans le moins de place possible, les gens qui se connaissaient, que se retrouvaient comme en l'intimité d'un salon, les gens qui se ne parlaient pas, des mondes les plus adverses, mais qui se coudoyaient qui se fouillaient du regard, jusqu'à l'âme. Justement, le plaisir était là, dans l'étroitesse de la voie, dans ce coudoiement forcé, qui permettait aux rencontres attendues, les curiosités satisfaites, l'étalage des vanités heureuses, les provisions des commérages sans fin. La ville entière s'y revoyait chaque jour, s'étalait, s'épiait, se donnait son spectacle à elle-même, brulée d'un tel besoin, indispensable à la longue, de se voir ainsi, qu'un homme bien né qui manquait le Corso, était un homme dépaysé, sans journaux.'

On the L. of the Corso is the Augustine church of **Gesù e Maria**, with a façade by *Rinaldi.* Almost opposite is the church of **S. Giacomo degli Incurabili**, by *Carlo Maderno.* It is attached to a surgical hospital for 350 patients. In the adjoining Strada S. Giacomo was the studio of Canova, recognisable by fragments of bas-reliefs let into its walls.

Three streets beyond this (R.) is the **Via de' Pontefici** (so called from a series of papal portraits, now destroyed, which formerly existed on the walls of one of its houses), where (No. 57 L.) is the entrance to the ill-treated remains of the **Mausoleum of Augustus.** On entering the courtyard of this house is at once seen a curvilinear segment of the imperial tomb, some forty feet of reticulated wall, with traces of its projecting lower gallery.

'Hard by the banks of the Tiber, in the grassy meadows where the Roman youths met in athletic and martial exercises, there rose a lofty marble tower with three retiring stages, each of which had its terrace covered with earth and planted with cypresses. These stages were pierced with numerous chambers, destined to receive, row within row, and storey upon storey, the remains of every member of the imperial family, with many thousands of their slaves and freedmen. In the centre of that massive mound the great founder of the empire was to sleep his last sleep, while his statue was ordained to rise conspicuous on its summit, and satiate its everlasting gaze with the view of his beloved city.'—*Merivale.*

The first funeral celebrated here was that of Marcellus, son of unhappy Octavia, the sister of Augustus, and the first husband of his daughter Julia; he died of malaria at Baiae, B.C. 23.

'Quantos ille virûm magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!
Nec puer Iliacâ quisquam de gente Latinos
In tantum spe tollet avos; nec Romula quondam
Ullo se tantum tellus jactabit alumno.
Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello,
Dextera! non illi quisquam se impune tulisset
Obvius armato, seu quum pedes iret in hostem,
Seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
Heu, miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris.'

—*Aeneid*, vi. 873.

The next member of the family buried here was Agrippa, the second husband of Julia, ob. 12 B.C. Then Octavia, sister of the emperor and widow of Antony, was honoured by a public funeral here, at which orations were delivered by Augustus himself, and Drusus, son of the Empress Livia. Her body was carried to the tomb by Tiberius (afterwards emperor) and Drusus, the two sons of the empress by her first husband. Drusus (9 B.C.) died while on a German campaign by a fall from his horse, and was brought hither for interment. In A.D. 14 Augustus died at Nola, and his body was cremated here on a funeral pile so gigantic, that the widowed Livia, dishevelled and ungirt, with bare feet, attended by the principal Roman senators, had to watch by it for five days and nights, before it cooled sufficiently for them to collect the ashes of the emperor. At the moment of its being lighted an eagle was let loose from the summit of the pyre, under which form a senator named Numerius Atticus was induced, by a gift from Livia equivalent to 250,000 francs, to swear that he saw the spirit of Augustus ascend into heaven. Then followed Germanicus, son of the first Drusus, and nephew of Tiberius, ob. A.D. 19, at Antioch, where he was believed to have been poisoned by Piso and his wife Plancina. Then, in A.D. 23, Drusus, son of Tiberius, poisoned by his wife Livilla, and her lover Sejanus: at last the Empress Livia, who died A.D. 29, at the age of 86. Agrippina (1), widow of Germanicus (ob. A.D. 33), starved to death, and her two sons, Nero and Drusus, were long excluded from the family sepulchre, but their ashes were eventually brought hither by her youngest son, Caius, afterwards the Emperor Caligula. Tiberius, who died A.D. 37, at the villa of Lucullus at Misenum, was brought here for burial. The ashes of Caligula, murdered A.D. 41, and first buried in the Horti Lamiani on the Esquiline, were finally transferred here by his sisters. In his reign Antonia, the widow of Drusus, and mother of Germanicus, had died, and her ashes were laid here. The Emperor Claudius, A.D. 54, murdered by Agrippina (2); his son, Britannicus, A.D. 55, murdered by Nero; and the Emperor Nerva, A.D. 98, were the latest inmates of the mausoleum. So that we have here a very remarkable historic monument. In 1777 was found at an angle of the Piazza San Carlo a grand alabaster vase, with the names of the sons of Germanicus inscribed upon it. It is now in the Vatican.

The last cremation which occurred here was long after the mausoleum had fallen into ruin, when the body of the tribune

Rienzi, after having hung for two days at S. Marcello, was ordered by Colonna to be burnt here by Jugurta and Sciaretta, and was consumed 'in a fire of dry thistles, till it was reduced to ashes, and no fibre of it remained.' This was a triumphant sarcasm upon the man who had dared to play at being 'semper Augustus.'

'In the midst of the sepultures is a recess where Octavian was wont to sit; and the priests were there doing their ceremonies. And from every kingdom of the whole world he commanded that there should be brought one basket full of earth, the which to put upon the temple, to be a remembrance unto all nations coming to Rome.'—*Mirabilia Urbis Romae XIIc.*

There is nothing now remaining to testify to the former magnificence of this building. Strabo especially praises it, and describes it as having been a mound of white marble planted with trees. The area was long used as a theatre. It was ravaged by the Goths under Alaric, used as a fortress by the Colonna family, and destroyed after the defeat of the Colonnesi by the Count of Tusculum and his German allies in 1167. The obelisks which stood at its entrance are now respectively opposite the Quirinal Palace and S. Maria Maggiore; the urn of Agrippina is at the Capitol, six urns are at the Vatican, the others have been destroyed. In the early days of Christianity it was crowned by the shrine and statue of S. Angelo de Augusta, destroyed by the people in 1378, and afterwards twice replaced. From 1167 it became a fortress of Colonna. Among its massive cells a poor washerwoman, known as 'Sister Rose,' established in the middle of the nineteenth century a kind of hospital for aged women (several of them centenarians), whom she supported entirely by her own exertions, having originally begun by taking care of one old woman, and gradually adding another and another. The English Church service was first performed in Rome in the Palazzo Correa, adjoining this building, and the plays of the characteristic open-air Teatro Correa were till recently held in the mausoleum itself. The exterior of the mausoleum is best seen from the courtyard of the **Palazzo Valdambrini**, No. 102 in the Via Ripetta.

Opposite the Via de' Pontefici, the **Via Vittoria** leaves the Corso (L.). To the Ursuline convent in this street (founded by Camillo Borghese in the seventeenth century) Madame Victoire and Madame Adélaide ('tantes du Roi') fled in the beginning of the great French revolution. Here also Louisa, Duchess of Albany, was shut up by her husband, Charles Edward Stuart, and used to talk to Alfieri through the grille.

The **Church of S. Carlo in Corso** (R.) is the national church of the Lombards. It is a handsome building with a fine dome, but the ancient church of S. Ambrogio, with precious frescoes by Pierino del Vaga, was destroyed in 1651 in order to build it. The interior was commenced by *Onorio Longhi* in 1614, and finished by *Pietro da Cortona.* It contains no objects of interest, unless a picture of the Apotheosis of S. Carlo Borromeo (the patron of the church), over the high altar, by *Carlo Maratta*, can be called so. The heart of the saint is preserved under the altar.

Just beyond this, on the left, the **Via Condotti** (named from the aqueduct of Trevi, which runs beneath it)—almost lined with jewellers' and photographers' shops—branches off to the Piazza di Spagna. The Trinità de' Monti is seen up beyond it. The opposite street (R.), Via della Fontanella, leads to S. Peter's, and in five minutes to the magnificent—

Palazzo Borghese, begun in 1590 by Cardinal Dezza, from designs of Martino Longhi, and finished by Paul V. (Camillo Borghese, 1605–21), from those of Flaminio Ponzio. The cloistered courtyard has a beautiful open arcade, with 96 granite columns. The Borghese resided here (and at their numerous villas) with almost regal magnificence under the Papal rule: but since 1890 the family has been ruined by the building speculations of the present Prince, Don Paolo, who had inherited a fortune of £40,000 a year from his father. 'Paolo contruxit, Paolo destruxit' is a local pasquinade. The greater part of the pictures which formed the 'Borghese Gallery' are now to be seen at Villa Borghese. The splendid portrait of Caesar Borgia by Bronzino (long attributed to Raffaelle) is in England. The rooms formerly occupied by the gallery were ill-lighted and unsuitable. One of them is richly adorned with mirrors, painted with Cupids by *Girofiri* and wreaths of flowers by *Mario de' Fiori*. They end in the picturesque corner of the palace called 'Cimbalo di Borghese.' In the court stand colossal statues of Giulia, daughter of Titus, Sabina, wife of Hadrian, and Ceres.

'In the reign of Paul V. the Borghese became the wealthiest and most powerful family in Rome. In the year 1612, the church benefices already conferred upon Cardinal Scipione Borghese were computed to secure him an income of 150,000 scudi. The temporal offices were bestowed on Marc-Antonio Borghese, on whom the Pope also conferred the principality of Sulmona in Naples, besides giving him rich palaces in Rome and the most beautiful villas in the neighbourhood. He loaded his nephews with presents; we have a list of them through his whole reign down to the year 1620. They are sometimes jewels or vessels of silver, or magnificent furniture, which were taken directly from the stores of the palace and sent to the nephews; at other times, carriages, rich arms, as muskets and falconets, were presented to them; but the principal thing was the round sum of hard money. These accounts make it appear that, to the year 1620, they had received in ready money 689,627 scudi 31 baj: in luoghi di monte, 24,600 scudi, according to their nominal values; in places, computing them at the sum their sale would have brought to the treasury, 268,176 scudi; all which amounted, as in the case of the Albobrandini, to nearly a million.

'Nor did the Borghese neglect to invest their wealth in real property. They acquired eighty estates in the Campagna of Rome; the Roman nobles suffering themselves to be tempted into the sale of their ancient hereditary domains by the large prices paid them, and by the high rate of interest borne by the luoghi di monte, which they purchased with the money thus acquired. In many other parts of the Ecclesiastical States, the Borghese also seated themselves, the Pope facilitating their doing so by the grant of peculiar privileges. In some places, for example, they received the right of restoring exiles; in others, that of holding a market, or certain exemptions were granted to those who became their vassals. They were freed from various imposts, and even obtained a bull, by virtue of which their possessions were never to be confiscated.'—*Ranke, 'Hist of the Popes.'*

'Si l'on peut reprocher à Paul, avec Muratori, ses libéralités envers ses neveux, envers le Cardinal Scipion, envers le duc de Sulmone, il est juste

d'ajouter que la plupart des membres de cette noble famille rivalisèrent avec le pape de magnificence et de générosité. Or, chaque année, Paul V. distribuait un million d'écus d'or aux pèlerins pauvres et un million et demi aux autres nécessiteux. C'est à lui que remonte la fondation de la banque du Saint-Esprit, dont les riches immeubles servirent d'hypothèques aux dépôts qui lui furent confiés. Mais ce fut surtout dans les constructions qu'il entreprit, que Paul V. déploya une royale magnificence.'—*Gournerie.*

'The Palazzo Borghese is an immense edifice standing round the four sides of a quadrangle; and though the suite of rooms comprising the picture-gallery forms an almost interminable vista, they occupy only a part on the ground floor of one side. We enter from the street into a large court surrounded with a corridor, the arches of which support a second series of arches above. The picture-rooms open from one into another, and have many points of magnificence, being large and lofty, with vaulted ceilings and beautiful frescoes, generally of mythological subjects, in the flat central parts of the vault. The cornices are gilded; the deep embrasures of the windows are panelled with wood-work; the doorways are of polished and variegated marble, or covered with a composition as hard, and seemingly as durable. The whole has a kind of splendid shabbiness thrown over it, like a slight coating of rust; the furniture, at least the damask chairs, being a good deal worn; though there are marble and mosaic tables which may serve to adorn another palace, when this has crumbled away with age.'—*Hawthorne.*

The **Palazzetto Borghese,** on the opposite side of the Piazza, originally intended as a dower-house for the family, is now let in apartments. It is this house which is described as the 'Palazzo Clementi,' in *Mademoiselle Mori.*

At the corner of the Via della Fontanella and the Corso is the handsome **Palazzo Ruspoli,** built in 1586 (when the situation was almost in the open fields), by Ammanati, for one of the Ruccellaj family, on the site of the gardens called Orti Ruccellaj. It soon passed into the hands of the Caetani, and the central entrance towards the Corso was walled up where one of the Caetani was killed by one of the Orsini upon the threshold, and has never been used since. The palace was lost by the Caetani in the last century, in part payment of a gambling debt, to the banker Ruspoli of Siena. Vittoria, the banker's daughter, married a Mariscotti of Bologna, and received a regal dowry from her father on condition that her husband should take the name of Ruspoli, and that her descendants should never aspire to a higher title than that of a marquis. In violation of this, her son Francesco purchased from the Orsini the fief of Cervetri, and never relaxed his efforts till he was created a prince. The famous Giustiniani collection of sculpture described by Venuti was long shown in this palace. Each step of the staircase of 115 steps is formed of a solid block of Parian marble, and cost 80 gold scudi at the time it was built. It is by Martino Longhi. Beyond this are the insignificant palaces, **Fiano, Verospi** (now the Credito Italiano), **and Teodoli.**[1] In the vestibule of Palazzo Fiano are some of the reliefs found on the site of the palace in 1568, and

[1] In the Palazzo Teodoli, William Henry, second Duke of Gloucester, of the later creation, was born here, January 15, 1776, being nephew of George III., whose fourth daughter, Mary, he married in 1816. In the P. Verospi on the first floor is a masterpiece of F. Albani (1625), representing Apollo, the Seasons, Aurora, and other classic subjects.

belonging to the **Ara Pacis**, a triumphal altar erected 13 B.C. on the return of Augustus from his campaigns in Spain and Gaul, which signalised the peace of the Roman world. The Emperor, modestly refusing the proffered dedication of it to himself, offered it instead to **Peace**; and at the close of January of that year he dedicated a colossal altar, surrounded by a marble screen upon which were sculptured panelled reliefs representing processions of his relatives, noble friends, priests, and others. These were all crowned with laurel, and bore branches of olive in their hands. Above them ran an enriched frieze displaying elaborately carven foliations, flowers, and festoons, typifying the fertility of the earth. It was a golden moment in the Art-life of Rome, and the design and workmanship were of the finest. The monument practically consisted of a rectangular platform (having a front and back of 36 feet, with sides measuring 33 feet), reached by a flight of steps from the Via Flaminia (Corso). The sculptured precinct wall, covered with the aforesaid reliefs, was interrupted in the midst by majestic gates, probably of gilded bronze. Within this enclosure rose a second platform, gained by four more steps, and upon the further side of this stood the altar itself. Thus, in its entirety, the monument resembled a graduated depressed pyramid.

The position given to it in the Campus Martius corresponds with the angle of the Via S. Lorenzo in Lucina, where that street opens out of the modern Corso, nearly opposite Via Frattina at the Palazzo Fiano-Ottoboni, in the cellars and among the foundations of which the present exploration and excavation was commenced. For, stimulated by the fine volumes devoted to illustrating this great monument by Professor Petersen of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, the Municipality and the Minister of Public Instruction, having come to agreement as to the significance of precisely locating the site, approached Signor Almagia, the proprietor of the palace, who (himself a skilful engineer and lover of archaeology) not only helped to bring about the desired research, but has generously aided it with funds. In consequence the work was put into the hands of Signor Cannizzaro, who began operations on July 27, 1903. Early in August an opening was made in Via Lucina, and presently traces led the explorer right on to the longitudinal axis of the spacious altar, even to the sill of the great door which opened to the Via Flaminia.

As far back as in 1568, Cardinal Ricci of Montepulciano wrote from Rome to the secretary of the Grand Duke of Tuscany that beautiful reliefs sculptured on immense blocks of Greek marble (it should have been Carrara) had been found when the Palazzo Ottoboni was being built, and that they would be soon forwarded to Florence. These ones (six in number) are still to be seen displayed in the Uffizi Gallery. Other fragments went to the Villa Medici on Monte Pincio, where they yet adorn the rear wall of the College. During a restoration of the same palace in 1859 some dozen further fragments came to light. On February 16, 1899, while visiting the choir of the Jesuit Church, where repairs were going on, the writer

was fortunate enough to recognise another fragment, which had been utilised since 1623 as the gravestone of a bishop of Lucca. The upper face of it had been smoothed and inlaid with *verde antico* and *broccatello* marbles so as to represent the arms and cardinal's hat of Sebastiano Poggio, the said prelate. On the under side were sculptured scrolls and foliations of unmistakable Augustan work. This was another fragment, measuring six feet by four. It is now in the museum cloister.

The present condition of the monument would indicate its having been destroyed both by fire and by deliberate blows, and the broken fragments are found lying at no distance from the portions to which they once belonged. Several pieces of the jambs of the doors have been recovered, as well as of the angular pilasters projecting from the marble screen wall. One of the most significant features now recognised is that of a second, or posterior, door on the eastern side of the monument with the broad steps leading to it, as represented in a fine 'bronze' of Domitian. It is necessary to state that the excavation has required the formation of several small tunnels, in which are encountered the portions still remaining *in situ*, as well as splendid decorated blocks which yet lie obstructing progress and proving very difficult of extraction. A much later enclosing-wall, of brick and travertine, has been likewise found, having been constructed apparently with a view to isolate the altar from impinging edifices. Much, however, remains to be explored still before we can hope to see a possible, and worthy, rehabilitation of this *capolavoro* of antiquity; to which end it will further be needful that the Louvre, the Uffizi, and the Vatican shall generously contribute the various portions already in their respective keepings.

The excavation has been carried on under considerable difficulties, lying, as the monument does, 18 feet below the street level and subject to the serious influx of spring-water. It is lit with electric light.

'The well-known brigand chiefs, Fuoco and Pace, were hospitably received in Rome in October 1865, the first being lodged in the Via delle Convertite, the other near the Fiano Palace, and sure of the protection of the Papal Sbirri, they could afford to laugh at the French police.'—*A. Gallenga.*

'Les palais de Rome, bien que n'ayant pas un caractère original comme ceux de Florence ou de Venise, n'en sont pas moins cependant un des traits de la ville des papes. Ils n'appartiennent ni au moyen-âge, ni à la renaissance (le Palais de Venise seul rappelle les constructions massives de Florence); ils sont des modèles d'architecture civile moderne. Les Bramante, les Sangallo, les Balthazar Peruzzi, qui les ont bâtis, sont des maîtres qu'on ne se lasse pas d'étudier. La magnificence de ces palais réside principalement dans leur architecture et dans les collections artistiques que quelques-uns contiennent. Un certain nombre sont malheureusement dans un triste état d'abandon. De plus, à l'exception d'un très-petit nombre, ils sonte restés inachevés. Cela ce conçoit; presque tous sont le produit du luxe célibataire des papes ou des cardinaux; très-peu de ces personnages ont pu voir la fin de ce qu'ils avaient commencé. Leurs héritiers, pour la plupart, se souciaient fort peu de jeter les richesses qu'ils venaient d'acquérir dans les édifices de luxe et de vanité. A l'intérieur, le plus souvent, est un mobilier rare, suranné, et mesquin.'—*A. du Pays.*

The **Palazzo Bernini** (151 Corso), on the left, has, inside its entrance, a curious statue of 'Calumny' by *Bernini*, with an inscription relative to his own sufferings from slander.

On the right, the small Piazza of S. Lorenzo (now a central omnibus station) opens out of the Corso. Here is the **Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina**, founded in the sixth century, but rebuilt in its present form by Paul V. in 1606. The campanile is of the thirteenth century, and so are the lions in the portico. The interior is disappointing and flat.

'When the lion, or other wild beast, appears in the act of preying on a smaller animal or on a man, is implied the severity of the Church towards the impenitent or heretical; but when in the act of sporting with another creature, her benignity towards the neophyte and the docile. At the portal of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, this idea is carried out in the figure of a manikin affectionately stroking the head of the terrible creature who protects, instead of devouring him.'—*Hemans' 'Christian Art.'*

No one should omit seeing the grand picture of *Guido Reni*, over the high altar of this church,—the Crucifixion, relieved against a wild, stormy sky.

'I have known men, strong men, who believed neither in God's existence nor their own, sob before that picture in some terrible pain and come away comforted.'—*Kassandra Vivaria.*

Nicholas Poussin (1594), ob. 1660, is buried here, and one of his best-known Arcadian landscapes is reproduced in a bas-relief upon his monument, which was erected by Chateaubriand, with the epitaph—

'Parce piis lacrymis, vivit Pussinus in urnâ,
Vivere qui dederat, nescius ipse mori.
Hic tamen ipse silet, si vis audire loquentem,
Mirum est, in tabulus vivit, et eloquitur.'

In 'The Ring and the Book' of Browning, this church is the scene of Pompilia's baptism and marriage. She is made to say:—

—'This S. Lorenzo seems
My own particular place, I always say.
I used to wonder, when I stood scarce high
As the bed here, what the marble lion meant,
Eating the figure of a prostrate man.'

Here the bodies of her parents are represented as being exposed after the murder:—

—'Beneath the piece
Of Master Guido Reni, Christ on Cross,
Second to nought observable in Rome.'

The church of S. Lorenzo occupies the site of the Horologium or Solarium of Augustus, of which remains were visible here in the XV. and XVI. centuries.

On the left, where the **Via delle Vite** turns out of the Corso, an inscription in the wall records the destruction, in 1662, of a triumphal **arch of Marcus Aurelius** (?) (Arco di Portogallo), which existed here till that time. The magnificence of this arch is said to be attested by the bas-reliefs representing the history of the emperor, which were (*c.* 399) used to decorate the walls of S. Martina,

but now are preserved on the staircase of the palace of the Conservators. Two of its columns, of verde antico, adorn the high altar at S. Agnese in Piazza Navona; others are in the Corsini chapel at the Lateran.

'Les Barbares n'en savaient pas assez et n'avaient pas assez de patience pour démolir les monuments romains: mais, avec les ressources de la science moderne et à la suite d'une administration régulière, on est venu à bout de presque tout ce que le temps avait épargné. Il y avait, par exemple, au commencement du xvie siècle, quatre arcs de triomphe qui n'existent plus; le dernier, celui de Marc-Aurèle, a été enlevé par le pape Alexandre VII. On lit encore dans le Corso l'inconcevable inscription dans laquelle le pape se vante d'avoir débarrassé la promenade publique de ce monument, qui, vu sa date, devait être d'un beau style.'—*Ampère*, '*Voyage Dantesque*.'

This arch became called Di Portogallo because the Portuguese Embassy lodged in Palazzo Fiano. The nature of the sculptures upon two relief-panels which still adorned it, when demolished in 1662, namely, 'the Apotheosis of an Empress,' and 'An Emperor proclaiming a Decree,' have revealed to modern eyes that the arch must have been erected by Hadrian. The Empress commemorated is certainly Plotina, the wife of Trajan, A.D. 129 (*cf.* Palazzo dei Conservatori, Nos. 549, 550). That being so, it becomes most probable that this arch had nothing to do with Marcus Aurelius, and that the reliefs from S. Martina belonged to quite another monument.

The next turn on the right leads into the Via del Giardino, running parallel with the Corso for a short distance. The **Palazzo Palombara**, at the corner, was the Palazzaccio, where Hugo Basseville, the French Secretary of Embassy and Revolutionary propagandist, was murdered, January 13, 1793.

A little farther down the Corso the Via delle Convertite leads, on the left, to **S. Silvestro in Capite**, one of the three churches in Rome dedicated to the beatified Pope of the time of Constantine. This, like S. Lorenzo, has a thirteenth century campanile. The day of S. Sylvester's death, December 31 (A.D. 335), is kept here with great solemnity, and celebrated by magnificent musical services. This Pope was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, whence his remains were removed to S. Martino al Monte. The title 'In Capite' is given to this church on account of the head of S. John the Baptist, which it professes to preserve, as is narrated by an inscription affixed to its walls.

The convent attached to this church was founded in 1318, especially for noble sisters of the house of Colonna who dedicated themselves to God. Here it was that the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, came to reside in 1525, when widowed in her thirty-sixth year, and here she began to write her sonnets, a kind of 'In Memoriam' to her husband. It is a curious proof of the value placed upon her remaining in the world, that Pope Clement VII. was persuaded to send a brief to the abbess and nuns, desiring them to offer her 'all spiritual and temporal consolations,' but forbidding them, under pain of the greater excommunication, to

permit her to take the veil in her affliction.[1] The buildings of this convent are now used as the **Central Post Office.** In the piazza is a modern statue of Metastasio, and the **Tramway Station** for the railway, S. John Lateran and Piazza Venezia, &c.

At the end of this street, continued under the name of **Via della Mercede** [No. 11 was the residence of Bernini, also marked by a tablet as the house where Sir W. Scott made a brief stay in 1832], and behind the Propaganda, occupying the site of an ancient Hospice for Scottish pilgrims, is the **Church of S. Andrea delle Fratte,** whose brick cupola by Borromini is so picturesque a feature. Before the quarrel with Henry VIII. it was appropriated to the Scotch. Later it was demolished and rebuilt in 1612 ; the façade being completed only in 1826 by means of funds realised by the sale of Cardinal Consalvi's snuff-boxes. In the **2nd chapel** (R.), spoilt by being raised into a position for which it was not intended, is the beautiful modern tomb of Mademoiselle Falconnet, by Miss Hosmer. The opposite chapel is remarkable for a modern miracle (?) annually commemorated here. The votive offerings literally cover the walls in sheets.

'M. Ratisbonne, un juif, appartenant à une très-riche famille d'Alsace, qui se trouvait accidentellement à Rome, se promenant dans l'église de S. Andrea delle Fratte pendant qu'on y faisait les préparatifs pour les obsèques de M. de la Ferronays, s'y est converti subitement. Il se trouvait debout en face d'une chapelle dédiée à l'ange gardien, à quelques pas, lorsque tout-à-coup il a eu une apparition lumineuse de la Sainte Vierge qui lui a fait signe d'aller vers cette chapelle. Une force irrésistible l'y a entraîné, il y est tombé à genoux, et il a été à l'instant chrétien. Sa première parole à celui qui l'avait accompagné a été, en relevant son visage inondé de larmes : "Il faut qui ce monsieur ait beaucoup prié pour moi." '—*Récit d'une Sœur.*

'Era un istante ch' io mi stava in chiesa allora che di colpo mi sentii preso da inesprimibile conturbamento. Alzai gli occhi ; tutto l' edifizio s' era dileguato a' miei sguardi ; sola una cappella aveva come in se raccolta tutta la luce, e di mezzo di raggianti splendori s' è mostrata diritta sull' altare, grande sfolgoreggiante, piena di maestà e di dolcezza, la Vergine Maria. Una forza irresistibile m' ha sospinto verso di lei. La Vergine m' ha fatto della mano segno d' inginocchiarmi ; pareva volermi dire, "Bene!" Ella non mi ha parlato, ma io ho inteso tutto.'—*Recital of Alfonso Ratisbonne.*[2]

M. de la Ferronays, whose character is now so well known from the family memoirs of Mrs. Augustus Craven, is buried beneath the altar where this vision occurred. In the third chapel on the left is the tomb of Angelica Kauffmann ; in the right aisle that of the Prussian artist, Schadow. In front of the choir were, till recently, two angels by *Bernini*, who intended them for the bridge of S. Angelo, where the Municipality placed them in 1898. The cloister of nine bays adjoining is full of orange and lemon trees.

Returning to the Corso, the **Via S. Claudio** (left) leads to the Piazza and pretty little church of that name, adjoining the only remaining portion of the **Palazzo Parisani.** Beyond, facing an addition to the Piazza Colonna, is the large **Church of S. Maria in**

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[1] See Trollope's *Life of Vittoria Colonna.*

[2] See *Un Figliuol' di Maria, ossia un Nuovo nostro Fratello,* edited by the Baron di Bussiere. 1842.

Via. A little behind S. Claudio the Via del Nazzareno leads to the Via Tritone. In the former some arches of the **Aqua Vergine** may be seen, following the line of an old Roman street. An iron gate has recently been placed here, and the old gate, surmounted by the arms of Sixtus IV., pulled down. This is to be regretted, as the fact of his having restored the Arco di Trevi close to this is mentioned in the inscription on his portrait in the Vatican by Melozzo da Forli. His arms are to be seen over a picturesque little doorway on the other side of the street.

The enlargement of the **Piazza Colonna** has destroyed the handsome Palazzo Piombino, on the line of the Corso, where it occupied a portion of the site of the Porticus Vipsania, burnt A.D. 80.

At the corner of the **Piazza Colonna and Corso** is the **Palazzo Chigi,** begun in 1526 by Giacomo della Porta, and finished by Carlo Maderno. It contains several good pictures, but is seldom shown.[1] The library—Biblioteca Chisiana—is open on Thursdays from 10 to 12. Prince Chigi recently sold to the firm of Colnaghi for 315,000 lire the second-rate Botticelli, 'La Vergine col Bambino benedicente l'offerta d'un Angelo,' and was condemned by an iniquitous court to pay the whole sum to the Treasury as a fine!

The most remarkable members of the family of Chigi have been the banker Agostino Chigi, who lived so sumptuously at the Farnesina, and Fabio Chigi, who mounted the papal throne as Alexander VII., and who long refused to have anything to do with the aggrandisement of his family, saying that the poor were the only relations he would acknowledge, and, like Christ, he did not wish for any nearer ones. To keep himself in mind of the shortness of earthly grandeur, this Pope, like Dr. Donne and Sarah Bernhardt, always kept a coffin in his room, and drank out of a cup shaped like a skull. Unfortunately he had a mania for restoration.

One of the ridiculous plans of the Municipality for the destruction of Roman grandeur has been the erection of a glass-gallery on the site of the Palazzo Piombino, pulled down for the purpose, in imitation of that at Milan, but, fortunately, funds have hitherto been wanting, and the site remains attractive to idlers.

In the centre of the piazza stands the **Column,** which was found on the Monte Citorio in 1709, having been originally erected by the senate and people A.D. 176, in honour of Marcus Aurelius, nephew of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and father of Commodus. It is surrounded by bas-reliefs, representing the conquest of the Marcomanni. One of these has long been an especial object of interest, from being supposed to represent a divinity (Jupiter?) sending rain to the troops, in answer to the prayers of a Christian legion from Mitylene. Eusebius gives the story, stating that the piety of these Christians induced the emperor to ask their prayers

[1] It is perhaps more worth while to visit the Palazzo Chigi at Ariccia, near Albano, which retains its stamped leather hangings and much of its old furniture. Here may be seen, assembled in one room, the portraits of the twelve nieces of Alexander VII., who were so enchanted when their uncle was made Pope, that they all took the veil immediately to please him.

in his necessity, and a letter in Justin Martyr (of which the authenticity is more than doubted), in which Aurelius allows the fact, is produced in proof. The statue of S. Paul on the top of the column was erected by Sixtus V., who restored it.

'An inscription in the vestibule of the present church of S. Silvestro in Capite, dated 1119, states that both the column of Marcus Aurelius and the little church of S. Nicholas, which probably stood at the foot of it, were leased to the highest bidder, probably from year to year, on account of the fees which could be collected from the tourist or pilgrim that wished to behold the wonders of Rome from a lofty point of observation.'—*Rod. Lanciani.*

Behind the Piazza Colonna is the **Piazza Monte Citorio**, containing an **Obelisk** which was discovered in 1510 (?) in fragments near the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Pius VI. (1792) was incited to raise it here by the 'supplica degli obelischi giacenti' of the Abbé Cancellieri. So it was repaired with pieces of the granite column of Antoninus Pius, the white marble pedestal of which may still be seen in the Vatican Gardens, whither it was taken by Pius VI. Its hieroglyphics are very perfect and valuable, and show that it was erected 865 years before Christ in honour of Psamtik I. It was brought from Heliopolis by Augustus, and erected by him in the Campus Martius, where it received the name of Obeliscus Solaris, from being made to act as a gnomon for the white marble sun-dial (60 B.C.).

'Ei, qui est in campo, divus Augustus addidit mirabilem usum, ad deprehendendas solis umbras, dierumque ac noctium ita magnitudines, strato lapide ad magnitudinem obelisci, cui par fieret umbra, brumae confectae die, sexta hora; paulatimque per regulas (quae sunt ex aere inclusae) singulis diebus decresceret, ac rursus augesceret: digna cognitu res et ingenio foecundo. Manilius mathematicus apici auratam pilam addidit, cujus umbra vertice colligeretur in se ipsa, alias enormiter jaculante apice, ratione (ut ferunt) a capite hominis intellecta. Haec observatio triginta jam ferè annis non congruit, sive solis ipsius dissono cursu, et coeli aliqua ratione mutato, sive universa tellure a centro suo aliquid emota, ut deprehendi et in aliis locis accipio: sive urbis tremoribus, ibi tantum gnomone intorto, sive inundationibus Tiberis sedimento molis facto: quanquam ad altitudinem impositi oneris in terram quoque dicantur acta fundamenta.'—*Pliny, Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxvi. 15.

The **Palace of Monte Citorio** (designed for the Curia Innocenziana by Bernini) has been used, since the united kingdom of Italy, as the **Camera dei Deputati.**[1] The base of the column of Antoninus Pius, now in the Vatican Gardens, was found near this in the garden of the Casa della Missione. Monte Citorio conceals the site of the Temple of Marcus Aurelius, in front of which the column stood in a forum something like that of Trajan.

Proceeding up the Corso, the Via di Pietra (right) leads into the small Piazza di Pietra, one side of which is occupied by the eleven remaining columns (there should be fifteen) belonging to a second century rebuilding of Agrippa's **Temple of Neptune** (B.C. 24), turned by Innocent XII. into the building long used as the Custom-house, and later, as the Stock Exchange. The fluted pillars are of Marmor Lunense, from Luna—the modern Carrara.

[1] An order to visit the Camera dei Deputati may be obtained from any Member.

A tiny figure of Christ on the cross on the flutings of the fourth column on the left, proves that, like almost all other pagan buildings, this temple at some period or other was converted to Christian purposes. It is worth while to enter the courtyard in order to look back and observe the immense masses of stone above the entrance, part of the ancient temple, which are here uncovered. Burned in the fire of Titus, it re-arose under Hadrian and Antoninus. It stood within a spacious square bounded on all sides by a great colonnade, named after the Argonauts.

'The fifteen provinces and fourteen trophies belonging to the north side of the temple have all been accounted for. . . . Three provinces and two trophies have migrated to Naples with the rest of the Farnese marbles, one has been left behind in the portico of the Farnese palace, five provinces and four trophies are in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, two are in the Palazzo Odescalchi, one in the Palazzo Altieri, two pieces of the entablature are used as a rustic seat in the Giardino delle Tre Pile on the Capitol, and another has been used in the restoration of the Arch of Constantine.'—*Lanciani.*

Near the Piazza de Pietra the foundations of an early mediaeval church, S. Stefano del Trullo, were found in 1878, the whole church appearing to have been built with material plundered from the Temple of Neptune and the Arch of Claudius which crossed the Corso near the Piazza Sciarra.

Close to this, behind the Palazzo Cini, in the Piazza Orfanelli, is (R.) the **Teatro Capranica**, occupying part of a palace of *c.* 1350, with French gothic windows, some open still, some closed in. The opposite church, **S. Maria in Aquiro**, recalls by its name the column of the Equiria, celebrated in ancient annals as the place where certain games and horse-races called Equirria, connected with the cult of Mars, and instituted by Romulus, were celebrated, Feb. 27. It is likely to be removed. The church was founded *c.* 400, but was rebuilt under Francesco da Volterra in 1590. S. Maria in Aquiro was sometimes called 'Ad Arcum Pietatis,' in reference to a memorial arch, to which the favourite legend of the justice of Trajan was transferred from the Forum of Trajan, probably on account of a sculpture existing here, and representing a suppliant nation at the feet of an emperor, which was mistaken for the widow of the legend.

'In this place, upon a time when the emperor was ready in his chariot to go forth to war, a poor widow fell at his feet, weeping and crying, "O my lord, before thou goest, let me have justice." And he promised her that on his return he would do her full right; but she said, "Peradventure thou shalt die first." This considering, the emperor leapt from his chariot, and held his consistory on the spot. And the woman said, "I had one only son, and a young man hath slain him." Upon this saying the emperor gave sentence. "The murderer," said he, "shall die, he shall not live." "Thy son, then," said she, "shall die, for it is he that, playing with my son, hath slain him." But when he was led to death, the woman sighed aloud and said, "Let the young man that is to die be given unto me in the stead of my son; so shall I be recompensed, else I shall never confess that I have had full right." This therefore was done, and the woman departed with rich gifts from the emperor.'—'*Mirabilia Orbis Romae,*' *Eng. Vers. of F. M. Nichols.*

A small increase of width in the Corso is now dignified by the name of the **Piazza Sciarra.** The street which turns off hence (Via

delle Muratte, on the left) leads to the **Fountain of Trevi**, erected in 1735 by Niccolò Salvi for Clement XII. The statue of Neptune is by Pietro Bracci.

'The fountain of Trevi draws its precious water from a source far beyond the walls, whence it flows hitherward through old subterranean aqueducts, and sparkles forth as pure as the virgin who first led Agrippa to its well-springs by her father's door. In the design of the fountain, some sculptor of Bernini's school has gone absolutely mad, in marble. It is a great palace-front, with niches and many bas-reliefs, out of which looks Agrippa's legendary virgin, and several of the allegoric sisterhood: while at the base appears Neptune with his floundering steeds and tritons blowing their horns about him, and twenty other artificial fantasies, which the calm moonlight soothes into better taste than is native to them. And, after all, it is as magnificent a piece of work as ever human skill contrived. At the foot of the palatial façade is strewn, with careful art and ordered regularity, a broad and broken heap of massive rock, looking as if it may have lain there since the deluge. Over a central precipice falls the water, in a semicircular cascade; and from a hundred crevices, on all sides, snowy jets gush up, and streams spout out of the mouths and nostrils of stone monsters, and fall in glistening drops; while other rivulets, that have run wild, come leaping from one rude step to another, over stones that are mossy, shining, and green with sedge, because, in a century of their wild play, Nature has adopted the fountain of Trevi, with all its elaborate devices, for her own. Finally, the water, tumbling, sparkling, and dashing, with joyous haste and never-ceasing murmur, pours itself into a great marble basin and reservoir, and fills it with a quivering tide; on which is seen, continually, a snowy semicircle of momentary foam from the principal cascade, as well as a multitude of snowpoints from smaller jets. The basin occupies the whole breadth of the piazza, whence flights of steps descend to its border. A boat might float and make mimic voyages on this artificial lake.

'In the daytime there is hardly a livlier scene in Rome than the neighbourhood of the fountain of Trevi; for the piazza is then filled with stalls of vegetable and fruit dealers, chestnut-roasters, cigar-vendors, and other people whose petty and wandering traffic is transacted in the open air. It is likewise thronged with idlers, lounging over the iron railing, and with *forestieri*, who come hither to see the famous fountain. Here, also, are men with buckets, urchins with cans, and maidens (a picture as old as the patriarchal times) bearing their pitchers upon their heads. For the water of Trevi is in request, far and wide, as the most refreshing draught for feverish lips, the pleasantest to mingle with wine, and the wholesomest to drink, in its native purity, that can anywhere be found. But, at midnight, the piazza is a solitude; and it is a delight to behold this untameable water, sporting by itself in the moonshine, and compelling all the elaborate trivialities of art to assume a natural aspect, in accordance with its own powerful simplicity. Tradition goes, that a parting draught at the fountain of Trevi ensures a traveller's return to Rome, whatever obstacles and improbabilities may seem to beset him.'—*Hawthorne.*

In this piazza is the handsome front of **S. Maria in Trivio**, formerly S. Maria in Fornica, erected by Cardinal Mazarin, on the site of an older church built, according to popular tradition, by Belisarius—as is told by an inscription:—

'Hanc vir patricius Belisarius urbis amicus
Ob culpae veniam condidit ecclesiam.
Hanc, idcirco, pedem qui sacram ponis in aedem
Ut miseretur eum saepe precare Deum.'

The fault which Belisarius wished to expiate was the exile of Pope Silverius (A.D. 536), who was starved to death in the island of Ponza. The crypt of SS. Anastasio and Vincenzo, near by (rebuilt 1600),

being the parish church of the Quirinal, contains the entrails of twenty Popes (removed for embalmment) — from Sixtus V. to Pius VIII.—who died in the Palace! The urns are placed in a vault below and behind the high altar; on the left of the apse is a monument erected by Benedict XIV., and on the right is a tablet recording the names of the Popes who left so singular a bequest to the church. The bones and their hearts were bequeathed to other churches.

The little church near the opposite corner of the piazza is that of **The Crociferi**, and was served till quite lately by the venerable Don Giovanni Merlini, Father General of the Order of the Precious Blood, and the personal friend of its founder, Gaspare del Buffalo.

The fountain of Trevi occupies one end of the gigantic **Palazzo Poli**, partly rebuilt in 1886, and formerly celebrated for the various collections of the jeweller, Castellani. Some of these may be seen in the large red house opposite the fountain, by the courtesy of Signor Castellani.

'Castellani est l'homme qui a ressuscité la bijouterie romaine. Son escalier, tapissé d'inscriptions et de bas-reliefs antiques, fait croire que nous entrons dans un musée. Un jeune marchand aussi érudit que les archéologues fait voir une collection de bijoux anciens de toutes les époques, depuis les origines de l'Etrurie jusqu'au siècle de Constantin. C'est la source où Castellani puise les éléments d'un art nouveau qui détrônera avant dix ans la pacotille du Palais-Royal.'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine*.'

'C'est en s'inspirant des parures retrouvées dans les tombes de l'Etrurie, des bracelets et des colliers dont se paraient les femmes étrusques et sabines, que M. Castellani, guidé par le goût savant et ingénieux d'un homme qui porte dignement l'ancien nom de Caetani, a introduit dans la bijouterie un style à la fois classique et nouveau. Parmi les artistes les plus originaux de Rome sont certainement les orfèvres Castellani et D. Miguele Caetani, duc de Sermoneta.'—*Ampère*, *Hist. Rom.* i. 388.

The **Cassa di Risparmio**, in the Piazza Sciarra, occupies the site of the Caffè Veneziano, the oldest caffè in Rome (closed 1868), frequented by Metastasio, Monti, Rossini, &c.

The **Palazzo Sciarra** (on L. of the Corso, beyond the Modern Hotel), built in 1603 from designs of Flaminio Ponzio, with an admirable, but later, portico, contains, or contained, a gallery of pictures, upon which no ordinary visitor has looked since the change of Government, in consequence of an iniquitous attempt made by the authorities to appropriate them for the State. These pictures are or were the private property of Prince Sciarra. They were originally in the Palazzo Barberini, where Miss Berry[1] describes them in 1784, but came to the family of Sciarra when the Barberini pictures were divided between two heiresses. The six celebrated gems of the gallery, now believed to be taken out of Italy, were:—

Fra Bartolommeo or *Fra Paolino*. The Holy Family. Sometimes ascribed to Mariotto Albertinelli.
Raffaelle. The Violin Player (the improvisatore Andrea Marone of Brescia?) This picture is attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo.
Caravaggio. The Gamblers.

[1] Journals.

Bernardino Luini. Modesty and Vanity.
Titian. 'La Bella Donna di Tiziano.' Sometimes supposed to represent Donna Laura Eustachio, the peasant Duchess of Alphonso I. of Ferrara. This picture is sometimes attributed to Palma Vecchio.
Guido Reni. La Maddalena della Radice.

Four arches and five piers of the aqueduct of Aqua Vergine remained till recently in the courtyard of the palace.

The Piazza Sciarra was disgraced by the murder of a priest by the people, at the moment when the French, under Oudinot, were entering Rome. He was leading the French troops, who did not know their way.

Near the Piazza Sciarra, the Corso (as Via Flaminia) was formerly spanned by the Arch of Claudius (carrying the Aqua Vergine), removed in 1527. Some reliefs from this arch are preserved in the portico of the Villa Borghese, and, though much mutilated, are of fine workmanship. These were discovered in 1568, under the Palazzo della Cassa di Risparmio. The inscription, which commemorated the erection of the arch in honour of the conquest of Britain, A.D. 43, is preserved in the courtyard of the Barberini Palace.

To the right of the Piazza Sciarra opens the Via della Caravita, containing the small but popular **Oratory of Caravita**[1] (1707), used for the peculiar religious exercises of the Jesuits, especially for their Lenten 'flagellation' services, which used to be one of the most extraordinary sights afforded by Catholic Rome.

'The ceremony of pious whippings, one of the penances of the convents, still takes place at the time of vespers in the oratory of the Padre Caravita, and in another church in Rome. It is preceded by a short exhortation, during which a bell rings, and whips, that is, strings of knotted whipcord, are distributed quietly amongst such of the audience as are on their knees in the nave. On a second bell the candles are extinguished—a loud voice issues from the altar, which pours forth an exhortation to think of unconfessed, or unrepented, or unforgiven crimes. This continues a sufficient time to allow the kneelers to strip off their upper garments; the tone of the preacher is raised more loudly at each word, and he vehemently exhorts his hearers to recollect that Christ and the martyrs suffered much more than whipping. "Show, then, your penitence—show your sense of Christ's sacrifice—show it with the whip." The flagellation begins. The darkness, the tumultuous sound of blows in every direction—"Blessed Virgin Mary, pray for us!" bursting out at intervals; the persuasion that you are surrounded by atrocious culprits and maniacs, who know of an absolution for every crime, so far from exciting a smile, fixes you to the spot in a trance of restless horror, prolonged beyond bearing. The scourging continues ten or fifteen minutes.'—*Lord Broughton.*

'Each man on entering the church was supplied with a scourge. After a short interval the doors were barred, the lights extinguished; and from praying, the congregation proceeded to groaning, crying, and finally, being worked up into a kind of ecstatic fury, applied the scourge to their uncovered shoulders without mercy.'—*Whiteside's 'Italy in the Nineteenth Century.'*

Beyond the Caravita (left), facing a pretty little piazza of quite operatic arrangement, is reached the great **Church of S. Ignazio**, built

[1] So called from the Jesuit father of that name, who lived in the seventeenth century—Pietro Caravita.

by Cardinal Ludovisi. Though uninteresting, its proportions are singularly noble; the façade, of 1685, is by Algardi. This church contains the tomb of Gregory XV. (Alessandro Ludovisi, 1621–23), and that of S. Luigi Gonzaga, both sculptured by *Le Gros*. Beneath are the remains of the Aqueduct of the Aqua Vergine.

'In S. Ignazio is the chapel of San Luigi Gonzaga, on whom not a few of the young Roman damsels look with something of the same kind of admiration as did Clytie on Apollo, whom he and S. Sebastian, these two young, beautiful, graceful saints, very fairly represent in Christian mythology. His festa falls in June, and then his altar is embosomed in flowers, arranged with exquisite taste; and a pile of letters may be seen at its foot, written to the saint by young men and maidens, and directed to Paradiso. They are supposed to be burnt unread, except by San Luigi, who must find singular petitions in these pretty little missives, tied up now with a green ribbon, expressive of hope; now with a red one, emblematic of love, or whatever other significant colour the writer may prefer.'—'*Mademoiselle Mori*.'

The frescoes on the roof and tribune are by the Padre Pozzi.

'Amid the many distinguished men whom the Jesuits sent forth to every region of the world, I cannot recollect the name of a single artist, unless it be the Father Pozzi, renowned for his skill in perspective, and who used his skill less as an artist than a conjurer, to produce such illusions as make the vulgar stare;—to make the impalpable to the grasp appear as palpable to the vision; the near seem distant, the distant near; the unreal, real; to cheat the eye; to dazzle the sense;—all this has Father Pozzi most cunningly achieved in the Gesù and Sant' Ignazio at Rome; but nothing more, and nothing better than this. I wearied of his altar-pieces and of his wonderful roofs which pretend to be no roofs at all. Scheme, tricks, and deceptions in art should all be kept for the theatre. It appeared to me nothing less than profane to introduce *shams* into the temples of God.'—*Mrs. Jameson*.

On the left of the Corso—opposite the handsome Palazzo Simonetti—is the **Church of S. Marcello** (Pope, 308–10),[1] containing some interesting modern monuments and a rich panelled vault. Among them are those of Pierre Gilles, the traveller (ob. 1555), and of the English Cardinal Weld. Here also, Cardinal Consalvi, the famous and liberal minister of Pius VII., is buried in the same tomb with his beloved younger brother, Marchese Andrea Consalvi. Their monument, by Rinaldi, tells that here repose the bodies of two brothers—

'Qui cum singulari amore dum vivebant
Se mutuo dilexissent
Corpore etiam sua
Una eademque urna condi voluere.'

Here are the masterpieces which made the reputation of *Pierino del Vaga* (1501–47). In the chapel of the Virgin are the cherubs, whose graceful movements and exquisite flesh tints Vasari declares to have been unsurpassed by any artist in fresco. In the chapel of the Crucifix (3rd L.) is the Creation of Eve, which is even more beautiful.

[1] The name of Pope—*Popa*—originally belonging to all teachers, was first applied to Pope Marcellus (A.D. 305) in the letter of a deacon; but it was not till 400 A.D. that the Bishops of Rome took it formally, and for a permanence.

'The perfectly beautiful figure of the naked Adam is seen lying overpowered by sleep, while Eve, filled with life, and with folded hands, rises to receive the blessing of her maker—a most grand and solemn figure standing erect in heavy drapery.'—*Vasari*, iv.

'Here in the Jubilee of 1650 I saw march a procession of 15,000 men all in black buckram coats to their heels, with a white torch in their hands, and they went from hence on the night of Maundy Thursday unto S. Peter's Church.'—*R. Lassels.*

This church is said to occupy the site of a house of the Christian matron Lucina, in which Marcellus died of wounds incurred in attempting to settle a quarrel among his Christian followers. In front of it the body of the tribune Rienzi, after his murder on the Capitol steps (1354), was hung up by the feet for two days as a mark for the rabble to throw stones at, before it was burned at the mausoleum of Augustus in derision of his pretensions.

The next street to the right leads to the **Collegio Romano**, founded by S. Francesco Borgia, Duke of Gandia (a descendant of Alexander VI.), who, after a youth spent amid the splendours of the Court of Madrid, retired to Rome in 1550, in the time of Julius III., and became the successor of Ignatius Loyola as General of the Jesuits. The buildings were erected, as we now see them, by Ammanati, in 1582, for Gregory XIII. Till 1870, the college was entirely under the superintendence of the Jesuits: now, men like Carducci the poet, who wrote a hymn in praise and defence of Judas Iscariot, sit amongst its professors. The library is large and valuable. The **Museo Kircheriano**,[1] on the 3rd floor, entered from 27 Via del Collegio Romano, is chiefly interesting to antiquaries. It is visible from 10 to 3 daily—admission 1 fr., free on holidays. It contains a number of antiquities illustrative of Roman and Etruscan customs, and many beautiful ancient bronzes. The most important object is the '**Cista Ficoroni**,' a silver vase and cover, which was found at Palestrina, and is incised with the subject of the victory of Polideuces over King Amycos. In the Christian collection is the curious *graffito*, representing the **Crucifixion**, found on the Palatine, and described in Chap. VI.[2] Another gallery is filled with interesting objects found during excavations at Palestrina. The little cortile at the left of the entrance to the museum contains many interesting architectonic fragments, especially the base of the statue of Valens, which stood on the Pons Cestius, with an inscription. The ethnographic and prehistoric collections here deserve particular attention.

The **Observatory** of the Collegio has obtained a European reputation from the important researches of Padre Secchi, who died February 26, 1878.

The Collegio has produced eight Popes—Urban VIII., Innocent X., Clement IX., Clement X., Innocent XII., Clement XI., Innocent XIII., and Clement XII. Among its other pupils have been S.

[1] Founded by Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680), a German Jesuit, and Professor of Mathematics in the Collegio Romano; said to have invented the magic lantern.

[2] It is in the room at the end of the corridor on the left.

Camillo de Lellis, the Blessed Leonardo di Porto-Maurizio, the Venerable Pietro Berna, and others.

'Ignace, François Borgia, ont passé par ici. Leur souvenir plane, comme un encouragement et une bénédiction, sur ces salles où ils présidèrent aux études, sur ces chaires où peut-être retentit leur parole, sur ces modestes cellules qu'ils ont habitées. A la fin du seizième siècle, les élèves du collège Romain perdirent un de leurs condisciples que sa douce aménité et ses vertus angéliques avaient rendu l'objet d'un affectueux respect. Ce jeune homme avait été page de Philippe II.; il était allié aux maisons royales d'Autriche, de Bourbon et de Lorraine. Mais au milieu de ces illusions d'une grande vie, sous ce brillant costume de cour qui semblait lui promettre honneurs et fortune, il ne voyait jamais que la pieuse figure de sa mère agenouillée au pied des autels, et priant pour lui. A peine âgé de seize ans, il s'échappe de Madrid, il vient frapper à la porte du collège Romain, et demande place, au dortoir et à l'étude, pour Louis Gonzague, fils du comte de Castiglione. Pendant sept ans, Louis donna dans cette maison le touchant exemple d'une vie céleste; puis ses jours *déclinèrent*, comme parle l'Ecriture; il avait assez vécu.'—*Gournerie*, '*Rome Chrétienne*,' ii. 211.

The books stolen from the monasteries after the fall of Rome were stacked on the ground floor of the Collegio Romano, in the charge of a single porter, who was only discovered to be selling them as waste-paper when a student found that the butter which he bought in Piazza Navona was wrapped up in an autograph letter of Columbus! This now constitutes the **Vittorio Emmanuele Library.**

The **Via del Collegio Romano** passes over the site of the great temple of Isis and Serapis. The obelisks of the Pantheon and Villa Mattei came from hence, as well as the statue of the Nile, in the Braccio Nuovo, and many curious Egyptian relics.

We now reach, on the right of the Corso, the **Church of S. Maria in Via Lata,** which was founded by Sergius I. in the eighth century, but twice rebuilt—by Innocent VIII. in 1485, and the second time under Alexander VII. in 1662, when the façade and portico were added by Pietro da Cortona.

In this church 'they still show a little chapel in which, as hath been handed down from the first ages, S. Luke the Evangelist wrote, and painted the effigy of the Virgin Mother of God.'—*See Jameson's* '*Sacred Art*,' p. 155.

The subterranean church is shown as the house in which S. Paul is held to have lodged with the Centurion when he was in Rome. It has been regarded as having belonged to Martialis, whom tradition identifies with the child who was blessed by the Divine Master, when He said, 'Suffer little children to come unto Me,' and who, ever after a faithful follower of Christ, bore the basket of bread and fishes in the wilderness, and served at table during the Last Supper. This site, however, was occupied by the Septa Julia until A.D. 80.

'And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him.

'And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging: to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses and out of the prophets, from morning till evening. . . .

'And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all

that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.'—*Acts* xxviii. 16, 23, 30, 31.

'S. Paul, after his arrival in Rome, having made his usual effort, in the first place, for the salvation of his own countrymen, and, as usual, having found it vain, turned to the Gentiles, and during two whole years, in which he was a prisoner, received all that came to him, preaching the kingdom of God. It was thus that God overruled his imprisonment for the furtherance of the gospel, so that his bonds in Christ were manifest in the palace, and in all other places, and many of the brethren of the Lord, waxing confident by his bonds, were much more bold to speak the word without fear. Even in the palace of Nero, the most noxious atmosphere, as we should have concluded, for the growth of divine truth, his bonds were manifest, the Lord Jesus was preached, and, more than this, was received to the saving of many souls; for we find the apostle writing to his Philippian converts: "All the saints salute you, chiefly they which are of Caesar's household."'—*Blunt's 'Lectures on S. Paul.'*

'In writing to Philemon, Paul chooses to speak of himself as the captive of Jesus Christ. Yet he went whither he would, and was free to receive those who came to him. It is interesting to remember, amid these solemn vaults, the different events of S. Paul's apostolate during the two years that he lived here. It was here that he converted Onesimus, that he received the presents of the Philippians, brought by Epaphroditus; it was hence that he wrote to Philemon, to Titus, to the inhabitants of Philippi and of Colosse; it was here that he preached devotion to the cross with that glowing eagerness, with that startling eloquence, which gained fresh power from contest, and which inspiration rendered sublime.

'Peter addressed himself to the uncircumcised: Paul to the Gentiles [1]—to their silence that he might confound it, to their reason that he might humble it. Had he not already converted the proconsul Sergius Paulus, and Dionysius the Areopagite? At Rome his word is equally powerful, and among the courtiers of Nero, perhaps even amongst his relations, are those who yield to the power of God, who reveals Himself in each of the teachings of His servant.[2] Around the Apostle his eager disciples group themselves—Onesiphorus of Ephesus, who was not ashamed of his chain;[3] Epaphras of Colosse, who was captive with him, *concaptivus meus;*[4] Timothy, who was one with his master in a holy union of every thought, and who was attached to him like a son, *sicut patri filius;*[5] Hermas, Aristarchus, Marcus, Demas, and Luke the physician, the faithful companion of the Apostle, his well-beloved disciple—"Lucas medicus carissimus."'—*From Gournerie, 'Rome Chrétienne.'*

'I honour Rome for this reason; for though I could celebrate her praises on many other accounts—for her greatness, for her beauty, for her power, for her wealth, and for her warlike exploits—yet, passing over all these things, I glorify her on this account, that Paul in his lifetime wrote to the Romans, and loved them, and was present with and conversed with them, and ended his life amongst them. Wherefore the city is on this account renowned more than on all others—on this account I admire her, not on account of her gold, her columns, or her other splendid decorations.'—*S. John Chrysostom, 'Homily on the Ep. to the Romans.'*

'The Roman Jews expressed a wish to hear from S. Paul himself a statement of his religious sentiments, adding that the Christian sect was everywhere spoken against. . . . A day was fixed for the meeting at his private lodging.

'The Jews came in great numbers at the appointed time. Then followed an impressive scene, like that of Troas (Acts xxi.)—the Apostle pleading long and earnestly—bearing testimony concerning the kingdom of God—and endeavouring to persuade them by arguments drawn from their own Scriptures—"from morning till evening." The result was a division among the audi-

[1] Gal. ii. 7. [2] Phil. iv. 22. [3] 2 Tim. i. 16. [4] Philem. 23. [5] Phil. ii. 22.

tors—"not peace, but a sword"—the division which has resulted ever since, when the Truth of God has encountered, side by side, earnest conviction with worldly indifference, honest investigation with bigoted prejudice, trustful faith with the pride of scepticism. After a long and stormy discussion, the unbelieving portion departed; but not until S. Paul had warned them, in one last address, that they were bringing upon themselves that awful doom of judicial blindness which was denounced in their own Scriptures against obstinate unbelievers; that the salvation which they rejected would be withdrawn from them, and the inheritance they renounced would be given to the Gentiles. The sentence with which he gave emphasis to this solemn warning was that passage in Isaiah which, recurring thus with solemn force at the very close of the Apostolic history, seems to bring very strikingly together the Old Dispensation and the New, and to connect the ministry of our Lord with that of His Apostles: "Go unto this people and say: Hearing ye shall hear and shall not understand, and seeing ye shall see and shall not perceive: for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them."

'. . . During the long delay of his trial S. Paul was not reduced, as he had been at Caesarea, to a forced inactivity. On the contrary, he was permitted the freest intercourse with his friends, and was allowed to reside in a house of sufficient size to accommodate the congregation which flocked together to listen to his teaching. The freest scope was given to his labours, consistent with the military custody under which he was placed. We are told, in language peculiarly emphatic, that his teaching was subjected to no restraint whatever. And that which seemed at first to impede, must really have deepened the impression of his eloquence; for who could see without emotion that venerable form subjected by iron links to the coarse control of the soldier who stood beside him? how often must the tears of the assembly have been called forth by the upraising of that fettered hand, and the clanking of the chain which checked its energetic action!

'Amongst the rest of S. Paul's companions at this time there were two whom he distinguishes by the honourable title of his "fellow-prisoners." One of these is Aristarchus, the other Epaphras. With regard to the former, we know that he was a Macedonian of Thessalonica, one of "Paul's companions in travel," whose life was endangered by the mob at Ephesus, and who embarked with S. Paul at Caesarea when he set sail from Rome. The other, Epaphras, was a Colossian, who must not be identified with the Philippian Epaphroditus, another of S. Paul's fellow-labourers during this time. It is not easy to say in what exact sense these two disciples were peculiarly *fellow-prisoners* of S. Paul. Perhaps it only implies that they dwelt in his house, which was also his prison.

'But of all the disciples now ministering to S. Paul at Rome, none has a greater interest than the fugitive Asiatic slave Onesimus. He belonged to a Christian named Philemon, a member of the Colossian Church. But he had robbed his master, and fled from Colosse, and at last found his way to Rome. Here he was converted to the faith of Christ, and had confessed to S. Paul his sins against his master.'—*Conybeare and Howson*, '*Life of S. Paul.*'

'Rome contained on the same day within her walls such men as Sophonius Tigellinus, Nero, Seneca, Thrasea, Paetus, and Paul of Tarsus; gradations of human nature, from the devilish worshipper of sensuality to the worshipper of the Ideal in the crown of thorns. They might have trodden the pavement of the Forum at the same moment. And while the court Epicureans, who made beauty as independent of morality as a later age would have made religious faith independent of reason, held their wild revels on the Palatine, in the Ghetto of that time walked the poor tent-maker from Cilicia, looking compassionately on these orgies of the flesh—for he felt their might in his own frame—and absorbed in the great mystery of salvation, the annihilation of sin, and the reunion of erring mankind to a spiritual body in the true ideal of beauty, the First-born of the creation.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

A fountain in the crypt is shown, as having miraculously sprung up in answer to the prayers of S. Paul, that he might have where-

withal to baptize his disciples. At the end of the crypt are some large blocks of peperino, said to be remains of the arch erected by the senate in honour of the Emperor Diocletian and destroyed by Innocent VIII. The remains under the Palazzo Doria belong to the Septa Julia, covered porticoes for the use of the Roman people during the votings, begun by Julius Caesar[1] and finished by Agrippa in 27 B.C.[2]

On the side of the Via Lata, opposite the church, is a quaint little fountain of a man with a barrel, whence pours the water; removed from the Corso in 1872.

Far along the right side of the Corso now extends the façade of the immense and beautifully-kept **Palazzo Doria**, built by Valvassori (the front towards the Collegio Romano being by Pietro da Cortona, and that towards the Piazza Venezia by Amati).

'The Doria Palace is almost two-thirds the size of S. Peter's, and within the ground plan of S. Peter's the Coliseum could stand. It used to be said that a thousand persons lived under the roof outside of the gallery and the private apartments, which alone surpass in extent the majority of royal residences. . . . One often hears foreign visitors, ignorant of the real size of palaces in Rome, observe with contempt, that the Roman princes let their palaces. It would be more reasonable to inquire what use could be made of such buildings if they were not let, or how any family could be expected to inhabit a thousand rooms.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The **Picture Gallery** (open on Mondays and Fridays from 10 to 2—on fasts the day following) is reached from the Piazza del Collegio Romano, at the back of the palace, and is on the primo piano. It contains a few fine works, partly collected by Olympia Maidalchini, partly acquired in the time of the great Andrea Doria, and brought to Rome from Genoa. Amongst the gems of the collection, but removed to the private apartments, are—

Sebastiano del Piombo. (Celebrated for his power of making use of all the tints of the same colour, which is especially shown in this picture.) Portrait of Andrea Doria.

A portrait by *Bronzino* is said to represent Gianetto Doria.

The pictures are ill restored. Following the galleries, we may notice:—

Algardi. Bust of Olympia Maidalchini Pamfili, the sister-in-law of Innocent X., who ruled Rome in his time, and built the Villa Doria Pamfili for her son.

196. *Holbein?* Portrait of a man holding a carnation (1545).

208. *Holbein?* Female Portrait.

*68. *Claude Lorraine.* The Mill.

'The foreground of the picture of "The Mill" is a piece of very lovely and perfect forest scenery, with a dance of peasants by a brook-side; quite enough subject to form, in the hands of a master, an impressive and complete picture. On the other side of the brook, however, we have a piece of pastoral life; a man with some bulls and goats tumbling head foremost into the water, owing to some sudden paralytic affection of all their legs. Even this group is one too many: the shepherd had no business to drive his flock so near the dancers, and the dancers will certainly frighten the cattle. But when we look further into the picture, our feelings receive a sudden and violent shock, by the un-

[1] Cicero, *Ad Att.* v. 16.

[2] Dion Cass. liii. 23.

expected appearance, amidst things pastoral and musical, of the military; a number of Roman soldiers riding in on hobby-horses, with a leader on foot, apparently encouraging them to make an immediate and decisive charge on the musicians. Beyond the soldiers is a circular temple, in exceedingly bad repair; and close beside it, built against its very walls, a neat water-mill in full work; by the mill flows a large river with a weir across it. . . . At an inconvenient distance from the water-side stands a city, composed of twenty-five round towers and a pyramid. Beyond the city is a handsome bridge; beyond the bridge, part of the Campagna, with fragments of aqueducts; beyond the Campagna the chain of the Alps; on the left, the cascades of Tivoli.

'This is a fair example of what is commonly called an "ideal" landscape: *i.e.* a group of the artist's studies from nature, individually spoiled, selected with such opposition of character as may ensure their neutralising each other's effect, and united with sufficient unnaturalness and violence of association to ensure their producing a general sensation of the impossible.'—*Ruskin's 'Modern Painters.'*

'Many painters take a particular spot and sketch it to perfection; but Claude was convinced that taking nature as he found it seldom produced beauty. Neither did he like exhibiting in his pictures accidents of nature. He professed to portray the style of general nature, and so his pictures were a composition of the various drafts which he had previously made from beautiful scenes and prospects.'—*Sir J. Reynolds.*

78. *Annibale Caracci.* Assumption. A lunette.
72. *Claude Lorraine.* Landscape, with Mercury stealing the oxen of Apollo.
134. *Stefano di Giovanni.* Marriage of the Virgin.
Bernini. Bust of Innocent X. (with whose wealth this palace was built), in porphyry, with a bronze head.
403. **Raffaelle.** 'Bartolo and Baldo'—the Venetians Beazzano and Navagero, painted in Rome, April 1516.[1]
118. **Velasquez.** Portrait of Innocent X.—Gio Battista Pamfili (1644-45)—'l'uomo dall' aspetto tetrice e saturnino,' as Giovanni Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador, wrote of him. 'Un Papa buono per le donne,' is the description of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. The letter in the Pope's hand is signed Diego di Velasquez. This is the finest portrait in Rome.
386. *Titian?* Portrait.
116. *Ignoto.* Niccolaus Macciavellus, Historiar Scriptor.

Sala II. is decorated with mirrors, and statues of no especial merit. Hence four rooms, with indifferent pictures, lead to a *Cabinet* containing busts of Philippo, Prince Doria, his wife (Lady Mary Talbot), and her sister Gwendolen, the saintly Princess Borghese. Returning we enter

Sala III.—

439. *Andrea del Sarto.* The Virgin and Child and S. Giovanni. A good picture, badly retouched and greyed.
161. *Garofalo* (1519). The Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth.
296. *Guido Reni.* Madonna and Sleeping Child.

The **Great Hall** contains in the centre a **Centaur in rosso-antico,** found in the villa of Pompey at Albano. On the walls hang four fine tapestries. Round the walls are four sarcophagi, with reliefs of the Hunt of Meleager, the story of Marsyas, Endymion

[1] Letter of Bembo to Cardinal Dovizio da Bibbiena, referring to the presence of the two Venetians in Rome.

and Diana, and a Bacchic procession. Of two ancient circular altars, one serves as the pedestal of a bearded archaic Dionysos. Notice sixteenth century mantelpiece and fireplace; a porphyry vase.

Sala IV.

173. *Quentin Matsys.* The Misers.
231. *Rubens.* Portrait of a Franciscan Monk who was confessor to the artist.
388. **Titian. The Daughter of Herodias.**—"A beautiful woman, of indescribable charm—one of Titian's most charming creations."—*Morelli.*
A grand bust of Andrea Doria.
153. A Flemish copy of an original by *Giulio Romano*, representing **Joanna of Arragon.** Another is in the Louvre.
422. *Garofalo* (Ascribed to *L'Ortolano*). The Nativity—a beautiful picture.

Opposite the Palazzo Doria is the **Palazzo Salviati** (Borghese) where Cardinal de Bernis, the favourite of Madame du Barri, held his court, and received 'Mesdames'—Tantes du Roi—when they fled from the Château de Bellevue at the Great Revolution. The next two streets on the left lead into the long narrow square, **Piazza Santi Apostoli** (where General Oudinot returned public thanks after the capture of Rome by the French, June 29, 1849), containing several handsome palaces. That on the right is the **Palazzo Odescalchi,**[1] built by Bernini, in 1660, for Cardinal Fabio Chigi, to whose family it formerly belonged. It has some fine painted and carved wooden ceilings. This palace is supposed to be the scene of one of the latest miracles of the Roman Catholic Church. The Princess Odescalchi had long been bedridden, and was apparently dying of a hopeless disease, when, while her family were watching what they considered her last moments, the Pope (Pius IX.) sent, by the hands of a nun, a little loaf (*panetello*), which he desired her to swallow. With terrible effort the sick woman obeyed, and was immediately healed, and on the following day the astonished Romans saw her go in person to the Pope, at the Vatican, to return thanks for her restoration!

The great building at the end of the square is the **Palazzo Valentini** (1585), now the Prefettura, which once contained a collection of antiquities. In the courtyard were a number of curious heads of animals, now in the Museo delle Terme. It occupies the site of the Temple of Trajan, heading that emperor's Forum.

Near this, on the left, but separated from the Piazza S. Apostoli by a courtyard, stands the vast **Palazzo Colonna,** begun in the fifteenth century by Martin V., and continued at various later periods. Martin V. resided here with his kindred, considering the Colonna Palace more secure than the Vatican. The people tried to force his successor (Eugenius IV.) to live here also. Julius II. at one time made the palace his residence, and also Cardinal (afterwards San Carlo) Borromeo. Part of it is now a residence for French ambassadors. The palace is built near the site of the ancient

[1] The flank of the P. Odescalchi facing P. Doria is modern.

fortress of the Colonna family—so celebrated in mediaeval warfare with the Orsini and Caetani—of which one lofty tower still remains standing in the Via Nazionale, adjoining. It is held by some that the family took its name from the neighbouring Column of Trajan—La Colonna.

The **Gallery**, shown from 11 to 3 on Tuesdays and Saturdays, can only now be entered at No. 17 Via della Pilotta—the picturesque street at the back of the palace. Hence you at once reach the **Great Hall**, a truly grand room, hung with mirrors and painted with flowers by *Mario de' Fiori*, and with genii by *Maratta*. The statues here are unimportant. The ceiling is adorned with paintings, by *Coli* and *Gherardi*, illustrating the battle of Lepanto, Oct. 8, 1571, which Marc-Antonio Colonna assisted in gaining. The best pictures are the family portraits: Federigo Colonna, *Sustermanns;* Don Carlo Colonna, *Vandyke;* Card. Pompeio Colonna, *Lorenzo Lotto;* Vittoria Colonna, *Muziano;* Lucrezia Colonna, *Vandyke* (the best work of the artist in Rome); Pompeio Colonna, *Agostino Caracci;* Giacomo Sciarra Colonna, *Giorgione* (?). We may also notice an extraordinary picture of the Madonna rescuing a child from a demon, by *Niccolò d' Alunno*. Near the entrance are some glorious old cabinets, inlaid with ivory and lapis-lazuli. On the steps leading to the upper end of the hall is a bomb left on the spot where it fell during the siege of Rome in 1848. A grand reception held here in 1902 was regarded as the finest function of its kind seen in Rome since 1870.

'The Galleria is itself too brilliant a picture for the pictures which it contains.'—*Forsyth.*

From the lower end of the Great Hall, on the right, we enter—

The **1st Room**. The ceiling has a fresco, by *Battoni* and *Luti*, of the apotheosis of Martin V. (Oddone Colonna, 1417–24)—the Colonnesi rise from the grave bearing the column, the heraldic badge of their race. The pictures include—

Paolo Veronese. A portrait.
Holbein. Lorenzo Colonna.
Ann. Caracci. Peasant dining.
Titian. Onuphrio Pavinio. (The Vatican Librarian: but the inscription is not genuine.)
Giov. Bellini? S. Bernard.

The **3rd Room** has an interesting collection of the early schools, including Madonnas of *Filippo Lippi*, *Luca Longhi*, *Botticelli*, *Gentile da Fabriano* (?), *Innocenzo da Imola;* a curious Crucifixion, by *Jacopo d'Avanzo;* and a portrait of a boy by *Giovanni Sanzio*, father of Raffaelle.

These lead into a gloomy old hall, containing the family dais, and hung with decaying Colonna portraits. Then come three rooms covered with tapestries, the last containing a pretty statue of a girl, not often shown, sometimes called Niobe.

(Through the palace access may be obtained to the beautiful Colonna Gardens (Baths of Constantine) ; but as they are generally visited from the Quirinal they will be noticed in the description of the hill.)

'On parle d'un Pierre Colonna, dépouillé de tous ses biens en 1100 par le pape Pascal II. Il fallait que la famille, fût déjà passablement ancienne, car les grandes fortunes ne s'élèvant pas en un jour.'—*About.*

'Si'l n'étoit le différent des Ursins et de Colonnois [Orsini and Colonna] la terre de l'Eglise seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les subjects, qui soit en tout le monde.'—*Philippe de Comines*, 1500.

'Gloriosa Colonna, in cui s' appoggia
Nostra speranza, e 'l gran nome latino,
Ch' ancor non torse dal vero cammino
L' ira di Giove per ventosa pioggia.'
—*Petrarca, Sonetto* x.

Adjoining the Palazzo Colonna is the **Church of the Santi Apostoli,** founded in 560, rebuilt by Martin V. in 1420, and modernised, *c.* 1602, by *Fontana.* The façade is by *Meo del Caprino.* The Barocco portico (1720), in two storeys, contains a magnificent bas-relief of an eagle and an oak-wreath (frequently copied and introduced in architectural designs), brought from the Forum of Trajan.

Beneath the eagle is a much-perished thirteenth-century lion—'opus magistri Vassallecti'—removed, since 1870, from the front of the church toward the piazza. The famous *calix marmoreus*—a vase mentioned in the Bull of John III., A.D. 570, by which the boundary-line of the parish was formerly determined—has been removed to the Baths of Diocletian. Also in the portico is a monument, by *Canova,* to Volpato the Venetian engraver. The church is the burial-place of the house of Colonna. Over the sacristy door is the tomb of Pope Clement XIV. (Giov. Antonio Ganganelli, 1769-74), also by Canova, executed in his twenty-fifth year. Clement XIV. was the last Pope who took part in the public procession of the 'cavalcata' from the Quirinal to the Lateran (Nov. 26, 1769), riding, as Popes had always done hitherto, upon a white palfrey, covered with a crimson velvet gold-embroidered saddle-cloth, led by the representative Colonna. He was supposed to have died from poison administered by the Jesuits (Sept. 30, 1774).

'The nature of the Pope's illness, and all the circumstances of his death, make every one believe it could not be natural.'—*Cardinal de Bernis.*

'Morì Clemente, e il suo morir fatale
Fa imprimerci nel cuore alto spavento
Che nel trasse al lugubre funerale
D' occulta man venefico ardimento.'
—*Contemporary Verses.*

Until removed to Florence Michelangelo's remains were buried here, he having died hard by, in this parish, Feb. 17, 1564.

'La mort de Clément XIV. est du 22 Septembre 1774. A cette époque, Alphonse de Liguori était évêque de Sainte-Agathe des Goths, au royaume de Naples. Le 22 Septembre, au matin, l'évêque tomba dans une espèce de sommeil léthargique après avoir dit la messe, et, pendant vingt-quatre heures, il demeura sans mouvement dans son fauteuil. Ses serviteurs s'étonnant de cet état, le lendemain, avec lui : "Vous ne savez pas," leur dit-il, "que j'ai assisté le pape que vient de mourir." Peu après, la nouvelle du décès de Clément arriva à Sainte Agathe.'—*Gournerie*, '*Chrétienne*,' ii. 362.

In 1873 the traditional grave of S. Philip and S. James the Less (the 'Apostoli' to whom this church is dedicated), was opened during its restoration. Two bodies were found, enclosed in a sarcophagus, of translucent marble, and have been duly enshrined.[1]

In the choir are two beautiful monuments of the fifteenth century; on the left is that with an admirable portrait-statue to Piero Riario, the profligate and luxurious nephew of Sixtus IV., ob. 1474, made cardinal at twenty-five, who flaunted his mistresses in attire of such costliness that even their slippers were embroidered with pearls. On the right is the monument, with a portrait, of Cardinal Raffaello Riario, and beneath it the tomb of Giraud Auseduno, who married a niece of Pope Julius II. and was maître-d'hôtel ('familiae praefectus') to Charles VIII. and Louis XII. of France. The tomb of Cardinal Bessarion was removed from the church in 1702 to the cloisters of the adjoining **Convent**, which is the residence of the General of the Order of 'Minori Conventuali' (Black Friars). The altarpiece, by *Muratori*, represents the martyrdom of SS. Philip and James.

Against the second pillar on the right is a monument to the heart of Maria Clementina Sobieski (buried in S. Peter's), wife of James III., called the Old Pretender, as is shown by the inscription, 'Hic Clementinae remanent praecordia, nam cor coelestis fecit ne superesset amor.'

'Le roi d'Angleterre est dévot à l'excès ; sa matinée se passe en prières aux Saints-Apôtres, près du tombeau de sa femme.'—*De Brosses*, 1739.

Here also the 'Old Pretender' (Chevalier de S. George) himself lay in state for five days, crowned, sceptred, and in royal robes, under a canopy inscribed—'Jacobus, Magnae Britanniae Rex, Anno MDCCLXVI.'

In 1552 the church was remarkable for the sermons of the monk Felix Peretti, afterwards Sixtus V.

'Suivant un manuscrit de la bibliothèque Alfieri, un jour, pendant qu'il était dans la chaire des Saints-Apôtres, un billet cacheté lui fut remis ; Frère Félix l'ouvre et y lit, en face d'un certain nombre de propositions que l'on disait être extraites de ses discours, ce mot écrit en gros caractères : MENTIRIS (tu mens). Le fougueux orateur eut peine à contenir son émotion ; il termina son sermon en quelques paroles, et courut au palais de l'Inquisition présenter le billet mystérieux et demander qu'on examinât scrupuleusement sa doctrine. Cet examen lui fut favorable, et il lui valut l'amitié du grand inquisiteur, Michel Ghislieri, qui comprit aussitôt tout le parti qu'on pouvait tirer d'un homme dont les moindres actions étaient empreintes d'une inébranlable force de caractère.'—*Gournerie*.

[1] At Rome especially, it is always well to remember that the doctrine of the invocation and intercession of saints only dates from the fourth century.

In this church is buried the young Countess Savorelli, the story of whose love, misfortunes, and death has been celebrated by About, under the name of *Tolla* (the Lello of the story having been one of the Doria-Pamfili family).

'The convent which Tolla had sanctified by her death sent three embassies in turn to beg to preserve her relics: already the people spoke of her as a saint. But Count Feraldi (Savorelli) considered that it was due to his honour and to his vengeance to bear her remains with pomp to the tomb of his family. He had sufficient influence to obtain that for which permission is not granted once in ten years—the right of transporting her uncovered, upon a bed of white velvet, and of sparing her the horrors of a coffin. The beloved remains were wrapped in the white muslin robe which she wore in the garden on the day when she exchanged her sweet vows with Lello. The Marchesa Trasimeni, ill and wasted as she was, came herself to arrange her hair in the manner she loved. Every garden in Rome despoiled itself to send her its flowers; it was only necessary to choose. The funeral procession quitted the church of S. Antonio Abbate on Thursday evening at 7.30 for the Santi Apostoli, where the Feraldi are buried. The body was preceded by a long file of the black and white confraternities, each bearing its banner. The red light of the torches played upon the countenance of the beautiful dead, and seemed to animate her afresh. The piazza was filled with a dense and closely packed but dumb crowd; no discordant sound troubled the grief of the relations and friends of Tolla, who wept together at the Palazzo Feraldi. . . .

'The Church of the Apostoli and the tomb of the poor loving girl become at certain days of the year an object of pilgrimage, and more than one young Roman maiden adds to her evening litany the words, "S. Tolla, virgin and martyr, pray for us."'—*About.*

The two columns of alabaster in the Odescalchi chapel came in 1728 from the House of Augustus on the Palatine.

Just beyond the church is the **Palazzo Muti-Pappazzuri** or **Savorelli**, now **Balestra**, the home of Tolla ('Palazzo Feraldi'). The palace, rented for them by the Pope, was the Roman residence of the Stuart princes. Here Clementina Sobieski died in the habit of a Dominican nun, and lay in state (Jan. 22, 1735) 'upon royal robes with a royal crown,' and was carried hence with royal pomp to S. Peter's. James III., called the 'Old Pretender,' also died here in 1766. His eldest son, Prince Charles Edward, the 'Young Pretender,' also died Jan. 31, 1788, in the arms of his daughter by Miss Walkenshaw (Duchess of Albany), in the house where he had been born on New Year's Eve, 1720, amid tumultuous rejoicings. The palace was built by *De Rossi*, a scholar of Bernini.

'The cannon of S. Angelo thundered in his honour. A new star was said to appear in the heavens that night to hail him. The Pope provided the baby-linen to the value of 6000 scudi. The Sacred College and the Spanish court came with their liberal offerings of gold. He was baptized by the names of Charles Edward Louis Casimir.'—*Dublin Review*, p. 245.

In the lifetime of Charles Edward it used to be high treason for any British subject to enter Palazzo Savorelli. Cardinal York used to drive hither from Albano with four horses, full gallop, attended by running footmen, who were so active and well-trained that they could tire out the fleetest horse.[1] Sir Horace Mann mentions in one

[1] Silvagni.

of his letters (May 2, 1772) that the Romans used to call the wife of Charles Edward 'Regina apostolorum,'[1] from the situation of her palace.[2] The Palazzo has buried the site of the central office of the Roman Vigiles or firemen. It was discovered under the palace in 1644, and consisted of huge walls with mosaic pavements and statues. There were seven main barracks (*stationes*) and seven offshoots (*excubitoria*) of the fire brigade in Augustan Rome (*cohortes vigilum*).

Returning to the Corso, we pass (right) **Palazzo Bonaparte** (formerly Rinuccini), built by Giovanni dei Rossi in 1660. There is a gigantic statue of Napoleon I. opposite the foot of the staircase. Here Letizia Bonaparte—'Madame Mère'—the mother of Napoleon I., three kings and a queen, lived in dignified simplicity, and died February 2, 1836. When she was dying, the porter, for a fee of one scudo, used to let people in to look at her through the crevices of a screen.[3] The Roman Princes Bonaparte represent the fusion of the two lines of Joseph and Lucien, brothers of Napoleon I. The recent head of the family was Cardinal Lucien-Louis Bonaparte, son of Prince Charles (son of Lucien) and of Princess Zénaïde, daughter of King Joseph of Spain. His only surviving brother is Prince Charles.

This palace forms one corner of the **Piazza di Venezia**, which contains the ancient castellated **Palace** of the Republic of Venice, erected in 1455 by Meo del Caprino and Giacomo di Pietrasanta, with materials plundered from the Coliseum (fine court). It was built for the firm, sagacious, and merciful Pope Paul (Barbo) II., who was of Venetian birth.[4] He built it when cardinal, and continued after his election to make it his chief residence in preference to the Vatican. The Capitoline Museum owes its best bronzes to the collection formed here by him. On the ruin of the Republic the palace fell into the hands of Austria, and is still the residence of the Austrian ambassador, to whom it was specially reserved on the cession of Venice to Italy. The projecting wing, or Palazzetto, is (1905) condemned to be removed.

Opposite this, between it and Trajan's Column (destroyed 1902), on a line with the Corso, stood the **Palazzo Torlonia** (formerly Frangipani), built by *Fontana* in 1650 for the Bolognetti family. The family of Torlonia was founded by Giovanni, mercer and draper, born in 1754. He rose as a banker under Pius VI. and VII., was created marquis, prince, and duke, and united his sons and daughters with princely families. His present representative owns the Villa Albani and almost every alternate estate in the Campagna.

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[1] Queen Louisa, commemorated by Burns in the "Bonny Lass o' Albany."

[2] The proclamation of James III. exhibited at the market-cross of Edinburgh in '45, his shoe-buckles, and the communion plate of Cardinal York, are preserved at the Scotch College in Via Quattro Fontane.

[3] Dr. Wellesley's Reminiscences.

[4] Alas, he built it with the spoils of the temple of Claudius on the Coelian, of the Coliseum, of a temple near S. Maria in Cosmedin, of the tombs of the Via Flaminia, of the Septa Julia, and other ancient buildings.

'Nobility is certainly more the fruit of wealth in Italy than in England. Here, where a title and estate are sold together, a man who can buy the one secures the other. From the station of a lacquey, an Italian who can amass riches may rise to that of duke. Thus, Torlonia, the Roman banker, who purchased the title and estate of the Duca di Bracciano, fitted up the "Palazzo Nuovo di Torlonia" with all the magnificence that wealth commands, and a marble gallery, with its polished floors, modern statues, painted ceilings, and gilded furniture, far outshines the faded splendour of the halls of the old Roman nobility.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'Un ancien domestique de place, devenu spéculateur et banquier, achéte un marquisat, puis une principautè. Il crée un majorat pour son fils aîné et une seconde géniture en faveur de l'autre. L'un épouse une Sforza-Cesarini et marie ses deux fils à une Chigi et une Ruspoli; l'autre obtient pour femme une Colonna-Doria. C'est ainsi que la famille Torlonia, par la puissance de l'argent et la faveur du saint-père, s'est élevée presque subitement à la hauteur des plus grandes maisons népotiques et féodales.'—*About.*

The site is now occupied by a new hotel and shops raised in symmetrical imitation of the Palazzo Venezia in order to let Sacconi's monument of Victor Emmanuel command the Corso.

The most interesting of the antiquities preserved in this palace was a bas-relief, representing a combat between men and animals, brought hither from the Palazzo Orsini, and probably portraying the famous dedication of the theatre of Marcellus on that site, celebrated by the slaughter of six hundred animals. A handsome suite of rooms, bequeathed to the town by Don Giovanni Torlonia, was open to the public on certain days.

The end of the Corso—narrowed by the projecting wing of the Venetian Palace—was known as the **Ripresa dei Barberi**, because there the horses which ran in the races during the Carnival were caught in large folds of drapery let down across the street to prevent their dashing themselves to pieces against the opposite wall. The sacrifice of the wing of this grand historic palace is contemplated in order to allow a better view of the pretentious monument to Victor Emmanuel, to obtain a site for which the tower of Paul II., the noblest ornament of the Corso, was pulled down several years ago.

Close to the end of the street, formerly built into the wall of a house in the Via di Marforio, is one of the few relics of republican times in the city—a travertine **Tomb**, bearing an inscription, which states that it was erected by order of the people on land granted by the Senate, 'on account of his honours and worth,' to Caius Publicius Bibulus, the plebeian aedile, and his posterity. Petrarch mentions in one of his letters that he wrote a sonnet leaning against this tomb.

The tomb has a secondary interest as marking the commencement of the Via Flaminia, as it stood just outside the Porta Ratumena, of the Servian Wall, from whence that road issued. This gate took its name from a chariot-driver, whose horses ran away during races at Veii, and did not stop till they reached this spot, when they upset his car and killed him.[1] There are remains of another tomb

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 42.

on the opposite side of the street. The Via Flaminia, like the Via Appia, and the other roads, was once flanked with tombs. In the court of No. 18 Via del Ghetarello, which opens out of the Via di Marforio (the ancient Via Lata), are some remains of the outer wall of the **Forum of Julius Caesar**, which formed the first extension of the Forum Romanum.

The **Via Macel dei Corvi**, near this, is supposed to mark the site of the arch called Arcus Manus Carneae in the Middle Ages. The *Mirabilia* narrates that when the Christian matron Lucia was beaten by order of Diocletian, 'he that smote her was made stone, but his hand remained flesh till the seventh day, wherefore the name of that place is called the Hand of Flesh unto this day.' In the Via Macel dei Corvi, the picturesque house of Giulio Romano has been recently destroyed, together with the ascent by steps to the Capitol from the Via di Marforio, a subject well known to artists.

From the Ripresa dei Barberi, a street passing (1905) under a picturesque and lofty arch on the right leads to the back of the Venetian Palace, where is the **Church of S. Marco**, originally founded in the time of Constantine, but rebuilt in 833, and modernised by Cardinal Quirini in 1744. Its portico, which is lined with early Christian inscriptions, contains a fine fifteenth-century doorway, surmounted by a bas-relief figure of S. Mark. The interior is in the form of a basilica, its naves and aisles separated by twenty beautiful columns veneered with Sicilian jasper, and ending in an apse. Much of the pavement is of Opus Alexandrinum. The best pictures are S. Marco, 'a Pope enthroned, by *Carlo Crivelli*, resembling in sharpness of finish and individuality the works of Bartolommeo Vivarini,' and 1st altar, r., a Resurrection by *Palma Giovane*.

'The mosaics of S. Marco, executed under Pope Gregory IV. (A.D. 827–44), with all their splendour, exhibit the utmost poverty of expression. Above the tribune, in circular compartments, is the portrait of Christ between the symbols of the Evangelists, and further below SS. Peter and Paul (or two prophets) with scrolls; within the tribune, beneath a hand extended with a wreath, is the standing figure of Christ with an open book, and on either side, S. Angelo and Pope Gregory IV. Farther on, but still belonging to the dome, are the thirteen lambs, forming a second and quite uneven circle round the figures. The execution is here specially rude, and of true Byzantine rigidity, while, as if the artist knew that his long lean figures were anything but secure upon their feet, he has given them each a separate little pedestal. The lines of the drapery are chiefly straight and parallel, while, with all this rudeness, a certain play of colour has been contrived by the introduction of high lights of another colour.'—*Kugler*.

Notice the candelabra in the choir made of rare Breccia Corallina; and the tomb of Bishop Capranica by the choir stairs.

This church is said to have been originally founded in honour of the Evangelist in 337 by Pope Marco, but the Pope, being himself canonised, is also honoured here, and is buried under the high altar. On April 25, S. Mark's Day, a grand procession of clergy used to start from hence. The *biga* of the Vatican was long used as an episcopal throne in the choir of this church.

In demolishing a house at the angle of the Via di S. Marco (vicus Pallacinae) and Via della Pedacchia, a portico of the thirteenth century was discovered, possibly built from fragments of the Church of S. Lorenzo in pensilis or ad balneas Pallacinas.

West of the Palazzo Venezia is the vast **Church of Il Gesù**, begun in 1568 by the celebrated *Vignola*, but the cupola and façade were completed in 1575 by his scholar *Giacomo della Porta*. It is in the form of a Latin cross. To the left of the high altar is the monument of Cardinal Bellarmin, and various pictures representing events in the lives or deaths of the Jesuit saints—that of the death of S. Francis Xavier is by *Carlo Maratta*. The high altar, by *Giacomo della Porta*, has four fine columns of giallo-antico. The altar of **S. Ignatius** at the end of the **left transept** is of gaudy magnificence. It was designed by *Padre Pozzi*, the group of the Trinity being by *Bernardino Ludovisi;* the globe in the hand of the Almighty is said to be the largest piece of lapis-lazuli in existence. Beneath this altar, and his mostly **silver statue**, lies the body of S. Ignatius Loyola, in an urn of gilt bronze, adorned with precious stones. A great ceremony takes place in this church on July 31, the feast of S. Ignatius; and after vespers on December 31 a Te Deum is sung here for the mercies of the closing year—a solemn and impressive service.

The **Convent of the Gesù** is the residence of the General of the Jesuits ('His paternity'), and the centre of religious life in their Order. The rooms in which S. Ignatius lived and died are of deep historical interest. They consist of four chambers. The first, now a chapel, is that in which he wrote his 'Constitutions.' The second, also a chapel, is that in which he died. It contains the altar at which he daily celebrated mass, and the autograph engagement to live under the same laws of obedience, poverty, and chastity, signed by Laynez, Francis Xavier, and Ignatius Loyola. On its walls are two portraits of Loyola, one as a young knight, the other as a Jesuit father, and portraits of S. Carlo Borromeo and S. Filippo Neri. It was in this chamber also that S. Francis Borgia died. The third room was that of the attendant monk of S. Ignatius; the fourth is now a kind of museum of relics, containing portions of his robe and small articles which belonged to him and to other saints of the Order. Loyola prayed that his Order might be persecuted, and his prayer has not been in vain.

Facing the Piazza of the Gesù is the **Palazzo Altieri** with its shield of arms, built by Cardinal Altieri in 1670, from designs of *Giov. Antonio de Rossi*. The grand Court is considered his best work.

'Il palazzo Altieri è indubbiamente uno dei più belli e più grandi di Roma, è una residenza da sovrani e non da privati.'—*Silvagni.*

'Quand le palais Altieri fut achevé, les Altieri, neveux de Clément X., invitèrent leur oncle à le venir voir. Il s'y fit porter, et d'aussi loin qu'il aperçut la magnificence et l'entendue de cette superbe fabrique, il rebroussa chemin le cœur serré, sans dire un seul mot, et mourut peu après.'—*De Brosses.*

On the staircase is the statue of a Dacian (of the time of Trajan) found under Clement IX. in the Via del Governo Vecchio, apparently never having been taken away from its original workshop on that site.

'On the staircase of the Palazzo Altieri is also an ancient colossal marble *finger*,[1] of such extraordinary size that it is really worth a visit.'—*Mrs. Eaton.*

The Altieri claim an origin belonging to the time of Constantine, but probably came into Italy with Otho III. (990). Their palace was the residence of the noble-hearted vicar-general, Cardinal Altieri, who died a martyr to his devotion to his flock (as Bishop of Albano) during the terrible visitation of cholera at Albano in 1867. Near the entrance of the palace from the piazza is a record of the justice of Clement X.—though altered—the tiny house of an old widow, who refused to give up her hovel of two rooms, when streets, palaces, and churches were pulled down to make room for the new building.

The **Piazza del Gesù** is considered to be the most draughty place in Rome. The legend runs that the devil and the wind were one day taking a walk together. When they came to this square, the devil, who seemed to be very devout, said to the wind, 'Just wait a minute, mio caro, while I go into this church.' So the wind promised, and the devil went into the Gesù, and has somehow never come out again—and the wind is blowing about in the Piazza del Gesù to this day. The Palace facing the Altieri is the Bolognetti, belonging to Count Cenci-Bolognetti. Beside it (R.) runs to the Capitol **Via del Ara-Coeli**, a useful street for the visitor to make note of. From it on R. the Via Delfini, or further, Via Tor di Specchi, will take him direct to the Theatre of Marcellus, the Ghetto, and the Tiber-island by way of the picturesque Piazza Montanara (*q.v.*).

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[1] The finger was found in laying the foundations of the palace.

CHAPTER III

THE CAPITOLINE

The Story of the Hill—Piazza del Campidoglio—Palace of the Senator—View from the Capitol Tower—The Tabularium—The Museo Capitolino—Gallery of Statues—Palace of the Conservators—Gallery of Pictures—Palazzo Caffarelli—Tarpeia Rock—Convent and Church of Ara-Coeli—Mamertine Prisons.

THE Capitoline was the stronghold of the kings and the early Republic.

Mostly composed of volcanic tufa, its sides, now concealed by buildings or by the accumulated rubbish of ages, were abrupt and precipitous, as are still the sides of the neighbouring citadels of Corneto and Cervetri. It was united to the Quirinal by an isthmus of land afterwards cut away by Trajan, but in every other direction it was isolated by its almost perpendicular cliffs :—

> 'Arduus in valles et fora clivus erat.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* i. 264.

Up to the period of the Tarquins, the hill bore the name of Mons Saturnius,[1] from the mythical king Saturn, who is reported to have come to Italy in the reign of Janus, and to have made a settlement here. His name was derived from sowing (*saeturnus*), and he was regarded as the introducer of civilisation and social order, both of which are inseparably connected with Agriculture. His reign here came thus to be considered the golden age of Italy. His wife was Ops, the representative of plenty,[2] and a grain-goddess of the under-world.[3]

Virgil represents Evander, a mythical king of the Palatine, as exhibiting Saturnia, already in ruins, to Æneas.

> 'Haec duo praeterea disjectis oppida muris,
> Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
> Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem ;
> Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.'
> —*Æn.* viii. 355.

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[1] Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* vi. 22.
[2] Smith's *Roman Mythology*.
[3] Her festival in the Forum was held December 13. Her temple was on the Capitol, and she had a sacrarium, or shrine, in the Regia (*q.v.*).

When Romulus had developed his settlement upon the Palatine, he opened an asylum for fugitive slaves on the then deserted Mons Saturnius, and here, at a sacred oak, he is said to have offered up the spoils of the Caeninenses, and their king Acron, who had made a war of reprisal upon him, after the rape of their women in the Vallis Murciæ; here also he vowed to build a temple to Jupiter Feretrius, where spoils should always be offered. But in the meantime the Sabines, under Titus Tatius, besieged and took the hill, having had a gate of its fortress (said to have been on the ascent above the spot where the Arch of Severus now stands) opened to them by Tarpeia, daughter of the Governor, who gazed with longing upon the golden bracelets of the warriors. Obtaining a promise to receive that which they wore upon their arms, she was crushed by their shields as they entered.[1] Some authorities, however, maintain that she asked and obtained the hand of King Tatius. From this time the hill was completely occupied by the Sabines, and its name became partly merged in that of **Mons Tarpeia**, which its southern side has always retained. Niebuhr states that it is a popular superstition that the beautiful Tarpeia still sits, sparkling with gold and jewels, enchanted and motionless, in a cave in the centre of the hill, as King Arthur under Etna. The Vestal Virgins visited her tomb in state once every year.

After the death of Tatius, the Capitoline again fell under the government of Romulus, and his successor, Numa Pompilius, founded here a Temple of Fides Publica, in which the Flamens were always to sacrifice with a fillet in their right hands, in sign of fidelity. To Numa also is attributed the worship of the god Terminus, who had a temple here in early days.

Under Tarquinius Superbus, 535 B.C., the magnificent **Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus**, which had been vowed by his father, was built with money taken from the Volscians in war. In digging its foundations, the head of a man was found, still bloody, as at Carthage, an omen which was interpreted by an Etruscan augur to portend that Rome would become the head of Italy. In consequence of this, the name of the hill was once more changed, and has ever since been **Mons Capitolinus**, or Capitolium; so Latin legend relates.

The exact site of the temple has until recent times been one of the vexed questions of history. At the time it was built, as now, the hill consisted of two peaks, with a depression between them. Niebuhr and Gregorovius rightly station the temple on the south-eastern height, but Canina and other authorities inclined to the north-eastern eminence, the present site of Ara-Coeli. The front faced south, and the style was purely Etruscan, with wide intercolumniations, and architraves of timber. When Herdonius, and, at a later time, the Gauls, scaled the heights of the Capitol, it was the *citadel* (Ara-Coeli) which barred their path, and in which (in the latter case) Manlius was awakened by the noise of the

[1] Propertius, *El.* iv. 4; Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* v. 41.

sacred geese of Juno. The remains of an important building, discovered in November 1875 on the south-eastern eminence, give favour to that site, to which both Roman and other archaeologists are now agreed.

The Temple of Jupiter, as rebuilt by Domitian, A.D. 82, occupied a lofty platform (now beneath Palazzo Caffarelli), the summit of the rock being levelled to receive it. Its façade was decorated with Corinthian columns of pentelic marble.[1] It was nearly square, being 200 Roman feet in length, and 185 in width. The interior was divided into three cellae; the figure of Jupiter occupied that in the centre, Minerva was on his right, and Juno on his left; thus forming the shrine of the Capitoline Trinity. The figure of Jupiter was the work of an artist of the Volscian city of Fregellae, and was formed of terra-cotta, painted like the statues which we may still see in the Etruscan museum at the Vatican, and clothed with the tunica palmata and the toga picta, the costume of victorious generals. In his right hand was a thunderbolt, and in his left a spear.

> 'Jupiter augusta vix totus stabat in aede;
> Inque Jovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* i. 202.

At a later period the statue was formed of gold, but this figure had ceased to exist in the time of Pliny. When Martial wrote, the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were all of gilt bronze.

> 'Scriptus et aeterno nunce primum, Jupiter, auro,
> Et soror, et summi, filia tota patris.'
> —*Martial, Ep.* xi. iv.

In the wall adjoining the cella of Minerva, a nail was fastened on the ides of September. In the centre of the temple stood the statue of Terminus.

'The sumptuous fane of Jupiter Capitolinus had peculiar claims on the veneration of the Roman citizens; for not only the great lord of the earth was worshipped in it, but the conservative principle of property itself found therein its appropriate symbol. While the statue of Jupiter occupied the usual place of the divinity in the farthest recess of the building, an image of the god Terminus was also placed in the centre of the nave, which was open to the heavens. A venerable legend affirmed that when, in the time of the kings, it was requisite to clear a space on the Capitoline to erect on it a temple to the great father of the gods, and the shrines of the lesser divinities were to be removed for the purpose, **Terminus** alone, the patron of boundaries, refused to quit his place, and demanded to be included in the walls of the new edifice. Thus propitiated, he was understood to declare that henceforth the bounds of the republic should never be removed; and the pledge was more than fulfilled by the ever-increasing circuit of her dominion.'—*Merivale*, '*Romans under the Empire.*'

The gates of the temple were of gilt bronze, and its pavement of mosaic; in a wall beneath were preserved the Sibylline books, placed there by Tarquin. Augustus took these to the Temple of

[1] Plutarch states that he saw the columns being worked upon in Athens, and that their modelling was beautiful.

Apollo on the Palatine. The building of Tarquin lasted 400 years, and was burnt down in the civil wars, 83 B.C. It was rebuilt very soon afterwards by Sulla, and adorned with columns of pentelic marble, which he had stolen from the temple of Zeus Olympius at Athens. Sulla, however, did not live to re-dedicate it, and it was finished by Q. Lutatius Catulus, B.C. 62. This temple lasted till it was burnt to the ground by the soldiers of Vitellius, who set fire to it by throwing torches upon the portico, A.D. 69, when dragging forth Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, they murdered him at the foot of the Capitol, near the Mamertine Prisons. Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, was, at that time, in the temple with his uncle, and escaped in the dress of a priest; in commemoration of which he later on erected a chapel to Jupiter Conservator, close to the temple, with an altar upon which his adventure was sculptured. The temple was rebuilt by Vespasian, who took so personal an interest in the work that he is said to have carried some of the rubbish on his own shoulders; but his temple was the exact likeness of its predecessor, only loftier and entirely of pentelic marble, as the aruspices declared that the Gods would not permit it to be altered. In this building Titus and Vespasian celebrated their triumph after the fall of Jerusalem. The ruin of the temple began in A.D. 404, during the short visit of the youthful Emperor Honorius to Rome, when the plates of gold which lined its doors were stripped by Stilicho in order to pay his soldiers. It was finally plundered by the Vandals in A.D. 455, when its statues were carried off to adorn the African palace of Genseric, and half its roof was stripped of the gilt bronze tiles which covered it. Flaminio Vacca carved a lion, now in the Villa Medici, out of one of the capitals. He tells us that Vincenzo de Rossi carved the prophets in S. M. della Pace out of other fragments.

Close beside this, the king of Roman temples, stood the Temple of Fides Publica (said to have been founded by Numa), where the Senate were assembled at the time of the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, 133 B.C., who fell in front of the Temple of Jupiter, at the foot of the statues of the kings—his blood being the first spilt in Rome in a civil war. Near this, also, rose the twin temples of Mars and Venus Erycina, vowed after the battle of Thrasymene, and consecrated, 215 B.C., by the consuls R. Fabius Maximus and T. Otacilius Crassus. Near the top of the Clivus was the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, built by Augustus, in consequence of a vow which he made in an expedition against the Cantabri, when his litter was struck, and the slave who preceded him was killed, by lightning. This temple was so near, that it was considered as a porch to that of Jupiter Capitolinus, and, in token of that character, Augustus hung some bells upon its pediment.

On the Arx, or Acropolis of the Capitol opposite to the height occupied by the Temple of Jupiter, stood the temple of Juno Moneta, the Goddess of Good Counsel, in which the coin of the realm was kept. Hence our words mint and money. It was built, 409 B.C., in accordance with a vow of L. Furius Camillus. On this height,

also, there was the altar of Jupiter Pistor, which commemorated the stratagem of the Romans, who threw down loaves into the camp of the besieging Gauls, to deceive them as to the state of their supplies, a feat imitated in the siege of Leyden.

> 'Nomine, quam pretio, celebratior arce Tonantis,
> Dicam Pistoris quid velit ara Jovis.'
>
> —*Ovid*, *Fast.* vi. 349.

It was probably also on this side of the hill that the gigantic statue of Jupiter stood, which was formed out of the armour taken from the Samnites, 293 B.C., and which is stated by Pliny to have been of such a size that it was visible from the top of Monte Cavo.

The **Tarpeian rock**, or cliff, though not absolutely identifiable, was probably near the spot tradition has assigned to it, on the S.E. flank of the southern portion of the Capitoline Hill, the Throne of Jove. Tarpeia having been a Vestal, the Vestals solemnly revisited her tomb on the first day (February 13) of the Fêtes des Morts—'pro placandis manibus.' It is celebrated by the poets.

> 'In summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
> Stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat:
> Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
> Atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser
> Porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat.'
>
> —*Virgil*, *Aen.* viii. 652.
>
> 'Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe,
> Et junget nostro templorum culmina coelo.'
>
> —*Sil. Ital.* iii. 623.
>
> '. . . juvat intra tecta Tonantis
> Cernere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantes.'
>
> —*Claud.* vi. *Cons. Hon.* 44.

Among the buildings upon the **Intermontium**, or space between the two heights, were a **temple of Vejovis**, a very obscure divinity, and the Tabularium, or Record Office, part of which still remains; a portico built by Scipio Nasica, and an arch which Nero built here to his own honour, the erection of which, upon the sacred hill hitherto devoted to the gods, was regarded even by the subservient Senate as an unparalleled act of presumption.

In mediæval times the revolutionary government of Arnold of Brescia established itself on this hill (1144), and Pope Lucius II., attempting to regain his temporal power, was slain with a stone in attacking it. Here Petrarch, wrapped in the azure mantle sewn with golden lilies of Anjou, given him by King Robert the Wise of Naples, received his laurel crown (1341); and here the tribune Rienzi promulgated the laws of the 'good estate' (1347). At this time the Capitol contained the church and convent of Ara-Coeli, the tall eleventh-century towers which still flank the Tabularium, and a newly-built Senatorial Palace. The cry of the people at the coronation of Petrarch, 'Long life to *the Capitol* and the poet!' shows that the picturesque scene itself was then still more present to their minds than the principal actor. Pope Boniface IX. (1389–94) amplified, on the ruins of the Tabularium, the former residence for the Senator and his assessors. Paul III. (1544–50) employed Michel-

angelo to lay out the Piazza del Campidoglio, and the Capitoline Museum and the Palace of the Conservators opposite were designed by him. Pius IV., Gregory XIII., and Sixtus V. added the sculptures, fountains, and other monuments which now adorn the steps and balustrade (*cf.* under S. Maria in Ara-Coeli).

Just beyond the extreme end of the Palazzo Venezia the Via Giulio Romano, formerly della Pedacchia, turns to the right, under an archway. This arch forms part of a passage which was constructed as a means of escape for the Franciscan Generals of Ara-Coeli to the Palazzo Venezia, as that in the Borgo was for the escape of the Popes to S. Angelo. In this street is a house decorated with simple but elegant Doric details, bearing an inscription over the door which shows that it belonged to Pietro da Cortona.

The street from it (left) leads to the sunny open space at the foot of the Capitol, with Ara-Coeli on its left, approached by an immense flight of steps. Until the fourteenth century there was no access whatever to the Capitol from this side of the Campus Martius. The staircase was renewed in 1887, and has lost all the interest of antiquity.

The grand staircase of the Capitol, '*La Cordonata*,' was opened in its present form on the occasion of the entry of Charles V. in 1536.[1] At its foot were two lions of Egyptian porphyry, which were removed hither from the Church of S. Stefano del Cacco by Pius IV. These are now taken to the Capitoline Museum, and have been replaced by copies. It was down a staircase which occupied this site that Rienzi, the tribune, fled, disguised as a buffoon, in his last moments. A small space between the two staircases has been transformed into a garden, through which access may be obtained to four vaulted brick chambers. In this garden emaciated living wolves are kept, to commemorate the nurse of Romulus. A puny modern statue of Rienzi is by *Masini*.

At the **head of the stairs** are colossal but inferior statues of the twin heroes, Castor and Pollux (brought hither in 1583 from the Ghetto), commemorating the victory of Lake Regillus, after which they rode before the army into Rome, to announce the joyful news, watered their horses at the Fount of Juturna, and then passed away from the gaze of the multitude into celestial spheres. Beyond these, on either side, are two **trophies** of imperial times, discovered (1590) in the third century ruin on the Esquiline (Piazza Vittorio Emanuele), misnamed the trophies of Marius, which was the castellum of the Aqua Julia. Next follow **statues** of Constantine the Great and his son Constantine II. from their Baths on the Quirinal (Colonna Gardens). The two ends of the parapet are occupied by ancient **Milliaria**, being the first and seventh milestones of the Appian Way (found 1584). The first milestone was found *in situ*, and showed that the miles counted from the gates of Rome,

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[1] When four hundred houses and three or four churches were levelled to the ground to make a road for his triumphal approach.—*Rabelais, Lettre* viii. p. 21.

and not, as was formerly supposed, from the Milliarium Aureum, at the foot of the Capitol in the Forum.

We now find ourselves in the **Piazza del Campidoglio**, occupying the Intermontium, where Brutus harangued the people after the murder of Julius Caesar. In the centre of the square is the **Statue of Marcus Aurelius**, the most perfect of ancient equestrian statues. It was originally gilt, as may still be seen from remains of gilding upon the figure. It is said, without certain foundation, to have stood in front of the Arch of Septimius Severus. In the time of Sergius III. it was in front of the Lateran, where, not long after, it was put to a singular use by John XII., who hung a refractory prefect of the city, Pietro di Vico, from it by his hair. During the rejoicings consequent upon the elevation of Rienzi to the tribuneship in 1347, one of its nostrils was made to flow with water and the other with wine. It is a notion still prevalent among folk here that when the gilding returns to this horse Rome will fall. From its vicinity to the Lateran, so intimately connected with the history of Constantine, it was supposed during the Middle Ages to represent that Christian emperor,[1] and this fortunate error alone preserved it from the melting-pot which received so many other ancient bronzes. Michelangelo, when he designed the buildings of the Capitoline Piazza, wished to remove the statue to its present site, but the canons of the Lateran were unwilling to part with their treasure, and only consented to its removal in 1538, upon an annual acknowledgment of their proprietorship, for which a bunch of flowers is still presented once a year by the senators to the chapter of the Lateran. Michelangelo, standing in fixed admiration before this statue, is said to have bidden the horse 'Cammina.' Even until late years an especial guardian has been appointed to take care of it, with an annual stipend of ten scudi, and the title of 'Il Custode del Cavallo.' The pedestal, with the disregard for antiquities which characterised the patrons of the cinque-cento, was made by Michelangelo, at the command of Paul III., out of one of the columns or cornices of the temple of Castor and Pollux.

'They stood awhile to contemplate the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. The moonlight glistened upon traces of the gilding which had once covered both rider and steed; these were almost gone, but the aspect of dignity was still perfect, clothing the figure, as it were, with an imperial robe of light. It is the most majestic representation of the kingly character that ever the world has seen. A sight of the old heathen emperor is enough to create an evanescent sentiment of loyalty even in a democratic bosom, so august does he look, so fit to rule, so worthy of man's profoundest homage and obedience, so inevitably attractive of his love. He stretches forth his hand with an air of proud magnificence and unlimited authority, as if uttering a decree from which no appeal was permissible, but in which the obedient subject would find his highest interests consulted; a command that was in itself a benediction.'—*Hawthorne.*

'I often ascend the Capitoline Hill to look at Marcus Aurelius and his horse, and have not been able to refrain from caressing the lions of basalt. You

[1] The *Mirabilia* (thirteenth century) says that, when at the Lateran, the statue was called by the pilgrims Theodoric, by the people Constantine, and by the clergy Marcus or Quintus Curtius. Cf. *Polychronicon*, R. Higden, i. 228.

cannot stand on the Aventine or the Palatine without grave thoughts, but standing on the spot brings me very little nearer the image of past ages.'—*Niebuhr's Letters.*

'Marcus Aurelius is perhaps the most beautiful character in history. He is one of those consoling and hope-inspiring marks, which stand for ever to remind our weak and easily-discouraged race how high human goodness and perseverance have once been carried, and may be carried again. . . . The record of him on which his fame chiefly rests is the record of his inward life—his "Journal"—a priceless treasure for those who seek eagerly for that substratum of right thinking and right doing, which in all ages must surely have somewhere existed. "From my mother I learnt piety and beneficence, and abstinence not only from evil deeds but from evil thoughts; and further, simplicity in my way of living, far removed from the habits of the rich. From my tutor I learnt (hear it, ye tutors of princes!) endurance of labour, and to want little, and to work with my own hands, and not to meddle with other people's affairs, and not to be ready to listen to slander."'—*Matthew Arnold.*

The building at the back of the piazza is the **Palace of the Senator,** originally rebuilt by Boniface IX. (1389), but altered by Michelangelo to correspond with the buildings on either side. He intended to erect a portico surmounted by statues at the summit of the stairs, The fountain at the foot of the double staircase was erected by Sixtus V., and is adorned with statues of river-gods Nile and Tiber found in the Colonna Gardens, and a curious porphyry figure of Minerva—adapted as Rome. The body of this statue was found at Cori, but the head and arms are modern additions.

The **Tower of the Capitol,** built 1579, from designs of *Martino Longhi,* contains the great bell (La Patarina) of Viterbo, surrendered by that town as the price of peace during the wars of the Middle Ages, A.D. 1200, which is never rung except to announce the death of a sovereign or the opening of the Carnival. The ascent of the tower is well repaid by the view from the summit, which embraces not only the hills of Rome, but the various towns and villages of the neighbouring campagna and mountains which successively fell under her dominion.

'Possis nihil urbe Roma
Visere majus.'
—*Hor. Car. Sec.* ii.

Beneath the Palace of the Senator (entered by a door (L.) in the street descending on the right) are the remains of the **Tabularium,**[1] consisting of huge rectangular blocks of peperino supporting a Doric colonnade, which is shown by an inscription still preserved to have been that of the Public Record Office, where Tabulae, engraved plates bearing important decrees of the Senate, were preserved, having been placed there by Q. Lutatius Catulus in B.C. 79. The lower part of the wall is built from the peperino known as Lapis Gabinus, and is as fresh as ever; the upper portion, of Alban stone, is less well preserved. A gallery (open daily 10–3, 50 c.) in the interior of the Tabularium has been fitted up as a museum of architectural antiquities collected from the neighbouring temples. This building forms, as it were, the boundary between inhabited Rome and that Rome which is a city of ruins.

[1] More particulars relating to this edifice will be found in the next chapter.

'I came to the Capitol, and looked down on the other side. There before my eyes opened an immense grave, and out of the grave rose a city of monuments in ruins, columns, triumphal arches, temples, and palaces, broken, ruinous, but still beautiful and grand,—with a solemn mournful beauty! It was the giant apparition of ancient Rome.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

Sixty-four steps of an ancient staircase are still in site, which led down from the Tabularium to the Forum. They are as sharp and perfect as when they were built, mainly owing to the disuse of this approach caused by Domitian, who built the existing temple of Vespasian close up against the Tabularium in such a way that the cella of the Temple completely blocked up the lower entrance to the staircase. The Tabularium was used as a prison in the Middle Ages.

The **North side of the Piazza**—on the left as one stands at the head of the steps—is occupied by the **Museo Capitolino**, chiefly built by pupils of Michelangelo (open daily from 10 to 3, for a fee of 50 c., and on Sundays gratis). The museum was founded in 1471 by Sixtus IV. (Riario della Rovere), when the famous collection of bronzes previously kept at the Lateran was removed to it.

Above the fountain in the court, **opposite the entrance**, reclines the colossal statue of a river-god, called **Marforio**, removed hither from the end of the Via di Marforio (Forum Martis), near the Arch of Severus. This figure, 'gran simulacro a giacere,' as Giovanni Ruccellai called it in 1450, was, according to Roman fancy, the friend and gossip of Pasquino (at the Palazzo Braschi), and lively dialogues, merciless to the follies of the Government and the times, used to appear with early morning, placarded on their respective pedestals, as passing between the two. Thus, when Clement XI. mulcted Rome of numerous sums to send to his native Urbino, Marforio asked, 'What is Pasquino doing?' The next morning Pasquino answered, 'I am taking care of Rome, that it does not go away to Urbino.' In the desire of putting an end to such inconvenient remarks, the Government ordered the removal of one of the statues to the Capitol, and since Marforio has been shut up, Pasquino has lost his spirits. Here are now the two basalt Egyptian lions from the foot of the Capitol steps.

On R. opposite foot of staircase—

Room 1. Twenty busts, of humble merit. In the centre a ruined altar with reliefs.

A large alabaster vase (in window) found 1859.

Room 2. Funeral inscription of Vettius Agorius Pretextatus, the Pagan Senator, celebrated in the last days of the Pagan Senate, giving his various titles.

The grand sarcophagus (F.) in the **second** room represents a battle between the Gauls and Romans, the Gauls distinguished by their torques, found 1830, on Via Appia. Note the Chief killing himself to avoid falling prisoner. On the lid are seen captives with wives and children. Many of the inscriptions let into the walls relate to members of the imperial family. In the **third** room is the glorious

sarcophagus, said to be that of the murdered Alexander Severus and (his mother) Julia Mamaea, and found in the Monte del Grano (1594) outside the Porta S. Giovanni. The reliefs on the sides represent the history of Achilles. The vase which contained the ashes belonging to this sarcophagus is the famous 'Portland vase' of the British Museum. D.M.S. (Diis manibus) or funeral inscriptions.

The upper **Corridor** is lined with statues and busts. Here and elsewhere we will only notice those especially remarkable for beauty or historic interest.[1]

L. 50. A warrior fallen and defending himself.
L. 51. A Greek head of woman.
L. 60. Satyr playing on a flute—found on the Aventine.
R. 5. Cupid bending his bow—probably a copy from the bronze of Lysippus found at Tivoli.
R. 8. Old woman intoxicated—probably a copy of a work by Myron.
L. The infant Hercules strangling a serpent.
L. Grand sarcophagus—the Rape of Proserpine.
R. 12. Faun playing on a flute.
(In the wall on the left, inscriptions from the Columbarium of Livia.)
L. Sarcophagus—the birth and childhood of Bacchus.
L. 42. Statue, draped—supposed to be Julia Maesa (?), sister-in-law of Septimius Severus, found near the Domine Quo Vadis.
R. 22. Head of Ariadne.
R. 25. Jupiter, on a cippus with a curious relief of Claudia the vestal, drawing the boat with the image of the Magna Mater (Cybele) up the Tiber.
L. 33. **Bust of Caligula.** Observe the asymmetry on left side of face.
R. 28. **Marcus Aurelius,** as a boy—a very beautiful bust.
R. 29. Statue of Minerva from Velletri. The same as that called Minerva Giustiniani in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican.
R. 30. Trajan.
R. 31. Caracalla.
R. 76. In the window, a magnificent **vase,** found near the tomb of Cecilia Metella, standing on a puteal or well-mouth adorned with reliefs of the twelve principal gods and goddesses.

From the **right** of this corridor (turn at the top of the stairs) open two chambers. The first is named the **Room of the Doves,** from the mosaic found in the ruins of Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, 1737, and generally called **Pliny's Doves,** because Pliny, when speaking of the perfection to which the mosaic art had attained, describes a wonderful mosaic of Sosus of Pergamos, in which one dove was seen drinking and casting her shadow on the water, while others were pluming themselves on the edge of the vase. As a pendant to this observe another mosaic of a **Tragic and Comic Mask.** In the farther window is (83) the **Iliac Tablet,** an interesting relief in the soft marble called palombino, relating to the story of the destruction of Troy and the flight of Aeneas, found at Bovillae, near Albano.

The **second chamber** contains the **Venus of the Capitol**—a fine Greek statue found immured in the wall, in 1684, near San Vitale.

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[1] R, right; L, left. The reader is recommended to consult Professor Helbig's English edition of his *Guide to the Sculpture Galleries of Rome*; also notes on the Portrait-busts of the Julian Dynasty in *The Tragedy of the Cæsars*, by S. Baring-Gould.

It belongs to the 3rd century B.C., and derives from the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles.

The two smaller sculptures of (miscalled) Leda and the Swan, and Cupid and Psyche—two lovely children embracing—were found on the Aventine.

From the end of the gallery we enter

The Hall of the Emperors. In the centre is the beautiful seated statue wrongly ascribed to Agrippina, the elder. See Agrippina's head in No. 10 of the Catalogue.

Round the room are ranged eighty-three busts of Roman emperors, empresses, and their near relations, forming perhaps the most interesting portrait-gallery in the world. The collection begins near the door to the next room, on upper tier.

'It is a high-born company, but there is cause to doubt if it be as good as it is select.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

All the Julian family are handsome: even viewed as works of art, many of the busts are of importance. They are—

1. Julius Caesar, nat. B.C. 100; ob. B.C. 44.
2. Augustus, Imp. B.C. 12—A.D. 14—'beaming with dignity and personal charm;' crowned with a wreath.

'His features were quiet and cheerful, whether he spoke or was silent.'—*Suetonius.*

3 Marcellus, his nephew and son-in-law, son of Octavia, ob. B.C. 23, aged 20.
4, 5. Tiberius, Imp. A.D. 14–37.

'In spite of the curved nose—the Roman nose, so seldom seen in Rome—Tiberius has so strong a family likeness to his stepfather that many have suspected a nearer relationship between them.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

6. Drusus, his brother, son of Livia and Claudius Nero, ob. B.C. 10.
7. Drusus, son of Tiberius and Vipsania, ob. A.D. 23.
8. (?) Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia, wife of the elder Drusus, mother of Germanicus and Claudius, ob. A.D. 38.
9. Germanicus, son of Drusus and Antonia, ob. A.D. 19.
10. Agrippina (1), daughter of Julia and Agrippa, grand-daughter of Augustus, wife of Germanicus. Died of starvation under Tiberius, A.D. 33.

'Colloquium filii exposcit, ubi nihil pro innocentia, quasi diffideret, nec beneficiis, quasi exprobraret disseruit, sed ultionem in delatores et praemia amicis obtinuit.'—*Tacitus, Ann.* xiii. 21.

11. **Caligula,** Imp. A.D. 37–41, son of Germanicus and Agrippina I. Murdered by the tribune Chaerea (a noble bust in basalt). The scowl on the epileptic maniac is characteristic.

'That imperial maniac, whose portrait in green basalt, with the stain of dire mental tension on the forehead, is still so beautiful that we are able at this distance of time to pity more than loathe him.'—*J. A. Symonds.*

'The head is turned slightly aside, the brow thunders, the eyes lighten, the fine mouth is pressed wrathfully and scornfully together; but one can at once see that this look is counterfeited or practised; it is still only the theatre tyrant, with features according to rule. "His whole exterior," says Tacitus, "was an imitation of that which Tiberius had put on for the day, and he spoke almost with the words of the latter."'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

12. Claudius, Imp. A.D. 41–54, younger son of Drusus and Antonia. Poisoned probably by his wife Agrippina the younger, Caligula's sister.

'A well-formed head, against which, from the point of view of beauty, one can hardly note anything, but that the oval of the face is too compressed.

The broad forehead is overcast with clouds of melancholy. The eyes disclose, with their unsteady, sad, and kindly look, a plodding and suffering spirit, that is conscious of its noble birth, but unable to maintain its freedom.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

13. Messalina, third wife of Claudius. Put to death by the Freedmen of Claudius, A.D. 48—the dressing of the hair characteristic and curious.
14. (?) Agrippina the younger, sixth wife of Claudius, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the elder, great-grand-daughter of Augustus. Murdered by her son Nero, A.D. 60.
15, 16. Nero, Imp. A.D. 54–69, son of Agrippina the younger by her first husband, Domitius Ahenobarbus. Died by his own hand.

'Suetonius says that the features of Nero were more handsome than engaging. His hair, like that of all the Domitii, was light-brown, his eyes were bluish-grey.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

17. Poppaea Sabina (?), the beautiful second wife of Nero. Killed by a kick from her husband, A.D. 62. The extravagance of Poppaea was so great that, when she went to Antium (Porto D'Anzio), she took with her 500 she-asses, that she might not fail to have her bath of milk every morning.
18. Galba, Imp. A.D. 69. Murdered in the Forum—full of character.
19. Otho, Imp. A.D. 69. Died by his own hand.
20. Vitellius, Imp. A.D. 69. Murdered at the Scalae Gemoniae—a coarse, sensual face.
21. Vespasian, Imp. A.D. 70–79.
22. Titus, Imp. A.D. 79–81, son of Vespasian and Domitilla. Supposed to have been poisoned by his brother Domitian—a grand bust.

'With the Flavians, a coarser mould of features comes on; 'the urbane' gives way for a something rustic, the æsthetic for a something common. The honest, good-humoured, but stingy toll-officer, who was a father of this house, plainly has handed down his face to Vespasian and Titus.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

23. Julia, daughter of Titus. Head-dress remarkable.
24. Domitian, Imp. A.D. 81–96, second son of Vespasian and Domitilla. Murdered in the Palace of the Caesars.
25. Domitia Longina (?), wife of Domitian.
26. Nerva (?), Imp. A.D. 96. Elected by the people, after the murder of Domitian.
27. Trajan, Imp. A.D. 98–118. Adopted son of Nerva.
28. Plotina, wife of Trajan—one of the most striking portraitures in this collection, and an exemplary Lady.
29. Marciana, sister of Trajan.
30. Matidia, daughter of Marciana, niece of Trajan.
31, 32. Hadrian, Imp. A.D. 118–138, adopted son of Trajan.
33. Julia Sabina, wife of Hadrian, daughter of Matidia—very regal, as Ceres.
34. Ælius Verus, first adopted son of Hadrian.
35. Antoninus Pius, Imp. A.D. 138–161, second adopted son of Hadrian.

'Seldom does the quiet and gentle strength of moral will shine forth from the features of a Roman emperor as from the glorious face of Antoninus Pius.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

'I saw a calm and Princely Presence come,
Who, stately as the imperial purple, bore
His robe, a saint in mien, mild, innocent,
Perfect in manhood, with clear eye serene,
And lofty port; who from the sages took
What lessons earth could give, but trod no less
The toilsome path of Duty to the end;
And as he passed I knew the kingly ghost
Of Antonius, who knew not Christ indeed,
Yet not the less was His. I marked the calm
And thoughtful face of him who ruled himself,
And through himself the world.'—*Lewis Morris.*

36. Faustina the elder, wife of Antoninus Pius and sister of Elius Verus.
37. Marcus Aurelius, Imp. A.D. 161–180, son of Servianus by Paulina, sister of Hadrian, adopted by Antoninus Pius, while a boy.
38. Marcus Aurelius, in later life.
39. Annia Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, daughter of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the elder.
40. Galerius Antoninus, son of Antoninus Pius.
41. Lucius Verus, son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius.
42. Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the younger. Put to death at Capri for a plot against her husband.
43. Commodus, Imp. A.D. 180–193, son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina. Murdered in the Palace of the Caesars—handsome and sensual.
44. Crispina, wife of Commodus. Put to death by her husband at Capri.
45. Pertinax, Imp. A.D. 193, successor of Commodus, reigned three months. Murdered in the Palace of the Caesars.
46. Didius Julianus, Imp. A.D. 193, successor of Pertinax. Murdered in the Public Palace of the Palatine.
47. Manlia Scantilla (?), wife of Didius Julianus.
48. Macrinus.
49. Clodius Albinus (?)
50, 51. Septimius Severus, Imp. A.D. 193–211, successor of Didius Julianus. (Foreign features!)
52. Julia Pia, wife of Septimius Severus—with a movable wig.
53. Caracalla, Imp. A.D. 211–217, son of Septimius Severus and Julia Pia. Murdered. The cruel shrewdness of this emperor is marvellously portrayed in his busts.
54. Geta, brother of Caracalla, by whose order he was murdered in the arms of Julia Pia. Rare.
55. (?) Macrinus, Imp. A.D. 217, murderer and successor of Caracalla. Murdered.
56. Diadumenianus, son of Macrinus. Murdered with his father.
57. Heliogabalus, Imp. A.D. 218–222, son of Julia Soemis, daughter of Julia Maesa, who was sister of Julia Pia. Murdered and thrown into the Tiber.

'Le sénat voua sa mémoire à l'infamie, et l'histoire fait comme le senat.'—*Victor Duruy.*

58. Annia Faustina, third wife of Heliogabalus, great-grand-daughter of Marcus Aurelius—with coloured marble drapery.
59. Julia Maesa, sister-in-law of Septimius Severus, aunt of Caracalla and grandmother of Alexander Severus.
60. Alexander Severus, Imp., son of Julia Mamaea, second daughter of Julia Maesa. Murdered at the age of 28.
61. Julia Mamaea, daughter of Julia Maesa, and mother of Alexander Severus. Murdered with her son.
62. Julius Maximinus, Imp. A.D. 235–238; elected by the army. Murdered.
63. Maximus. Murdered with his father at the age of 18—a very fine bust.
64. Gordianus Africanus, Imp. A.D. 238; a descendant of Trajan. Died by his own hand.
65. (Antoninus) Gordianus, Junior, Imp. A.D. 238, son of Gordianus Africanus and Fabia Orestilla, great-grand-daughter of Antoninus Pius. Died in battle.
66. Pupienus, Imp. A.D. 238 } reigned together for four months and then
67. Balbinus, Imp. A.D. 228 } were murdered.
68. Gordianus Pius, Imp. A.D. 238, grandson, through his mother, of Gordianus Africanus. Murdered.
69. Philip II., Imp. A.D. 244, son of, and co-emperor with Philip I. Murdered.
70. Decius (?), Imp. A.D. 249–251. Forcibly elected by the army. A persecutor of the Christians. Killed in battle.
71. Quintus Herennius Etruscus, son of Decius and Herennia Etruscilla. Killed in battle with his father.
72. Hostilianus, son or son-in-law of Decius, Imp. A.D. 251, with Treb. Gallus. Murdered.
73. Trebonianus Gallus, Imp. A.D. 251–254. Murdered.
74, 75. Volusianus, son of Trebonianus Gallus. Murdered A.D. 254.

76. Gallienus, Imp. A.D. 261–268. Murdered—a low type of face.
77. Salonina, wife of Gallienus.
78. Saloninus, son of Gallienus and Salonina. Put to death by Postumus, A.D. 259, at the age of 17.
79. Marcus Aurelius Carinus, Imp. A.D. 283, son of the Emperor Carus. Murdered.
80. Diocletian, Imp. A.D. 284–305; elected by the army.
81. Constantius Chlorus, Imp. A.D. 305–306, son of Eutropius and Claudia, niece of the Emperor Claudius II. and Quintilius; father of Constantine the Great.

'Rude soldiers now alternate with dull stewards of the realm, and the peculiarities of both kinds unite in a repulsive whole in Constantius Chlorus and Constantine.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

82. Julian the Apostate (?), Imp. A.D. 361–363, son of Julius Constantius and nephew of Constantine the Great.
83. Magnus Decentius, brother of the Emperor Magnentius. Strangled himself, A.D. 353;—with the characteristics of mediaeval sculpture.

'In their busts the lips of the Roman emperors are generally closed, indicating reserve and dignity.'—*Winckelmann.*

'At Rome the emperors become as familiar as the popes. Who does not know the curly-headed Marcus Aurelius, with his lifted brow and projecting eyes—from the full round beauty of his youth to the more haggard look of his latest years? Are there any modern portraits more familiar than the severe wedge-like head of Augustus, with his sharp-cut lips and nose,—or the dull phiz of Hadrian, with his hair combed down over his low forehead,—or the vain, perking face of Lucius Verus, with his thin nose, low brow, and profusion of curls,—or the brutal bull head of Caracalla,—or the bestial bloated features of Vitellius?

'These men, who were but lay figures to us at school, mere pegs of names to hang historic robes upon, thus interpreted by the living history of their portraits, the incidental illustrations of the places where they lived and moved and died, and the buildings and monuments they erected, become like men of yesterday. Art has made them our contemporaries. They are as near to us as Pius VII. and Napoleon.'—*Story's 'Roba di Roma.'*

Among the **reliefs** round the upper walls of this room are Endymion sleeping, and Perseus delivering Andromeda, which belong to the set in the Palazzo Spada, and are exceedingly beautiful.

The Hall of Illustrious Men contains a seated statue called M. Claudius Marcellus (?), the conqueror of Syracuse, B.C. 212; the body of Hector borne to the pyre; Hermaphroditus before a statue of the youthful Bacchus. Round the room are ranged ninety-three busts of ancient philosophers, statesmen, and warriors. Among the more important are:—

4, 5, 6. Socrates.
9. Aristides the orator (?).
10. Callimachus (?)
16. Marcus Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus—a grand bust.
19. Theophrastus.
23. Asklepiades.
25. Theon of Smyrna.
27. Pythagoras.
28. Alexander the Great (?).
30. Aristophanes.
31. Demosthenes.
38. Chrysippos (?).
39, 40. Democritus of Abdera.
42, 43. Euripides.
44, 45, 46. Homer.
47. Eumenides.
48. Cneius Domitius Corbulo, general under Claudius and Nero. Found at Gabii.
49. Scipio Africanus (?).
52. Cato Minor (?).
54. Aspasia (?).
55. Cleopatra (?).
60. Thucydides (?).
61. Aeschines.
62, 64. Epicurus.
63. Epicurus and Metrodorus.
68, 69. Greek Hero.
71. Antisthenes.
72, 73. Julian the Apostate.
75. Cicero.
77. Homer (?).
82. Aeschylus (?).

Among the interesting **bas-reliefs** in this room is one (P) of a Roman interior with a lady trying to persuade her cat to dance to a lyre—the cat, meanwhile, snapping, on its hind-legs, at two ducks; the detail of the room is given, even to the slippers under the bed. A relief (110) of three dancing girls and a fawn is inscribed with the name of the artist—Callimachos. Other reliefs represent sacrificial ritual and instruments.

The Saloon contains, down the centre—

1. Jupiter (in nero-antico), from Porto d'Anzio, on an altar with figures of Mercury, Apollo, and Diana. R. foot and R. hand restored.
2, 4. Centaurs (in bigio-morato), by *Aristeas* and *Papias* (their names are on the bases), from Hadrian's Villa. Roman copies from bronze originals.

'Both the youthful and the elder Centaur, we infer from copies, originally carried a winged cupid. While, however, the youthful Centaur is enduring his teasing rider with laughing humour, the elder one, with fettered arms, is sighing over the pain which the tyrannical God of Love is preparing for him. This ingenious idea indicates an older Greek original, and the choice of black marble, as well as the technical skill evidenced in its treatment, seem to infer that the artists worked after a bronze production.'—*Lübke.*

3. The young Hercules—in green basalt, found in the Vigna Massimi on the Aventine (1590). It stands on an altar of Jupiter, adorned with reliefs.
5. Aesculapius (in nero-antico), on an altar, representing a sacrifice.

Among the statues and busts round the room the more important are:—

6. A Faun—one of the same type as that in rosso-antico.
9. Trajan—a colossal bust.
10. Augustus—a naked figure.
12. An athlete—the head most beautiful.
13. Hadrian—a naked figure, with the attribute of Mars—from Ceprano.
17. Minerva—archaic.
21. Beautiful male statue of the time of Hadrian—the lower part of the figure draped. Hermes Logios (?).
22. Hecuba (?).
25. Colossal bust of Antoninus Pius.
28. Harpocrates, God of Silence.
32. M. Aurelius in armour.
33. A wounded Amazon, right arm badly restored.
36. Minerva.

The Hall of the Faun derives its name from the famous **Faun** of rosso-antico, holding a bunch of grapes to his mouth, found in Hadrian's Villa, 1736. It stands on an altar dedicated to Serapis. Against the right wall is a magnificent sarcophagus (No. 18), whose reliefs (much studied by Flaxman) represent the battle of Theseus and the Amazons. The (L.) opposite sarcophagus (No. 3), found under the Church of S. Eustachio, has a relief of Diana and Endymion. We should also notice that to R., Amazons in battle.

8. A boy with a mask of Silenus.
16. A boy with a goose (found near the Lateran), copy of an original by Boetos of Chalcedon.
19. An eyeless Bacchus.
21. A beautiful eyeless bust of Ariadne. Hair once gilded.

Let into the wall is a bronze tablet—the Lex Regia or Senatus Consultum, by which the 'Senate and the Roman people' conferred

imperial power upon Vespasian. Upon it Rienzi declaimed in favour of the right of the Roman people to the empire of the world.

The Hall of the Dying Gaul contains the three gems of the collection—

1. The **Gladiator** (?)—from the gardens of Sallust (Porta Salaria). Restored nose, toes, and left knee-cap (see below).
10. The **Faun of Praxiteles**—the best copy extant—from the villa of Hadrian.
12. The mis-called **Antinous of the Capitol**—from the villa of Hadrian. (Roman.)

'The identity of the Capitoline Antinous may be reckoned more than doubtful. The head is certainly not his. How it came to be placed upon a body presenting so much resemblance to the type of Antinous, I do not know. Careful comparison of the torso and the arms with an indubitable portrait will even raise the question whether this fine statue is not a Hermes or a hero of an earlier age. Its attitude suggests Narcissus or Adonis; and under either of these forms Antinous may properly have been idealised.'—*J. A. Symonds.*

Besides these we should notice—

2. Majestic female statue—sometimes called Juno.
3. Head of Alexander the Great.
4. Amazon, from the Villa d'Este.
5. **Head of Dionysos.** School of Greek design; very beautiful.
7. Apollo with the lyre.
9. Statuette of a little girl defending a bird from a snake. (Roman.)
15. A Priestess of Isis.
16. Bust of M. Junius Brutus, the assassin of Julius Caesar. 'Et tu, Brute.'

Note the very beautiful altars beneath some of those statues.

In the centre of the room is the statue of the wounded Gaul, generally, though erroneously, known as the **Dying Gladiator.** It belonged to a group from Pergamos, in which was probably celebrated the victory of Attalus over the Celtic invaders of his realm (B.C. 240).

'I see before me the gladiator lie;
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low,—
And through his side, the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.

He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away;
He reck'd not of the life he lost, nor prize,
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
There were his young barbarians all at play,
There was their Dacian mother,—he, their sire,
Butchered to make a Roman holiday.
All this rushed with his blood—shall he expire,
And unavenged? Arise, ye Goths, and glut your ire!'
—*Byron*, '*Childe Harold.*'

It is delightful to read in this room the description in *Transformation*:—

'It was that room, in the centre of which reclines the noble and most pathetic figure of the dying gladiator, just sinking into his death-swoon:

Around the walls stand the Antinous, the Amazon, the Lycian Apollo, the Juno, all famous productions of antique sculpture, and still shining in the undiminished majesty and beauty of their ideal life, although the marble that embodies them is yellow with time, and perhaps corroded by the damp earth in which they lay buried for centuries. Here, likewise, is seen a symbol (as apt at this moment as it was two thousand years ago) of the Human Soul, with its choice of Innocence or Evil close at hand, in the pretty figure of a child, clasping a dove to her bosom, but assaulted by a snake.

'From one of the windows in this saloon we may see a broad flight of stone steps, descending alongside the unique and massive foundation of the Capitol, towards the battered triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, right below. Farther on the eye skirts along the edge of the desolate Forum (where Roman washerwomen hang out their linen to the sun), passing over a shapeless confusion of modern edifices, piled rudely up with ancient brick and stone, and over the domes of Christian churches, built on the old pavements of heathen temples, and supported by the very pillars that once upheld them. At a distance beyond—yet but a little away, considering how much history is heaped into the intervening space—rises the great sweep of the Colisseum, with the blue sky brightening through its upper tier of arches. Far off, the view is shut in by the Alban mountains, looking just the same, amid all this decay and change, as when Romulus gazed thitherward over his half-finished wall.

'In this chamber is the Faun of Praxiteles. It is the marble image of a young man, leaning his right arm on the trunk or stump of a tree: one hangs carelessly by his side, in the other he holds a fragment of a pipe, or some such sylvan instrument of music. His only garment, a lion's skin with the claws upon the shoulder, falls half-way down his back, leaving his limbs and the entire front of the figure nude. The form, thus displayed, is marvellously graceful, but has a fuller and more rounded outline, more flesh and less of heroic muscle, than the old sculptors were wont to assign to their types of masculine beauty. The character of the face corresponds with the figure; it is most agreeable in outline and feature, but rounded and somewhat voluptuously developed, especially about the throat and chin; the nose is almost straight, but very slightly curves inward, thereby acquiring an indescribable charm of geniality and humour. The mouth, with its full yet delicate lips, seems so really to smile outright, that it calls forth a responsive smile. The whole statue—unlike anything else that ever was wrought in the severe material of marble—conveys the idea of an amiable and sensual creature, easy, mirthful, apt for jollity, yet not incapable of being touched by pathos. It is impossible to gaze long at this stone image without conceiving a kindly sentiment towards it, as if its substance were warm to the touch and imbued with actual life. It comes very near to some of our pleasantest sympathies.'—*Hawthorne.*

The west or R. side of the Capitoline Piazza is occupied by the **Palace of the Conservators**, which contains the Protomoteca, the Picture Gallery, and various other treasures. Admission 50 c.; 10 to 3 on week-days and 10 to 1 on Sundays, when it is free.

The Cortile at the entrance is full of historical relics, including remains of two gigantic statues of Apollo found on the same hill; a colossal head of Domitian; and the marble pedestal, which once in the mausoleum of Augustus supported the cinerary **urn of Agrippina the elder**, daughter of Agrippa, wife of Germanicus, and mother of Caius Caligula—'a handful of ashes of old Roman virtue'—with a very perfect inscription. The cippus was doubtless the work of Caligula, who brought back the ashes of his mother from Pandataria, where she died of self-inflicted starvation in exile. It was hollowed out and used as a measure for corn ('rugitella di grano') in the Middle Ages; upon it are carved the

'arms' of two city-wardens. In the opposite loggia are a statue of **Rome Triumphant** and a group with **a lion attacking a horse.** In the portico on the left is a statue of Augustus, leaning against the rostrum of a galley, in allusion to the battle of Actium. On the right is the only authentic statue of Julius Caesar.

'Before us stands a military chief in full armour, in whose hard, bony, elderly face never gleamed the most distant flash of that genius which with the fires of lightning split asunder the hosts of Gaul and Germany, crushed the warlike fame of Pompey, overthrew the Republic, and annihilated the remnants of old Roman virtue. Not a glimpse of that affability which in the old Caesars, as in the young, took captive an adversary; or of that sense of beauty which made him an artist among historians and orators; or of that magnanimity which, with human nobleness, gilded the selfishness of a fiend.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

Opposite the foot of the staircase (L.) is a restoration, by Michelangelo, of the column—**Columna rostrata**—of Caius Duilius (260 B.C.), and an Augustan copy of his Inscription relating to his achievements. Then, at the end of the corridor, a seated statue of **Charles of Anjou** the murderer of Conradin, who was made a senator of Rome (1264).

'It is a massive, roughly blocked-out figure, seated upon a throne-chair supported by lions, dressed in a long tunic and royal mantle, with a crown upon the head and a sceptre firmly planted upon the right knee. The expression of the face is stolid, but its lineaments are individual, and the shape of the head is so peculiar that we cannot doubt its being a faithful portrait. For this reason it is of high historical value, and as the only mediaeval portrait-statue at Rome, must be regarded with no common interest.'—*Perkins's 'Italian Sculptors.'*

On the **first and second landings** are four magnificent **reliefs** (41, 42, 43, 44), three of which represent events in the life of Marcus Aurelius Imp., formerly in the Church of Santa Martina.

1. **Relief**: rear wall (Left) Vanquished Barbarians entreating the Emperor.
2. ,, ,, (Right) **Triumphal procession.**
3. ,, wall ,, **Sacrifice** in front of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter; **Flamen Dialis** wears apex, or peaked cap.
4. ,, from some triumphal monument, of Hadrian's date, found near Piazza Sciarra, 1592 (?) in the **Corso.**

On the next landing (top)—

1. Relief representing the Apotheosis of **Plotina,** Empress of Trajan, 129 A.D.
2. Relief. Hadrian giving forth a Decree.

The **fourth relief** is really from the Arch of Claudius which stood near the Palazzo Sciarra, but the Roman magistrates substituted the head of Aurelius for that of Claudius. Statue of **Urania.**

On the upper flight of the staircase is a bas-relief of Curtius leaping into the cleft, here represented as a marsh, found near S. Maria Liberatrice.

The Halls of the Conservators consist of eight rooms (entrance

50 c.). The 1st,[1] with coffered ceiling, and painted in fresco from the history of the Roman kings, by the *Cavaliere d'Arpino*, contains statues of Urban VIII., by *Bernini*, and Innocent X., in bronze, by *Algardi*. (1) Combat of the Horatii and Curiatii; (2) Tullius Hostilius against Veii; (3) Romulus tracing the Sulcus round Rome; (4) Numa and Vestals sacrificing. The **2nd Room**, adorned with subjects from republican history by *Lauretti*, has statues of modern Roman generals—Marc Antonio Colonna, Tommasso Rospigliosi, Francesco Aldobrandini, Carlo Barberini, brother of Urban VIII., and Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma. Here is **the Bronze Wolf of the Capitol**, though much restored, one of the most interesting relics in the city. The figure of the wolf is believed by some to be that dedicated by the Ogulnii, aediles, in B.C. 296; the figures of Romulus and Remus are modern. It has been doubted whether this is the wolf described by Dionysius as 'an ancient work of brass' standing near the 'Ficus Ruminalis' under the Palatine, or the wolf described by Cicero, who speaks of a little gilt figure of the founder of the city sucking the teats of a wolf. The latter was struck by lightning in the time of the great orator, and a fracture in the existing figure, attributed to lightning, has been unconvincingly adduced in proof of identity with it.

> 'Geminos huic ubera circum
> Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
> Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexam
> Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere linguâ.'
> —*Virgil*, *Aen.* viii. 632.

> 'And thou, the thunder-stricken nurse of Rome!
> She-wolf! whose brazen-imaged dugs impart
> The milk of conquest yet within the dome,
> Where, as a monument of antique art,
> Thou standest:—mother of the mighty heart,
> Which the great founder sucked from thy wild teat,
> Scorch'd by the Roman Jove's ethereal dart,
> And thy limbs black with lightning—dost thou yet
> Guard thy immortal cubs, nor thy fond charge forget?'
> —*Byron*, '*Childe Harold*.'

The wolf, probably taken from its pedestal (lately discovered in the Comitium) when many ancient bronzes were removed to the Lateran, remained there until 1471, en-niched in the wall of a small tower near the site of the present obelisk, at the base of which criminals were often executed, and their hands were cut off and nailed beneath 'la lupa di metallo.' The traces of fire upon it may be due to the fire of Carinus, in 282, which swept over the Comitium.

The **3rd Room** is painted by *Daniele da Volterra*, with subjects from the wars with the Cimbri. Amongst its decorations are two fine pictures, a dead Christ with a monk praying, by the Capuchin *Cosimo Piazza da Castelfranco*, and S. Francesca

[1] The chapel (opposite the staircase) is sometimes entered before the other rooms, and leads into the seventh, whence, on the right, you enter the second hall.

Romana, by *Romanelli*. Also contains a good mosaic table and a relief.

The **4th Room** contains the **Fasti Consulares**, tables found near the Temple of Vesta and Regia. They were engraved on the walls of the Regia, the office of the Pontifical College. They are inscribed with the names of the consuls from A.V.C. 272 to Augustus. The frescoes are by *Benedetto Bonfigli*, 1420–96. The **5th Room** contains two bronze ducks (formerly shown as the sacred geese of the Capitol) and a female head (found in the gardens of Sallust), a marble bust of Medusa, by *Bernini*, and a fine bronze bust of Michelangelo.

A passage filled with tributes to Garibaldi leads to the **6th or Throne Room**, hung with tapestries representing classic subjects; it has a frieze in fresco by *Annibale Caracci*, representing the triumphs of Scipio Africanus. The **7th Room** is painted by *Daniele da Volterra* (?) with the history of the Punic Wars. **Room 8** has frescoes illustrating the deeds of Hannibal. The **9th Room** is a chapel, containing a lovely fresco by *Andrea di Assisi* (*L'Ingegno*) (1470–1536), of the Madonna and Child with Angels.

'The Madonna is seated enthroned, fronting the spectator; her large mantle forms a grand cast of drapery; the child on her lap sleeps in the loveliest attitude; she folds her hands and looks down, quiet, serious, and beautiful: in the clouds are two adoring angels.'—*Kugler*.

This fresco was removed from the staircase in 1703, when it was much repainted, the robe of the Virgin being made dark green, and that of the angel on the left red! So it remained till 1878, when the original colouring was discovered and restored by Signor Garelli.

The four Evangelists are by *Caravaggio;* the pictures of Roman saints (Cecilia, Alexis, Eustachio, Francesca Romana) by *Romanelli*. **Room 10** has china, watches, knife-handles, &c., in cabinets.

A door on the **left of the entrance to the Halls of the Conservators** leads to a set of rooms and galleries chiefly devoted to the antiquities discovered since 1870. Passing through some small red rooms occupied by modern Fasti Consulares, and decorated with busts of eminent Italians (the most remarkable being that in the 3rd Room right of the entrance, of Pius VII., a work of *Canova*) we reach (right) a slip room with Esquiline Venus, Marcus Aurelius, Head of Bacchus. Left, fine archaic fragments; next this lie 'Tombe a Pozzo' and other ancient sepulchres, as well as that of Crepereia Tryphena.[1] In the outer court is seen the exposed and imperfect stone map of Imperial Rome: Forma Urbis. The first contains a couch, litter, and remains of a chariot, discovered in 1862; the second, coins found in the Horti Lamiani on the Esquiline in 1876, and others from the Campana and Castellani collections.

We now enter the **Camera dei Bronzi**. The statue of **a boy extracting a thorn** from his foot is called the Shepherd Martius, and is now in the second series of rooms.

[1] Found May 12, 1889, where the New Courts of Justice are rising, together with her Doll and her betrothal-ring.

The statue of **Hercules**, in gilt bronze, found in the Forum-Boarium in the time of Sixtus IV., has been taken to top floor gallery of mosaics.

A **gigantic hand** is supposed to have belonged to a statue of Commodus; a colossal foot belonged (?) to a statue of Caius Cestius, erected near his pyramid; the famous **bronze horse** was found (1849) in Trastevere. (Vicolo delle Palme.)

A beautiful **vase** of fluted bronze, found in the sea at Porto d'Anzio, as its inscription shows, is that sent by Mithridates, king of Pontus, to the college of the Eupatorian Gymnasiarchs, B.C. 63. It is supposed to have been lost while it was being carried off in the triumph of Pompey; the handles are modern. Near the door is the curious bust said to represent (?) Junius Brutus, who drove out the kings, and became the first consul. Greek, third century B.C.

The next room is occupied by **Etruscan vases and antiquities**, the gift of Augusto Castellani.

Returning to the corridor, a staircase (R.) leads up to the **Picture Gallery** of the Capitol, founded by Benedict XIV. (1740–1757), which contains very few good pictures, but has a beautiful S. Sebastian, by *Guido*, and several works of *Guercino*. The pictures are not hung in the order of their numbers, and have been disgracefully 'treated.' We may notice—

1st Room (opposite the stairs—beginning R.)—

84. *Rubens.* Romulus and Remus.
78. *Romanelli.* S. Cecilia.
70. *Lorenzo di Credi*—later period. Madonna and Child, with angels.
68. *Guercino.* S. John Baptist.
61. *Guido Reni.* Mary Magdalene.
*59. *Domenichino.* The Cumaean Sibyl.
58. *Albani.* The Nativity of the Virgin.
57. *Tintoret.* Mary Magdalene.
54. Copy from *Subleyras* by his wife. Mary Anointing the Feet of Christ.
53. *Garofalo.* Holy Family.
47. *Guercino.* The Persian Sibyl.
29. *Cola dell' Amatrice.* Death and Assumption of the Virgin.
17. *Guido Reni.* Disembodied spirit (unfinished).
13. *F. Francia* (?), 1513. Madonna and Saints.

High up are hung some beautiful fragments of the frescoes of Raffaelle, removed from the walls of the villa of Leo X. at La Magliana. They have been engraved by Grüner.

2nd Room (entered from the corner of 1st Room)—

139. *Velasquez* (?) Portrait.

3rd Room—

155. *Romanelli.* Innocence.
143. *Titian.* Baptism of Christ. An early work of the master ruined by restoration.
141. *Giovanni Bellini.* Portrait of himself.

4th Room—

254. *Pietro da Cortona.* The Defeat of Darius.
250. *Tintoret.* The Flagellation.
249. *Tintoret.* The Crowning with Thorns.

248. *Tintoret.* Baptism of Christ.
*245. *Guido Reni.* S. Sebastian—splendid in form and colour.
241. *Guercino.* Cleopatra and Augustus.
240. *Caravaggio.* S. Sebastian.
*221. *Guercino.* S. Petronilla. An enormous picture, brought hither from S. Peter's, where it has been replaced by a mosaic copy. The composition is divided into two parts. The lower represents the burial of S. Petronilla, the upper the ascension of her spirit.
197. *Paolo Veronese.* The Rape of Europa.

Beyond the Palazzo dei Conservatori, a road leads to the **Palazzo Caffarelli**, the residence of the German ambassador, which stands partly on the platform of the Temple of Jupiter. The palace contains a magnificent hall, used as a ball-room, and the view from the upper windows is very beautiful. The German Archæological Institute (Dr. C. Huelsen) adjoins (splendid library).

'After dinner, Bunsen called for us, and took us first to his house on the Capitol, the different windows of which command the different views of ancient and modern Rome. Never shall I forget the view of the former: we looked down on the Forum, and just opposite were the Palatine and the Aventine, with the ruins of the Palace of the Caesars on the one hand and houses intermixed with gardens on the other. The mass of the Coliseum rose beyond the Forum, and beyond all, the wide plain of the Campagna to the sea. On the left rose the Alban hills, bright in the setting sun, which played full upon Frascati and Albano, and the trees which edge the lake, and farther away in the distance it lit up the old town of Labicum.'—*Arnold's Letters.*

From a garden (admission 50 c.) adjacent, across the street, one can look down over the bare cliff of what was probably the **Rupes Tarpeia.** Near the courtyard of the Palace there existed till 1868 a court, represented as the scene of the murder in Hawthorne's 'Marble Faun' or 'Transformation.' The door, the niche in the wall, and all other details mentioned in the novel, were realities. The character of the place is now changed by the removal of the boundary-wall and formation of a new road. The part of the rock seen from here is that usually visited from below by the Via della Consolazione.

To reach this principal portion of the south-eastern height of the Capitol, we can also ascend the staircase beyond the Palace of the Conservators on the right from the Piazza. Under the stairs a curious inscription was found in 1901 relating to the senatorship of Count Pietro Squarcia Lupi in 1511–12. Passing the Portico del Vignola we shall find ourselves upon the highest part of

'The Tarpeian rock, the citadel
Of great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,
So far renown'd, and with the spoils enriched
Of nations.' —*Paradise Regained.*

'The steep
Tarpeian, fittest goal of treason's race,
The promontory whence the traitor's leap
Cured all ambition.' —*Childe Harold.*

We must recollect that the face of the cliff has for ages been cumbered with houses. It has little to remind one of the appearance of the hill as seen by Virgil and Propertius, who speak of the change in their time from the condition of an earlier aspect.

'Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit,
Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis;
Jam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestes
Dira loci; jam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.'
—*Virgil, Aen.* viii. 347.

'Hoc quodcumque vides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est,
Ante Phrygem Aeneam collis et herba fuit.'
—*Propertius, Eleg.* iv. 1.

Dionysius (viii. 78) relates that executions from it could be seen by the citizens in the Forum.

It was on this side that the different attacks were made upon the Capitol. The first was by the Sabine Herdonius at the head of a band of slaves, who scaled the cliffs and surprised the garrison in B.C. 460, and proclaimed freedom for all slaves who should join him, together with abolition of debts, and defence of the plebs from their oppressors. But his offers were disregarded, and on the fourth day the Capitol was retaken, and he was slain with nearly all his followers. The second attack was by the Gauls, who, according to the well-known story, climbed the rock near the Porta Carmentalis, and had nearly reached the summit unobserved —for the dogs neglected to bark—when the cries of the sacred geese of Juno aroused an officer named Manlius, who, rushing to the defence, hurled the first assailant down the rock, who dragged down others in his fall, and thus the Capitol was saved. This was the same Manlius, friend of the people, who was afterwards condemned by the patricians on the pretext that he wished to make himself king, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock, in sight of the Forum.

Livy (xxxv. 21) mentions the fall of a mass of rock into the Vicus Jugarius, 192 B.C., which killed passers by. Festus would have us believe that the lugubrious spot was situated 'in ea parte qua saxum est.' From this point the visitor may descend by the **Vicolo della Rupe Tarpeia** into the untidy and picturesque **piazza** of the **Consolazione**; or, by the **Via del Monte Caprino**, to Piazza Montanara and the **Teatro Marcello.**

We have still to examine the northern height, now occupied by one of the most interesting of Christian churches. The name of the **Church of S. Maria in Ara-Coeli** is generally attributed to an altar erected by Augustus to commemorate the Delphic oracle respecting the coming of Christ, which is still recognised in the well-known hymn of the Church:

'Teste David cum Sibylla.'[1]

The altar bore the inscription, 'Ara Primogeniti Dei.' Those who seek a more humble origin for the church say that the name merely dates from mediaeval times, when it was called 'S. Maria in Aurocoelio.' It originally belonged to the Benedictine Order, but was transferred to the Franciscans by Innocent IV. in 1252, from which time its convent occupied an important position as the residence

[1] The *Dies Irae*, by Tommaso di Celano, of the thirteenth century.

of the General of the Minor Franciscans (Greyfriars), and is the head-centre of that Order. In the Middle Ages, Ara-Coeli was the church of the Roman Senate, and it has often served as a Parliament House for the city of Rome, as well as Westminster Abbey. The friars had no quiet time of it here.

The staircase on the left of the Senator's palace, which leads to the side (or south) entrance of Ara-Coeli, is in itself full of historical associations. On the right of it, in the garden of the Prætor, may be seen a fine fragment of the **primitive wall** of the Capitol, five courses high.

Six weeks before the final downfall of Rienzi, attended by three friars of Ara-Coeli, was led out from the prison of the Tabularium to an open space on the Capitol, in sight of thousands of the citizens, Fra Moriale, a Prior of S. John of Jerusalem, and, until recently, a successful freebooting tyrant of the Campagna ; captain, in fact, of the Grand Company. Invited to a private audience with the Tribune, he had been treacherously made prisoner, despoiled of his wealth, and forthwith condemned to die. On the 29th August 1354, having heard mass, his hands are tied in front of him, a crucifix being stuck between them. He is habited as a Prior of his Order, having over his shoulders a garment of brown velvet stitched with gold, and on his head a dark hood embroidered with golden fringe. Sentence is read to him in the presence of an enormous throng; and he replies, 'I am proud to die in the place where the blessed apostles themselves suffered. But woe to the wretch who has betrayed me. I die unjustly.' He then kisses the crucifix held to his lips by one of the three friars, forgives the executioner, feels the edge of the axe, kneels down, and at one blow his head has fallen! Says an eye-witness: 'There remained on the block a few hairs of the beard, and around the neck what was like a stripe of red silk.' The friars took his remains to their church of Ara-Coeli, and there gave them burial.

Over the side entrance of Ara-Coeli (from the Capitoline Piazza) (of 1564) is a beautiful thirteenth century **mosaic** of the Virgin and Child. This, with the ancient brick arches above, framing fragments of deep blue sky—and the worn steps below—forms a subject dear to Roman artists, and is often introduced as a background to groups of monks and peasants. The interior of the church, with its twenty-two chapels, is vast, solemn, and picturesque, though it was terribly injured and modernised in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is now (1904) undergoing a thorough restoration to, let us hope, something like its mediaeval glory. It was here, as Gibbon himself tells us, that on the 15th of October 1764, as he sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers, the idea of writing the 'Decline and Fall' of Rome first started to his mind.

'As we lift the great curtain and push into the church, a faint perfume of incense salutes the nostrils. The golden sunset bursts in as the curtain of the (west) door sways forward, illuminates the mosaic floor, catches on the rich golden ceiling, and flashes here and there over the crowd (gathered in

Epiphany), on some brilliant costume or closely shaven head. All sorts of people are thronging there, some kneeling before the shrine of the Madonna, which gleams with its hundreds of silver votive hearts, legs, and arms, some listening to the preaching, some crowding round the chapel of the *Presepio*. Old women, haggard and wrinkled, come tottering along with their *scaldini* of coals, drop down on their knees to pray, and, as you pass, interpolate in their prayers a parenthesis of begging. The church is not architecturally handsome, but it is eminently picturesque, with its relics of centuries, its mosaic pulpit and floors, its frescoes of Pinturicchio and Pesaro, its antique columns, its rich golden ceiling, its gothic mausoleum to the Savelli, and its mediaeval tombs. A dim, dingy look is over all—but it is the dimness of faded splendour; and one cannot stand there, knowing the history of the church, its great antiquity, and the varied fortunes it has known, without a peculiar sense of interest and pleasure.'—*Story*, '*Roba di Roma*,' i. 73.

The **nave** has 12 bays of granite columns. The **floor** of the church, rich in perishing sculptured slabs, is of Opus Cosmatescum. The **nave** is separated from the **aisles** by twenty-two ancient columns, of which two are of cipollino, two of white marble, and eighteen of Egyptian granite. They are of different forms and sizes, and have been collected from various pagan edifices. The inscription, 'A Cubiculo Augustorum,' upon the third column on the left of the nave, falsely suggests that it was brought from the Palace of the Caesars. The fine statues of Paul III. (left) and Gregory XIII. (right) were removed from the halls of the Capitol in 1876. The windows in this church are amongst the few in Rome which show traces of gothic. At the head of the nave on either side are two **ambones**, marking the position of the **choir** before it had travelled to its present site in the sixteenth century.

The **transepts** are full of interesting monuments. Near the entrance of the **R.** is the tomb of Cardinal d'Albret (latinised as De Lebretto) of the blood-royal of France, ob. 1464. This transept was the burial-place of the great but now extinct family of Savelli, and contains—on the **L.**, the monument of Luca Savelli, 1266 (father of Pope Honorius IV.), and his son Pandolfo—an ancient, richly-sculptured sarcophagus, to which a gothic canopy was added by *Agostino* and *Agnolo da Siena* from designs of Giotto. Opposite is the tomb of the mother of Honorius, Vana Aldobrandesca, upon which is the statue of the Pope himself, removed from his monument in the old S. Peter's by Paul III.

In the **choir** are two columns of the fine marble 'nero-antico.' On the left of the **high altar** is the grand tomb of Cardinal Gianbattista Savelli, ob. 1498, and near it—in the pavement—the half-effaced gravestone of Sigismondo Condi, whose features are so familiar to us from his portrait introduced into the famous picture of the Madonna di Foligno, which was painted by Raffaelle at his order, and presented by him to this church, where it remained over the high altar till 1565, when his great-niece Anna became a nun at the convent of the Contesse at Foligno, and was allowed to carry it away with her. In the **left transept** is another gothic tomb, that of Cardinal Matteo di Acquasparta (1302), a General of the Franciscans, mentioned by Dante for his wise and moderate rule.[1]

[1] *Paradiso*, canto xii.

The quaint temple-chapel in the middle of this transept, now dedicated to S. Helena, is supposed to occupy the site of the 'Ara Primogeniti Dei,' to commemorate the prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl to Augustus.[1] To a point near this the interesting statue of Leo X., by the Sicilian Giacomo della Duca, was removed from the Halls of the Conservators in 1876.[2]

The **ambones** for the Epistle and the Gospel are interesting and important works of Lorenzo and his son Jacopo Cosmati. Upon the pier near the ambone of the Gospel (L.) is the monument of Queen Catherine of Bosnia, who died at Rome in 1478, bequeathing her states to the Roman Church on condition of their reversion to her son, who had embraced Mohammedanism, if he should return to the Catholic faith. Near this, against the transept wall, is the tomb of Felice de Fredis, ob. 1529, upon which it is recorded that he was the finder of the Laocoön. The Chapel of the Annunciation, opening from the left aisle, has a slab-tomb to G. Crivelli by Donatello, bearing his signature, 'Opus Donatelli Florentini,' restored, alas, too late. The **Chapel of Santa Croce** is the burial-place of the Ponziani family, and was the scene of the celebrated ecstasy of the famous Roman saint Francesca Romana, Foundress of the Oblati Order (1450).

'The mortal remains of Vanozza Ponziani (sister-in-law of Francesca) were laid in the Church of Ara-Coeli, in the Chapel of Santa Croce. The Roman people resorted there in crowds to behold once more their beloved benefactress—the mother of the poor, the consoler of the afflicted. All strove to carry away some little memorial of one who had gone about among them doing good, and during the three days which preceded the interment, the concourse did not abate. On the day of the funeral Francesca knelt on one side of the coffin, and, in sight of all the crowd, she was wrapt in ecstasy. They saw her body lifted from the ground, and a seraphic expression on her uplifted face. They heard her murmur several times with an indescribable emphasis the word "Quando? Quando?" When all was over, she still remained immovable; it seemed as if her soul had risen on the wings of prayer, and followed Vanozza's spirit into the realms of bliss. At last her confessor ordered her to rise and go and attend on the sick. She instantly complied, and walked away to the hospital which she had founded, apparently unconscious of everything about her, and only roused from her trance by the habit of obedience, which, in or out of ecstasy, never forsook her.'—*Lady Georgiana Fullerton's 'Life of S. Fr. Romana.'*

There are several good pictures over the altars in the aisles of Ara-Coeli. In the **Chapel of S. Margaret** (8, L.) of Cortona are frescoes illustrative of her life by *Filippo Evangelisti*,—in that of **S. Antonio** (2, L.), frescoes by *Niccolò da Pesaro;* but no one should omit visiting the **1st chapel on the right** of the west door, dedicated to S. Bernardino of Siena, and painted by **Bernardino Pinturicchio,** who has put forth his best powers to do honour to his patron saint with a series of exquisite frescoes, representing his assuming the monastic habit, his preaching, his vision of the Saviour, his penitence, death, and burial. Afternoon light the best.

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[1] They appear on either side the arch above the high altar.

[2] The statue of Leo X. is interesting as having been erected to this popular art-loving Pope in his lifetime. It is inscribed 'Optimi liberalissimique pontificis memoriae.'

The **2nd chapel** (R.) is that of the Della Valle family, whose most celebrated member was Pietro della Valle, the great traveller of the seventeenth century. In Persia he had married a beautiful Georgian, and, on her death, carried her body about with him for four years, even taking it with him to India, and eventually buried it here with great pomp. A papal coachman having insulted one of his Turkish servants, he killed him in the Piazza Quirinale, under the very eyes of Urban VIII., who was about to give his benediction from the balcony. Della Valle then fled to Paliano, where the powerful Colonnesi gave him a refuge, till he was pardoned by the Pope, on the intercession of Cardinal Barberini, and thenceforth lived in Rome, in great honour, till his death in 1652. He left several children by his second wife, a young cousin of his first, who had intrusted her to his charge upon her death-bed.

Almost opposite this—closed except during Epiphany—is the Chapel of the **Presepio** (2, L.), where the famous image of the **Santissimo Bambino d' Ara-Coeli** is shown at that season lying in a manger. For those who witness this sight it will be interesting to turn to the origin of a Presepio.

'S. Francis asked of Pope Honorius III. [1223], with his usual simplicity, to be allowed to celebrate Christmas with certain unusual ceremonies which had suggested themselves to him—ceremonies which he must have thought likely to seize upon the popular imagination and impress the unlearned folk. He would not do it on his own authority, we are told, lest he should be accused of levity. When he made this petition, he was bound for the village of Grecia, a little place not far from Assisi, where he was to remain during that sacred season. In this village, when the eve of the Nativity approached, Francis instructed a certain grave and worthy man, called Giovanni, to prepare an ox and an ass, along with a manger and all the common fittings of a stable, for his use, in the church. When the solemn night arrived, Francis and his brethren arranged all these things into a visible representation of the occurrences of the night at Bethlehem. The manger was filled with hay, the animals were led into their places; the scene was prepared as we see it now through all the churches of Southern Italy—a reproduction, so far as the people know how, in startling realistic detail, of the surroundings of the first Christmas. . . . We are told that Francis stood by this, his simple theatrical (for such indeed it was—no shame to him) representation, all the night long, singing for joy, and filled with an unspeakable sweetness.'—*Mrs. Oliphant*, '*S. Francis*.'

'The simple meaning of the term **Presepio** is a manger, but it is also used in the church to signify a representation of the birth of Christ. In the Ara-Coeli the whole of one of the side-chapels is devoted to this exhibition. In the foreground is a grotto, in which is seated the Virgin Mary, with Joseph at her side and the miraculous Bambino in her lap. Immediately behind her an ass and an ox. On one side kneel the shepherds and kings in adoration; and above, God the Father is seen surrounded by crowds of cherubs and angels playing on instruments, as in the early pictures of Raffaelle. In the background is a scenic representation of a pastoral landscape, on which all the skill of the scene-painter is expended. Shepherds guard their flocks far away, reposing under palm-trees or standing on green slopes which glow in the sunshine. The distances and perspective are admirable. In the middle ground is a crystal fountain of glass, near which sheep, preternaturally white, and made of real wool and cotton wool, are feeding, tended by figures of shepherds carved in wood. Still nearer come women, bearing great baskets of real oranges and other fruits on their heads. All the nearer figures are full sized, carved in wood, painted, and dressed in appropriate robes. The miraculous Bambino is a painted doll swaddled in a white dress, which

is crusted over with magnificent diamonds, emeralds, and rubies. The Virgin also wears in her ears superb diamond pendants. The general effect of the scenic show is admirable, and crowds flock to it and press about it all day long.[1]

'While this is taking place on one side of the church, on the other is a very different and quite as singular an exhibition. Around one of the antique columns a stage is erected, from which little maidens are reciting, with every kind of pretty gesticulation, sermons, dialogues, and little speeches, in explanation of the *Presepio* opposite. Sometimes two of them are engaged in alternate questions and answers about the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Redemption. Sometimes the recitation is a piteous description of the agony of the Saviour and the sufferings of the Madonna, the greatest stress being, however, always laid upon the latter. All these little speeches have been written for them by their priest or some religious friend, committed to memory, and practised with appropriate gestures over and over again at home. Their little piping voices are sometimes guilty of such comic breaks and changes, that the crowd about them rustles into a murmurous laughter. Sometimes, also, one of the little preachers has a *dispetto*, pouts, shakes her shoulders, and refuses to go on with her part;—another, however, always stands ready on the platform to supply the vacancy, until friends have coaxed, reasoned, or threatened the little pouter into obedience. These children are often very beautiful and graceful, and their comical little gestures and intonations, their clasping of hands and rolling up of eyes, have a very amusing and interesting effect.'—*Story's 'Roba di Roma.'*

At other times the Bambino dwells in the inner Sacristy, where it can be visited by admiring pilgrims. It is a fresh-coloured doll, tightly swathed in gold and silver tissue, crowned, and sparkling with jewels. It has servants of its own, and a carriage in which it drives out with its attendants, and goes to visit the sick; for, though an infant, it is quite the oldest medical practitioner in Rome. Devout peasants always kneel as the blessed infant passes. Formerly it was taken to sick persons and left on their beds for some hours, in the hope that it would work a miracle. Now it is never left alone. In explanation of this, it is said that an audacious woman formed the design of appropriating to herself the holy image and its benefits. She had another doll prepared of the same size and appearance as the 'Santissimo,' and having feigned sickness, and obtained permission to have it left with her, she dressed the false image in its clothes, and sent it back to Ara-Coeli. The fraud was not discovered till night, when the Franciscan monks were awakened by the most furious ringing of bells and by thundering knocks at the west door of the church, and hastening thither, could see nothing but a wee naked pink foot peeping in from under the door; but when they opened the door, without stood the little naked figure of the true Bambino of Ara-Coeli, shivering in the wind and rain,—so the false baby was sent back in disgrace, and the real baby restored to its home, never to be trusted away alone any more.

In the **Sacristy** (left transept) is the following inscription relating to the Bambino:—

'Ad hoc sacellum Arae Coeli a festo Nativitatis Domini usque ad festum Epiphaniae magna populi frequentia invisitur et colitur in presepio Christi

[1] Till late years the figures of Augustus and the Sibyl appeared in the front of the *Presepio* pointing to the Holy Child.

nati infantuli simulacrum ex oleae ligno apud montem olivarum Hierosolymis a quodam devoto Minorita sculptum eo animo, ut ad hoc festum celebrandum deportaretur. De quo in primis hoc accidit, quod deficiente colore inter barbaras gentes ad plenam infantuli figurationem et formam, devotus et anxius artifex, professione laicus, precibus et orationibus impetravit, ut sacrum divinitus carneo colore perfunctum reperiretur. Cumque navi Italiam veheretur, facto naufragio apud Tusciae oras, simulacri capsa Liburnum appulit. Ex quo, recognita, expectabur enim a Fratribus, et jam fama illius a Hierosolymis ad nostrae familiae partes advenerat, ad destinatam sibi Capitolii sedem devenit. Fertur etiam, quod aliquando ex nimia devotione a quadam devota foemina sublatum ad suas aedes miraculosè remeaverit. Quapropter in maxima veneratione semper est habitum a Romanis civibus, et universo populo donatum monilibus, et focalibus pretiosis, liberaliori-busque in dies prosequitur oblationibus.'

The outer Sacristy contains a picture of the 'Holy Family,' by *Giulio Romano*. Removed to the Capitoline Museum from this church is an altar dedicated to Isis by a traveller who had returned in safety. It bore two footprints, which tradition declared to be those of the angel seen by S. Gregory on the top of the mausoleum of Hadrian.

The scene on the long flight of steps which leads to the west door of Ara-Coeli is very curious during Epiphany.

'If any one visit the Ara-Coeli during an afternoon in Christmas or Epiphany, the scene is very striking. The flight of one hundred and twenty-four steps is then thronged by merchants of Madonna wares, who spread them out over the steps and hang them against the walls and balustrades. Here are to be seen all sorts of curious little coloured prints of the Madonna and Child of the most extraordinary quality, little bags, pewter medals, and crosses stamped with the same figures and to be worn on the neck—all offered at once for the sum of one *baiocco*. Here also are framed pictures of the saints, of the Nativity, and in a word of all sorts of religious subjects appertaining to the season. Little wax dolls, clad in cotton-wool, to represent the Saviour, and sheep made of the same materials, are also sold by the basketful. Children and *contadini* are busy buying them, and there is a deafening roar all up and down the steps, of "Mezzo baiocco, bello colorito, mezzo baiocco, la Santissima Concezione Incoronata,"—"Diario Romano, Lunario Romano nuovo," — "Ritratto colorito, medaglia e quadruccio un baiocco tutti, un baiocco tutti,"—"Bambinello di cera, un baiocco." None of the prices are higher than one baiocco, except to strangers, and generally several articles are held up together, enumerated, and proffered with a loud voice for this sum. Meanwhile men, women, children, priests, beggars, soldiers, and *villani* are crowding up and down, and we crowd with them."'—*Roba di Roma*, i. 72.

'On the 6th of January the lofty steps of Ara-Coeli looked like an ant-hill, so thronged were they with people. Men and boys who sold little books (legends and prayers), rosaries, pictures of saints, medallions, chestnuts, oranges, and other things, shouted and made a great noise. Little boys and girls were still preaching zealously in the church, and people of all classes were crowding thither. Processions advanced with the thundering cheerful music of the fire-corps. Il Bambino, a painted image of wood, covered with jewels, and with a yellow crown on its head, was carried by a monk in white gloves, and exhibited to the people from a kind of altar-like erection at the top of the Ara-Coeli steps. Everybody dropped down upon their knees; Il Bambino was shown on all sides, the music thundered, and the smoking censers were swung.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

These steps of marble, brought from the Quirinal, represent one of the only public works executed in Rome during the residence of the Popes at Avignon, and were a votive offering to the Madonna

of Ara-Coeli, after the deliverance of Rome from the Black-death (1348).

The **Convent of Ara-Coeli** was wantonly destroyed in 1886, together with the noble tower of Paul II., which rose so grandly at the end of the Corso, to make way for a monument to Victor Emmanuel II., which is wholly out of place on the Roman Capitol, though it might well have been erected in one of the dreary squares of his own new town. The destroyed convent contained much that was picturesque and interesting in its gothic cloisters, curious well, &c., and was specially dear to Catholic Christians, as always having been the residence of the General of the Franciscan Order. S. Giovanni Capistrano was abbot here in the reign of Eugenius IV. (1431).

Let us now descend from the Capitoline Piazza towards the Forum, by the stairway on the **left** of the Palace of the Senator. Close to the foot is a church, very obscure-looking, having some rude frescoes on the exterior. Yet every one must enter this building, for here is the **Carcere Tulliano** and **Mamertine Prison** (so called from a statue of Mars or Mamers, which also gave a name to the Via di Marforio), excavated from the solid rock under the Capitol.

This prison is entered through the low chapel of **S. Pietro in Carcere**, hung round with votive offerings and blazing with lamps.

'There is an upper chamber in the Mamertine Prisons, over what is said to have been—and very possibly may have been—the dungeon of St. Peter. This chamber is now fitted up as an oratory, dedicated to that saint; and it lives as a distinct and separate place in my recollection, too. It is very small and low-roofed; and the dread and gloom of the ponderous, obdurate old prison are on it, as if they had come up in a dark mist through the floor. Hanging on the walls, among the clustered votive offerings, are objects at once strangely in keeping and strangely at variance with the place—rusty daggers, knives, pistols, clubs, divers instruments of violence and murder, brought here fresh from use, and hung up to propitiate offended Heaven; as if the blood upon them would drain off in consecrated air, and have no voice to cry with. It is all so silent, and so close and tomblike, and the dungeons below are so black, and stealthy, and stagnant, and naked, that this little dark spot becomes a dream within a dream: and in the vision of great churches which come rolling past me like a sea, it is a small wave by itself, that melts into no other wave, and does not flow with the rest.'—*Dickens.*

Enclosed in the church, near the entrance, may be observed the outer frieze of the prison wall, with the inscription C. VIBIUS . C . F . RUFINUS . M . COCCEIUS . NERVA . COS . EX . S . C., recording the names of two consuls of A.D. 22, who are supposed to have repaired the prison. This is the prison—*carcer . . . media urbe imminens foro*—mentioned by Livy. It must therefore have included a building above it. Juvenal's description of the times when one prison was sufficient for all the criminals in Rome naturally refers to this building:

'Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
Saecula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.'

—*Sat.* iii. 312.

Commendatore Boni has lately found what may be another prison between the temple of Faustina and the church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano, but the attribution admits of considerable doubt.

A modern staircase leads to the dungeon of Ancus Martius (so called), sixteen feet in height, thirty in length, and twenty-two in breadth. Originally there was no staircase, and the prisoners were let down here, and hence through a hole in the middle of the ceiling into the lower dungeon. The large door at the side is a modern innovation, having been opened to accommodate the vast mass of pilgrims during the festa. The whole prison is constructed of huge blocks of tufa without cement. Some remains are shown of the **Scalae Gemoniae**—so called from the groans of the prisoners—by which the bodies of the executed were dragged forth to be exposed to the insults of the populace ere they were thrown into the Tiber. It was by this staircase that Cicero came forth and announced the execution of Catiline's colleagues to the people in the Forum, by the single word *Vixerunt* ('They have ceased to live'). Close to the exit of these stairs the Emperor Vitellius was hacked to pieces, where but a little while before he had caused the death of Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian. On the wall by which you descend to the lower dungeon is a mark, kissed by the faithful, as a spot against which S. Peter's head rested. The lower prison, called **Robur**, is constructed of blocks of tufa, which originally met in a conical roof, but are now fastened together by cramps of iron, and approach horizontally to a common centre. It is described by Livy and by Sallust, who depicts its horrors in his account of the execution of the Catiline conspirators.[1] The spot pretended is shown to which these victims were attached and in turn strangled. In this dungeon, at an earlier period, Appius Claudius and Oppius the decemvirs committed suicide (B.C. 449). Here Jugurtha, king of Mauritania, was starved to death by Marius, and exclaimed when he found the bottom of his cell covered with water, 'Hercules, how cold your bath is!' Here Julius Caesar, during his triumph for the conquest of Gaul, allowed his gallant enemy Vercingetorix to be put to death (A.D. 45). Here Sejanus, the treacherous minister of Tiberius, disgraced too late, was executed for the murder of Drusus, son of the Emperor, and for an intrigue with his daughter-in-law, Livilla. Here also, Simon Bar-Gioras, the gallant defender of Jerusalem, suffered death during the climax of the triumph of Titus.

> 'Along the sacred way
> Hither the triumph came, and, winding round
> With acclamation, and the martial clang
> Of instruments, and cars laden with spoil,
> Stopped at the sacred stair that then appeared,
> Then thro' the darkness broke, ample, star-bright,
> As tho' it led to heaven. 'Twas night; but now

[1] 'Est locus in carcere quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum descenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta; sed inlitu, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est.'—*Sall. Catil.* lv.

A thousand torches, turning night to day,
Blazed, and the victor, springing from his seat,
Went up, and kneeling as in fervent prayer,
Entered the Capitol. But what are they
Who at the foot withdrawn, a mournful train
In fetters? And who, yet incredulous,
Now gazing wildly round, now on his sons,
On those so young, well pleased with all they see,
Staggers along, the last? They are the fallen,
Those who were spared to grace the chariot-wheels;
And there they parted, where the road divides,
The victor and the vanquished—there withdrew;
He to the festal board, and they to die.
Well might the great, the mighty of the world,
They who were wont to fare deliciously
And war but for a kingdom more or less,
Shrink back, nor from their thrones endure to look,
To think that way! Well might they in their pomp
Humble themselves, and kneel and supplicate
To be delivered from a dream like this!'

—*Rogers' 'Italy.'*

Pliny records the devotion of a dog, which watched without food by the dead body of his master for three days and nights; and afterwards, when the body was thrown into the Tiber, dived beneath, and was drowned in trying to support it, all Rome looking on, as it would do now, and doing nothing.

The spot is more interesting to the Christian world as the supposed prison of SS. Peter and Paul, who are said to have been bound for nine months to a pillar, which is shown here. A fountain of excellent water, beneath the floor of the prison, is attributed to the prayers of S. Peter, that he might have wherewith to baptize his gaolers, Processus and Martinianus; but, unfortunately for this ecclesiastical tradition, the fountain is described by Plutarch as having existed at the time of Jugurtha's imprisonment. It probably gave the dungeon the name of **Tullianum**, by which it was sometimes known, *tullius* signifying a spring. This name probably gave rise to the idea of the connection of the prison with Servius Tullius. There is no doubt as to these prisons having originated in quarries, or Lautomiæ.

The Roman Church believes that S. Peter and S. Paul addressed their farewells to the Christian world from this spot. The tradition, however, cannot be traced anterior to the seventh century.

That of S. Peter:—

'Shortly I must put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me. Moreover I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance. For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Nevertheless we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.'—*2nd S. Peter.*

That of S. Paul:—

'God hath not given us a spirit of fear. . . . Be not thou, therefore, ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me His prisoner; but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel according to the power of God. . . . I suffer trouble as an evil-doer, even unto bonds; but the word of God is not bound. Therefore I endure all things, for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain

the salvation which is in Christ Jesus. . . . I charge thee by God and by the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead . . . preach the word ; be instant in season, out of season ; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine ; . . . watch in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry. For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.'—*2nd Timothy.*

On July 4, the prisons are the scene of a picturesque solemnity, when they are visited at night by the religious confraternities, who first kneel and then prostrate themselves in silent devotion.

Passages leading east and west, and bifurcating under the Vicolo del Ghettarello, have been discovered. These probably relate to the drainage of the Capitoline Hill.

Above the Church of S. Pietro in Carcere is that of **S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami**, S. Joseph of the Carpenters. In their oratory are four columns of jasper.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORA AND THE COLISEUM

Forum of Trajan—(S. Maria di Loreto)—Temple of Mars Ultor—Forum of Augustus—Forum of Nerva—Forum of Julius Caesar—(Academy of S. Luke)—Forum Romanum—Tribune—Vulcanal—Temple of Concord—Temple of Vespasian—Temple of Saturn—Arch of Septimius Severus—Temple of Castor and Pollux—Fountain of Juturna—Temple of Vesta—House of the Vestals—Pillar of Phocas—Comitium, Curia, 'Tomb of Romulus'—Temple of Antoninus and Faustina—Temple of Romulus—Temple Sacrae Urbis—Basilica of Constantine—(S. Martina—S. Adriano—S. Maria Liberatrice—SS. Cosmo and Damiano—S. Francesca Romana)—Temple of Venus and Rome—Arch of Titus—(S. Maria in Pallara—S. Buonaventura)—Meta Sudans—Arch of Constantine—Coliseum.

FOLLOWING the Corso to its end at the recently-demolished Via Ripresa dei Barberi, by the Palazzo Venezia, and turning to the left by the Prefettura, we find ourselves at once amid the remains of the **Forum of Trajan,** erected by the architect Appolodorus for the Emperor Trajan on his return from his great war on the Danube. This forlorn forum now presents the appearance of a moraine between the **Quirinal** and **Capitoline.** An inscription over the door of the **Column,** which reigns over the other ruins, shows that it was raised there in order to mark the height of soil which was removed from the south-west ridge of the Quirinal Hill in order to construct the forum. The earth, forming a barrier between the two parts of the town, was formerly as high as the top of the Column, which reaches 140 feet. The forum was sometimes called the 'Ulpian,' from the family name of the Emperor. It formed the last and by far the most magnificent feature in the chain of imperial Fora, by means of which the ever-increasing pressure of business-life in the older Forum was drawn northward and provided for.

'Before the year A.D. 107 the splendours of the city and the Campus beyond it were still separated by a narrow isthmus, thronged perhaps by the squalid cabins of the poor, and surmounted by the remains of the Servian wall which ran along its summit. Step by step the earlier emperors had approached with their new forums to the foot of this obstruction. Domitian was the first to contemplate and commence its removal. Nerva had the fortune to consecrate and to give his own name to a portion of his predecessor's construction; but Trajan undertook to complete the bold design, and the genius of his architect triumphed over all obstacles, and executed a work which exceeded in extent and splendour any previous achievement of the kind. He swept away every building on the site, levelled the spot on which they had stood, and laid out a vast area of columnar galleries, connecting halls and chambers for public use and recreation. The new forum was adorned with two libraries, one of Greek, the other of Roman volumes, and it was bounded

on the west by a basilica of magnificent dimensions. Beyond this basilica, and within the limits of the Campus, the same architect (Apollodorus) erected a temple for the worship of Trajan himself; but this work probably belonged to the reign of Trajan's successor, and no doubt the Ulpian forum, with all its adjuncts, occupied many years in building. The area was adorned with numerous statues, in which the figure of Trajan was frequently repeated, and among its decorations were groups in bronze or marble, representing his most illustrious actions. The balustrades and cornices of the whole mass of buildings flamed with gilded images of arms and horses. Here stood the great equestrian statue of the emperor; here was the triumphal arch decreed him by the senate, adorned with sculpture, which Constantine, two centuries later, transferred without a blush to his own, a barbarous act of this first Christian emperor; to which, however, we probably owe their preservation to this day from more barbarous spoliation.'—*Merivale*, '*Romans under the Empire*,' ch. lxiii.

The beautiful **Column of Trajan**,[1] the justest of Roman princes, called Columna Cochlis, from its winding stairs resembling the spiral of a shell, was erected then in his honour by the senate and people of Rome A.D. 114, to show the height of the mound levelled by the emperor—*ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus sit egestus*. It is composed of thirty-four blocks of Luna marble, and is adorned with a spiral band of bas-reliefs illustrative of the Dacian wars, increasing in size as it nears the top, so that it preserves throughout the same proportion when seen from below. The reliefs include over 2000 figures. It was formerly crowned by a statue of Trajan, holding a gilt globe, which latter is still preserved in the Hall of Bronzes in the Capitol. The statue had been carried off by Constans, or had fallen from its pedestal long before Sixtus V. replaced it by the existing figure of S. Peter. At the foot of the column was a sepulchral chamber, in which, preserved in a golden urn, in a 'cella,' were placed the imperial ashes.

> 'Apostolic statues climb
> To crush the imperial urn, whose ashes slept sublime.'
> —*Childe Harold*, cx.

The triumphal **Arch of Trajan**, which formed the entrance to the forum, was destroyed in 1526. Its site was near the present Pastorria Traiana.

'The forum of Trajan comprised seven different sections, namely, the propylaia, or triumphal arch of the emperor; the square itself, with the equestrian statue in the middle; the Basilica Ulpia; the Bibliotheca Ulpia; the two hemicycles; the monumental column; and the temple of Trajan. The *ensemble* of these various sections was considered not only the masterpiece of Roman architecture of the golden age, but one of the marvels of the world. Let me quote the words with which Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi. 10) describes the impression felt by the Emperor Constantius at the first sight of the group. "Having now entered the forum of Trajan, the most marvellous invention of human genius,—*singularem sub omni coelo structuram*,—he was struck with admiration, and looked round in amazement, without being able to utter a word, wondering at the gigantic structures,—*giganteos contextus*,—which no pen can describe, and which mankind can create and see only once in the course of centuries. Having consequently given up any hope of building himself anything which would approach, even at a respectful distance, the

[1] 'Permit' to visit can be obtained at the Ufficio dei Monumenti in Via Miranda.

work of Trajan, he turned his attention to the equestrian statue placed in the centre of the forum, and said to his attendants that he would have one like it in Constantinople." These words having been heard by Hormisdas, a young Persian prince attached to his court, he turned quickly towards the emperor, and said, "If your Majesty wants to secure and keep such a horse, you must first provide him with a stable like this."'—*Lanciani*, '*Ancient Rome*.'

It was while observing the monuments in this forum that Gregory the Great, noticing one of the marble groups which told of a good and great action of Trajan, lamented bitterly that the soul of so noble a man should be lost, and prayed earnestly for the salvation of the heathen emperor. He was told that the soul of Trajan should be saved, but that to ensure this he must either himself undergo the pains of purgatory for three days, or suffer seven different diseases and then die. He chose the latter, and immediately went lame. This incident is narrated by Paul Diaconus and John of Salisbury, and is picturesquely recounted by Dante in the 10th canto of the 'Purgatorio' (v. 73–93).

The forum of Trajan was partly uncovered by Pope Paul III. in the sixteenth century, but excavated in its present form by the French in 1812. Behind the houses on the Quirinal side of the forum, remains of curvilinear buildings may be seen belonging to one of the two hemicycles which opened on to each side of the forum, and were designed to hide out the scrapings made in the Hill behind, on the north side, and the poorer houses on the opposite, or southern side. There is much irrevocably buried under the streets and gigantic neighbouring houses.

'All over the surface of what once was Rome it seems to be the effort of Time to bury up the ancient city, as if it were a corpse, and he the sexton; so that, in eighteen centuries, the soil over its grave has grown very deep, by this slow scattering of dust, and the accumulation of more modern decay upon her older ruin.

'This was the fate, also, of Trajan's forum, until some papal antiquary, a few hundred years ago, began to hollow it out again, and disclosed the whole height of the gigantic column, wreathed round with bas-reliefs of the old emperor's warlike deeds (rich sculpture, which, twining from the base to the capital, must be an ugly spectacle for his ghostly eyes, if he considers that this huge, storied shaft must be laid before the judgment-seat, as a piece of the evidence of what he did in the flesh). In the area before the column stands a grove of stone, consisting of the broken and unequal shafts of a vanished temple, still keeping a majestic order, and apparently incapable of further demolition. The modern edifices of the piazza (wholly built, no doubt, out of the spoil of its old magnificence) look down into the hollow space where these pillars rise.

'One of the immense grey granite shafts lies in the piazza, on the verge of the area. It is a great, solid fact of the Past, making old Rome actually visible to the touch and eye; and no study of history, nor force of thought, nor magic of song, can so vitally assure us that Rome once existed, as this sturdy specimen of what its rulers and people wrought. There is still a polish remaining on the hard substance of the pillar, the polish of eighteen centuries ago, as yet but half rubbed off.'—*Hawthorne*.

On the north of this forum are two churches: that nearest to the Corso is **S. Maria di Loreto** (founded by the corporation of bakers in 1500), with a dome surmounted by a picturesque lantern by Giuliano di Sangallo, *c.* 1506. It contains a statue of S. Susanna (*not* the Susanna of the Elders) by *Fiammingo* (François de Ques-

noy), which is justly considered the *chef-d'oeuvre* of the Bernini school. The companion church is called **S. Maria di Vienna** or **Nome di Maria**, and (like S. Maria della Vittoria) commemorates the liberation of Vienna from the Turks in 1683 by Sobieski, king of Poland. It was built by Clement XII., 1730–40. Michelangelo lived in the street beside this. His house has just been demolished (1903), in order to accommodate an imitation Palazzo.

Leaving the forum at the opposite corner by the Via Alessandrina, and passing along under the high wall of the Convent of the Nunziatina, a street, opening on the left, discloses to us several beautiful fluted columns, which, after having borne various names, are identified as remains of the **Temple of Mars Ultor**, built by Augustus in the new forum, which he erected in order to relieve the then pressure of the crowds in the Forum Romanum and Forum Julium.

'Fori extruendi câusa fuit hominum et judiciorum multitudo.'—*Suetonius*, c. 29.

'The title of Ultor marked the war and the victory by which, agreeably to his vow, Augustus had avenged his uncle's death.

'"Mars, ades, et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum;
Stetque favor causa pro meliore tuus.
Templa feres, et, me victore, vocaberis Ultor."[1]

'The porticoes, which extended on each side of the temple with a gentle curve, contained statues of distinguished Roman generals. The banquets of the Salii were transferred to the temple, a circumstance which led to its identification, from the discovery of an inscription here recording the *mansiones* of these priests. Like the priesthood in general, they appear to have been fond of good living, and there is a well-known anecdote of the Emperor Claudius having been lured by the steams of their banquet from his judicial functions in the adjacent forum to come and take part in their feast. The temple was appropriated to meetings of the senate in which matters connected with wars and triumphs were debated. . . . Here, while Tiberius was building a temple to Augustus upon the Palatine, his golden statue reposed upon a couch.'—*Dyer's 'City of Rome.'*

Until the time of Augustus, the god Mars, the reputed father of the Roman race, had only been honoured within the city by a small though most important 'sacrarium' or shrine, in the Regia. Now he became worshipped in a temple, reckoned with the Basilica Æmilia, and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, as one of the masterpieces of Imperial Rome.

The Temple, as rebuilt by Hadrian, stands at the north-eastern extremity of the magnificent **Forum of Augustus**, which extended from here as far as the present Via Alessandrina, surpassing in size the Forum of Julius Caesar, to which it adjoined. It was of sufficient size to be frequently used for fights of animals (*venationes*). Among its many ornaments were statues representing Augustus triumphant and the subdued Provinces, with inscriptions illustrative of the great deeds he had accomplished there; also four works by Apelles representing War with her hands bound behind her, seated upon a pile of arms. Part of the boundary wall exists,

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 575.

enclosing on two sides the remains of the temple of Mars Ultor, and is constructed of neat blocks of peperino. The arch in the wall close to the temple is known as **Arco dei Pantani.** It has voussoirs of travertine. We must recollect that the original level from which these remains should be viewed, lies many feet below us. The sudden turn in the wall here is interesting as commemorating a concession made to certain proprietors, who were unwilling to part with their houses. Augustus would seem, however, to have owned some of the site himself; but Suetonius (c. lvi.) says he made his forum narrower than he wished, because he dared not compel neighbouring landlords to give up their tenements.

The street on the left—passing the Arco dei Pantani—the Via della Salita del Grillo, commemorates the approach to the castle of the mediaeval family Del Grillo. The street on the right leads through the ancient Suburra (Via Baccina).

At the corner of the next street (Via della Croce Bianca)—on the left of the Via Alessandrina—is the ruin called the 'Colonnacce,' being part of the **Portico of Pallas Minerva**, which decorated the north-eastern boundary of the **Forum Transitorium**, begun by Domitian, but dedicated in the short reign of Nerva, and hence generally called the **Forum of Nerva.** Up to the seventeenth century seven magnificent columns of the Temple of Minerva were still standing, but they were wantonly destroyed by Clement VIII. and Paul V., who used part of them in building the Fontana Paolina on the Janiculum. Part of the basement of the temple was found in 1882, built up into a house at the corner of the Via Alessandrina and the neighbouring Tor de' Conti. But the principal existing remains consist of two half-buried Corinthian columns with a figure of Minerva, and a frieze of bas-reliefs.

'The portico of the temple of Minerva is most rich and beautiful in architecture, but woefully gnawed by time and shattered by violence, besides being buried midway in the accumulation of the soil, that rises over dead Rome like a flood-tide.'—*Hawthorne.*

It was in this forum that Nerva caused Vetronius Turinus, who had trafficked with his court-interest, to be suffocated with smoke, a herald proclaiming at the time, 'Fumo punitur qui vendidit fumum.'

All these Fora resembled, taken together, a spacious, continuous, and amazing open-air museum, abounding in statues of bronze and marble (masterpieces of more ancient Greece), and in temples and porticoes, whose fluted pentelic columns during the frequent festivals used to be enwreathed and festooned with fresh laurels and roses, and congregated by noisy dark-haired folk wearing white garments as well as by more distinguished, with richer costumes.

Returning a short distance down the Via Alessandrina, and turning (left) down the Via Bonella, we traverse the site of the **Forum of Julius Caesar,** upon which 100,000,000 sestertii (£900,000 ?) were expended. It was ornamented with a Temple of Venus Genitrix —whom the Julian clan claimed as ancestress—which contained a statue of the goddess by Arkesilaos, a group of Ajax and Medea

by Timomacos, and a statue of Cleopatra. In front of the temple stood a bronze horse—supposed to be the famous Bucephalos—the work of Lysippos, upon which sat the figure of the Dictator himself. The feet of the animal were altered so as to resemble the extraordinary divided hooves of Caesar's own charger, which seems to have exemplified a rare reversion to the three-toed horse of prehistoric days.

The principal remains of this forum are a series of arches near the Via Marforio, with vaulted chambers behind them, now partly subterranean. The head of each opening is a carefully joined flat arch of peperino, except the springers and key-stones, which are of travertine. Over each flat arch is a semicircular relieving arch. The vaults of the chambers are of concrete. They may have been shops. They were excavated in 1866 by Parker.

Part of the site of the forum of Julius Caesar is now occupied—on the right near the end of the Via Bonella—by the **Accademia di San Luca,** established by Sixtus IV., when he summoned the great artists of all Italy to Rome for the decoration of the Sistine. Federigo Zucchero was its first director. The feeble collections are open from 10 to 3 daily. A ceiling representing Bacchus and Ariadne is by *Guido.* The best pictures are:—

Poussin. Bacchus and Ariadne.
Cesare Vecelli. Vanity.
Titian. Calista and the nymphs (copy).
Guido Cagnacci. The murder of Lucretia.
Guido. Fortune.
Titian. The Saviour and the Pharisee.
**Raffaelle.* A lovely fresco of a child, much retouched.
Attributed to Raffaelle. S. Luke painting the Virgin (Timoteo della Vite).

A skull preserved here was long shown as that of Raffaelle, but his true skull has since been found in his grave in the Pantheon.

Just beyond S. Luca (south) we find ourselves at the Forum Romanum, or Forum Magnum, as it continued to be called even after the Forum of Trajan had far surpassed it in size.

The interest of Rome comes to its climax in the **Forum,** where, in spite of all that has been destroyed, and all that is buried, so much still remains to be seen, and where every stone has many stories. Even without entering into all the vexed archaeological questions which have filled the volumes of Fea, Canina, Nibby, Bunsen, Jordan, Richter, and others, the occupation which a traveller interested in history will find here alone is inexhaustible. The study of the Roman Forum is complicated by the *succession* of public edifices by which it has been occupied, each period of Roman history regarding a varied edition of buildings, and each in some measure supplanting that which preceded. Another difficulty has arisen from the exceedingly circumscribed space in which all these buildings have to be mentally arranged, and which shows that many of the ancient temples must have been originally mere chapels. The high platforms on which the temples stood were

rendered necessary because the Forum was at all times liable to be flooded by the Tiber. The recent brilliant excavations have been remarkable for the recovery of a great deal which was not expected.

'This spot, where the senate had its assemblies, where the rostra were placed, where the destinies of the world were discussed, is the most celebrated and the most classical of ancient Rome. It was adorned with the most magnificent monuments, which were so crowded upon one another that their heaped-up ruins are not sufficient for all the names which are handed down to us by history. The course of centuries has overthrown the Forum, and made it almost impossible to define; the level of the ancient soil is twenty-four feet below that of to-day, and however great a desire one may feel to reproduce the past, it must be acknowledged that this very difference of level is a terrible obstacle to the powers of imagination; again, the uncertainties of archaeologists are discouraging to curiosity and the desire of illusion. For more than three centuries learning has been at work upon this field of ruins, without being able even to agree upon its bearings: some describing it as extending from north to south, others from east to west. Following the common opinion, its length was from the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and its breadth from the Church of S. Adriano to the steps of the Basilica Julia. Equal uncertainty prevails as to many of the existing ruins. The origin of the Forum goes back to the alliance of the Romans and the Sabines. It was a space surrounded by marshes, which extended between the Palatine and the Capitol, occupied by the two colonies, and serving as a neutral ground where they could meet. The Curtian Lake was situated in the midst. Constantly adorned under the republic and the empire, it appears that it continued to exist until the eleventh century. Its total ruin dates from Robert Guiscard, who, when called to the assistance of Gregory VII., left it a heap of ruins. Abandoned for many centuries, it became a receptacle for rubbish which gradually raised the level of the soil. About 1547, Paul III. began to make excavations in the Forum. Then the place became a cattle-market, and the glorious name of Forum Romanum was changed into that of Campo Vaccino.'—*M. Crawford.*

The Forum is open all day; admission 1 fr.

The excavations made in the Forum—"nobilissimus Romae locus"—before 1876 were due to the generosity of Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire, Napoleon III., and others. About extending these the Papal Government always displayed extraordinary apathy; it even, so lately as 1856, mended its drains with precious fragments of the marble map of Rome. We must therefore give due praise to the well-directed energy and intelligence of the king's government. While gaining vastly in historic interest since the recent discoveries, the Forum has also gained in beauty. Artists no longer lament the beautiful trees which mingled with the remains, and which imparted light and colour to the sky-lines of the ruins. Flowers which Augustus loved now freely flower there again.

The modern Capitol rests upon the **Tabularium**. This is one of the earliest architectural relics standing in Rome, and is probably due to Q. Lutatius Catulus, to whom the rebuilding of the Capitol after the fire of 85 B.C. was intrusted. Seen from the Forum, or Palatine, it is built of blocks of peperino, 'opus quadratum,' arranged in long and short work, 'headers and stretchers,' and constitutes the finest specimen of republican masonry in Rome. The Forum front consisted of an open arcade with engaged Roman-

Doric columns of peperino, having capitals and architrave of travertino. The upper members of the entablature are missing. Above this, until the fifteenth century, existed the remains of a second storey. The building had at least three entrances, of which at present it retains one only, namely that from the 'Clivus Capitolinus,' by which the visitor now enters. Perhaps the most interesting of these, however, was that which can be identified behind the Temple of Vespasian, which was, in fact, blocked up intentionally by Domitian when he built that memorial to his deified father. The stairs within, sixty-seven in number, are cut in the Capitoline rock and conduct to the halls above, now arranged as a museum, and commanding instructive views over the Forum. The Tabularium was flanked by two tall towers in the middle ages and thus became converted into a fortress; its lower chambers being used as municipal prisons. It may be that the Vitellians (A.D. 69), in their attack on the Capitol, succeeded in entering the Tabularium by the Forum entrance and then set fire to it, for it was burned down on that occasion. As the area it covered was at least as large as the present Campidoglio or town-hall, we may imagine faintly the immense gouts of flame which went up from the burning Tabularium and the great temple of Jupiter on the same hill, by which sight the gluttonous Vitellius is said to have been pleasantly stimulated while dining in the palace of Tiberius on the Palatine. Here also were kept the metal diplomas (medals) granted to soldiers for distinguished services. Numbers of these perished in the conflagration; but later, Vespasian was enabled to restore many of them by appealing to families and individuals who retained the originals, of which these were duplicates.

Immediately west of the south pier of the Arch of Severus Commendatore Boni has laid bare the site of the **Volcanal**, so called from an area devoted to Vulcan the Fire-God, a platform (still defined) where, in the earliest times, Romulus and Tatius used to meet on intermediate ground and transact state affairs. According to Plutarch, here occurred the death of Romulus, he having been torn to pieces by the enraged Senators, while sitting on his throne; according to one early tradition. Later we hear of Tarquinius Priscus here offering up to Vulcan the arms and sports of the Sabines: the same king who, we are told, erected shops and porticoes around the earliest Forum. Before Rome became a city of brick or stone, she was a city of timbered huts and houses, belonging to the people who had no statues of the Gods at all, and whose chief divinities were adorned as tree-spirits. It is therefore easy to understand that fire was a source of great calamities to both individuals and the State, and to perceive why Vulcan should have been regarded with reverent awe and given a prominent sacred portion here. Varro, speaking of the festival of August 23, called Volcanalia, says that the people, instead of throwing themselves into the fire, offer animals belonging to water, which puts out fire, *i.e.*, fishes. Augustus restored the altar of the god in 9 B.C., and gave him a statue (perhaps merely to beautify further the neighbourhood

of his pet museum, the rebuilt Temple of 'Concordia'), with an inscription saying that the emperor dedicated it in the year of Rome 745 from money received as a New Year's gift whilst absent from the city. This inscription is now amongst the Farnese marbles at Naples.

Behind the Volcanal, and just behind the Arch of Severus toward the Capitol, is the site of the **Temple of Concord**, founded by Camillus, 367 B.C., in order to celebrate the reconciliation of Patricians and Plebeians, and the concession to the latter of the right to elect a Consul. It was rebuilt and dedicated with blasphemous inappropriateness, 121 B.C., by the consul Opimius, immediately after the murder of Caius Gracchus. Here Cicero pronounced his fourth oration against Catiline before the Senate. The *cella* contained eleven niches, in which many masterpieces of Greek art were placed. The *podium*, with a pavement of coloured marbles, remains; a beautiful fragment of the cornice is preserved in the upper arcade of the Tabularium. This temple, as rebuilt by Tiberius and Drusus for Augustus, out of spoils taken in Germany, rose contiguous to the Gradus Monetæ, which led up to the Temple of Juno on the Arx Capitolii, and observed an unusual form, *i.e.*, that adopted in buildings termed 'Augustea,'—having the front and rear walls longer than the sides (*cf.* the newly excavated Augusteum), greatly to the aggrandisement of the portico.[1] Though but little remains of this once magnificent shrine, we know it observed the Corinthian style, and fragments of its cornice which are in the Tabularium reveal extraordinary richness of decoration. On the great wall behind it the visitor may find evidence showing that the temple preceding this on the same site was a much smaller edifice. Among the many treasures kept here was the ring of Polycrates (?). The portico of the Temple of Concord was seen nearly entire by Poggio Bracciolini in *c.* 1450, but was destroyed during his lifetime.

'Designed and executed by the cleverest masters of the golden age, built entirely of white marble, profusely enriched with the masterpieces of the Greek school, the Temple of Concord was one of the finest monuments in the valley of the Forum, and one of the richest museums of Rome. The *cella* contained one central and ten side niches, in which were placed the Apollo and Hera by Baton; Latona nursing Apollo and Diana by Euphranor; Asklepios and Hygeia by Nikeratos; Ares and Hermes by Piston; and Zeus, Athena, and Demeter by Sthenios. Pliny speaks also of a picture by Theodoros representing Cassandra; of another by Zeuxis which portrayed Marsyas bound to a tree; of a third, Bacchus, by Nikias; of four elephants cut in obsidian, a miracle of skill and labour; and of a collection of precious stones.'—*Lanciani*, '*The Ruins of Ancient Rome.*'

The three beautiful columns which are still standing near it were formerly attributed to a temple of Jupiter Tonans, but belong to the **Temple of Vespasian**, A.D. 94, erected by Domitian to his deified father and brother. The engravings of Piranesi and Vasi represent them as buried almost to their capitals, and they remained in this state until they were disinterred during the first French

[1] The original Pantheon of Agrippa observed this form.

occupation. The available space was so limited in this part of Rome, that in order to prevent encroaching upon the Clivus Capitolinus, which descended the hill between this temple and that of Saturn, the Temple of Vespasian, which was Corinthian Hexastyle with a square cella, was raised up on a kind of terrace. This temple was restored by Septimius Severus, and to this fact the letters on the entablature refer, being part of the word *Restituere*, although the remaining columns are the originals. An exquisite fragment of the frieze carved with sacrificial instruments may be seen in the Tabularium Museum. Close to these columns the little church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus existed from early in the eighth century until the time of Paul III. (Farnese), who destroyed it; but the apse was visible until 1812.

On the left of the excavated space, close beneath the Tabularium, a low range of columns (re-erected) represents the **Porticus Deorum Consentium**, in front of a row of seven small cells set against the hill, and miscalled the **School of Xanthus**.

The eight Ionic columns (granite) still standing on a lofty platform belong to the **Temple of Saturn**—Aedes Saturni[1]—the ancient god of the Capitol. It was consecrated in 497 B.C. by the consuls Sempronius and Minucius, and restored in 42 B.C. by Munatius Plancus. Before this temple Pompey sate surrounded by soldiers, listening to the orations which Cicero was delivering from the Rostra, when he received the personal address, 'Te enim jam appello, et ea voce ut me exaudire possis.' Here the tribune Metellus flung himself before the temple door and vainly attempted to defend the treasure of the **Aerarium** (or Civil Treasury) which was kept in this temple against Julius Caesar. The present remains are those of an indifferent and late renovation, probably by Gratian, A.D. 375, of the earlier temple which had suffered from the fire under Carinus in A.D. 282, being composed of granite columns which differ in diameter as well as in colour, and a frieze put together from fragments which do not belong to one another. The restoration by a Christian Emperor was due to the building serving as the Treasury. The original temple was supposed to mark the site of the ancient altar of the god and the limit of the wood of refuge mentioned by Virgil. The Temple of Saturn and that of Castor were the only temples in Rome where the heads of worshippers were uncovered. It was the first to use burning wax tapers; and its great anniversary feast, or Saturnalia, Dec. 17, was probably the origin of the Carnival. Seneca says all Rome went mad at this festive season. A great public sacrifice took place on the feast-day, at the conclusion of which the celebrants roared out 'Io Saturnalia.' Then followed all manner of hospitalities and gift-givings, including little figures made of pastry. During this season masters and slaves treated one another on an absolute equality, and every one partook of the family sucking-pig. The

[1] Saturnus or Saeturnus, from Saettare, to sow, *i.e.* Saturn was originally an agricultural divinity.

Aerarium Saturni, in which the bronze coinage was kept, with the archives of the quaestors, gave a name to the Church of S. Salvatore in Aerario, now S. Omobuono. Traces may be noticed north of this temple of the fine first-century pavement of the **Clivus Capitolinus**, the street by which the triumphal and other processions ascended to the Temple of Jupiter. It may be detected by the finely chiselled surface of the hard polygonal 'selce' or paving-stones. Mediaeval ones are round and rudely hammered.

Just below (E.) the Temple of Saturn at the head of the Cesarian Street is the recently identified site of the single **Arch of Tiberius**, erected, according to Tacitus, upon the recovery by Germanicus of the standards which Varus had lost in the Teutoberg forest. It is manifest that in consequence of its erection two of the low arches which supported the so-called **Rostra of Caesar** were destroyed. From this point the lately disclosed republican rostra (if such they really are) can be conveniently examined. In the last year of his life (B.C. 45) Caesar boldly gave the Rostra a new situation, making them more convenient for popular assemblies. The frequency with which, before this time, the orators had had to address their hearers from the steps of the Temples of Castor and Concordia, betokened the grave inconvenience to which the use of the small ancient Rostra in the Comitium had given rise. Caesar, therefore, placed his edifice facing the entire western Forum. He may also have reflected that by divorcing the Rostra from the Comitium the olden Republican quarrels were to be regarded as forgotten. His Rostra were finished after his death by Antony and Augustus, and they are represented on the Denarii of the Gens Lollia in the form of a long arcaded Portico adorned with (possibly detached) beaks, while on them is seen a 'subsellium' or throne for a tribunal magistrate. This referred to M. Lollius Palikanus, a fiery tribune who had successfully worked upon Pompey to recover their former authority for the Tribunician magistrates, which Sulla had taken from these. The present portico, discovered by Comm. Boni, measures sixty-three feet in frontage to the Forum with an elevation of seven feet, and consists of eight neatly-designed republican arches made in the style called 'opus incertum.' It rises from a well-laid pavement of brick tesseræ, which not only extends to the full recessment of the arches themselves, but also to fourteen feet in front of them. This must therefore be considered functional to the structure, and will have been bounded by a retaining parapet or ornamental screen. The arches measure five feet by five feet six inches. The cornice, of tufo, has lost its stucco (*intonaco*) covering, and shows traces of restoration. According to some archaeologists this structure should be regarded as only a support for the turn of the Clivus Capitolinus, although no similar construction of the date of Caesar or any other ruler in Rome, has been recorded for us. If such a need was felt, it would more likely have been made solid and not hollow. The changes of position, as well as actual modification, of the Rostra at various periods forms a chapter, or volume rather, in itself.

The remains of a **curved platform** or tribunal, faced with *porta*

santa marble, extend in front of the republican and west of the Flavian Rostra—in fact, between the two. The date of its construction must be placed in the third century A.D., and it forms the rear portion of the Rostra. Near this spot existed two interesting monuments in classical times: (1) The **Milliarium Aureum**, or bronze-gilt column, upon which were inscribed the postal stations from the gates of the city, and their distances along the various radiating consular roads. (2) The other was **Umbilicus Romae**, or the accepted centre of the town. Eastward of the Arch of Severus, on its south side, in front of the curved tribunal, rises a rectangular platform (restored 1904), seventy-eight feet long and eleven feet high, which has been identified with the (restored) **Rostra** of Domitian, prolonged (at the northern end) about the time of the Vandalic wars (A.D. 472) in a style which could suffer no further declension. Nothing remains of its marble facing. Holes and metal pins still exist, showing where the bronze beaks (*rostra*) were affixed to the front of the platform, nineteen in the lower, twenty in the upper tier. The ancient rostra were situated where the area known as the Comitium adjoined the Forum—*i.e.*, on the south-west edge of the former, by the tomb of Romulus. These rostra are certainly not on the most ancient site, nor are they oriented as were the pre-Julian rostra. Their workmanship is Flavian; therefore the platform before us is not the venerable 'suggestum' from which the warfare of centuries between Aristocracy and Democracy was waged in Republican times and from which Cicero pronounced two of his orations against Catiline, nor were the heads of Antony, or the victims of Marius and Sulla, exposed on it; nor were the twelve tables exposed to view here. These episodes should, with more probability, be connected with the beautifully-constructed, but now humbled, arcade of the republican period, disclosed westward, and running parallel, behind it, belonging to the last years of Julius Caesar. On the other hand, it was from these Flavian Rostra that **Severus** pronounced a touching and eloquent eulogy over the remains of his murdered predecessor, the excellent **Pertinax**, of which scene Dio Cassius the historian was an acting spectator, in his capacity of Senator. He gives us a graphic account of the occasion. 'A wooden stage had been raised in the Forum, close to the stone Rostra, upon which was placed a light erection of columns of ivory and gold. Within this lay a couch of similar material, overspread with a purple coverlet worked with gold. On it lay a waxen effigy of Pertinax dressed in his triumphal robes; and a beautiful young female slave kept fanning it with peacock feathers to keep the flies away, as though he slept. The Emperor and we senators and our wives appeared in mourning, and the ladies were placed under the colonnades of the (two) Basilicas, while we stood in the open air. The funeral procession now began. First came the statues of all the most famous Romans of antiquity; then a chorus of men and boys sang a funeral hymn to Pertinax. Then followed bronze statues representing the Provinces of the Empire, delegates of the representative families

came next, with lictors, scribes, and heralds; then, again more statues of celebrated people and heroes—armed horse and foot, and several race-horses followed by funeral gifts sent by the Emperor, and the senators, and their wives, the knights and burgesses, guilds and colleges. Lastly came a gilded altar adorned with gems and ivory. After all this had filed past, **Severus** mounted the Rostra and pronounced a eulogy on **Pertinax**, which was frequently drowned by applause and by wailings. When the couch of death was removed there was a general outburst of sobbing. It was accompanied by the Pontifical College and magistrates (both in office and designated) and consigned to certain knights. We senators preceded the body weeping; behind it came the Emperor; so it moved on to the Campus Martius, where the ceremony of cremation and consecration was concluded.'

The **Arch of Septimius Severus**, next it, was erected by the senate A.D. 203, in honour of that emperor and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. The mutilation and discoloration of the rich sculpture on this monument are chiefly due to the great fire in the reign of Carinus, A.D. 282, which destroyed the neighbouring Temple of Saturn, and the monuments in the Comitium, as well as the Curia, or Senate House. The arch now being restored is adorned with reliefs relating to the victories of Severus in the East. His entry into Babylon, and the tower of the temple of Belus are represented. Above it originally stood out a gilt-bronze chariot drawn by six horses containing the Emperor crowned by a Victory, beside which stood figures of his two sons. A curious memorial of imperial history may be observed in the inscription, where we may still discern the erasure made by Caracalla after he had slain his brother Geta in A.D. 213, for the purpose of obliterating his memory. The added words are OPTIMIS FORTISSIMISQVE PRINCIPIBUS—but the ancient inscription P. SEPT. LVC. FIL. GETAE. NOBILISS. CAESARI, has been traced out by painstaking decipherers. In one of the piers is a staircase leading to the top of the arch. There was no road through the arch until the days of the absurd triumph of Charles V. Note that besides the central and side arches there is also a transverse one. In the Middle Ages the arch was surmounted by two turrets of which one was used as a belfry for the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, whence the name of Turris de Braccio, as applied to the building. It stood on the edge of the platform—Area Concordiae—which was six or seven feet above the level of the Forum, whence it was reached by steps. In the eighteenth century the side arches were walled in and let as shops, as may be seen in old engravings.

To the south of the Forum, near the entrance, from the foot of the Capitol, runs the Via della Consolazione, occupying part of the site above the ancient **Vicus Jugarius**, beside which, in the Area Saturni, Augustus placed an altar to Ceres, and another to Ops Augusta, a goddess of wealth, in which the seven hundred thousand sesterces left by Julius Caesar were stored. Where the street leaves the Forum may have been situated the **Lacus Servilius**, a fountain

which probably derived its name from Servilius Ahala (who slew the philanthropist Sp. Maelius with a dagger near this spot). It was encircled with a ghastly row of heads during the massacres under Sulla. This fountain was adorned by M. Agrippa (the Haussmann of Augustus) with the figure of a hydra. The south side of the Forum is now occupied for one hundred yards by the disinterred remains of the **Basilica Julia**, 'quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni,' begun by Julius Caesar, and finished by Augustus, who dedicated it in honour of the sons of his daughter Julia. It was restored by Severus in 199 B.C., and again by Diocletian after the fire in 282 A.D., and was finally restored by the Praefect Gabinus Vettius Probianus, as is recorded on a pedestal unearthed in the Vicus Jugarius. The basilica was composed of a nave surrounded with a double *porticus*, in two storeys. It was open on three sides, but the south side was closed by shops, of which there are considerable remains. This basilica was a Law-Court in which the judges called Centumviri held their courts, which were four in number. No doubt they had occasionally to be cleared on account of the interruptions.

> 'Jam clamor, centumque viri, densumque coronae
> Vulgus, et infanti Julia tecta placent.'
> —*Martial, Ep.* vi. 88.

Suetonius narrates how the mad Caligula was wont to stand on the roof and throw money and knives into the Forum, for which the people would scramble. Suetonius also tells us that in his first years Domitian frequently sat here in order to cancel judgments which had been procured through favour. Pliny the Younger practised as an advocate here, and the Emperor Trajan sometimes presided. The southern limit of the republican Forum is marked by this Basilica. The northern arcade of the basilica was converted in the middle ages into the Church of **S. Maria de Foro.** Only one column of the presbytery has been allowed to remain. Most of the steps, pavement, and brick arches which we now see are modern. All the travertine used in building Bramante's Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia was chiefly taken from the Basilica Julia. On the pavement may be observed many 'tabulae lusoriae,' or circular dice-tables (black and white) incised in the marble. From a mediaeval well near the Flavian Rostra we saw several hundreds of dice taken up. They are precisely similar to modern ones.

'From a document of July 1, 1426, preserved in the Vatican archives, we learn that the papal authorities, while giving a free hand to a company of lime-burners to destroy the Basilica Julia for the value of the blocks of travertine of which the nave and aisles were built, reserved to themselves half the produce of the kilns. A present was afterwards made of the income from this source to Cardinal Giacomo Isolani, who was then engaged in repairing his titular church of S. Eustachio.'—*Lanciani, 'The Destruction of Rome.'*

Opposite the Basilica Julia, across the Vicus Cæsaris, the Forum proper, at the beginning of the fourth century, was fringed with a line of 3rd century **Columnae Honorariae** with statues. Seven large pedestals of travertine, faced with brick, bore columns of marble

or granite, some of which were re-erected in 1899–1900. On one of the shafts are a number of holes by which gilt-bronze spiral ornaments had been attached.

Beyond the Basilica Julia (E.) and across the Vicus Tuscus look down upon us three beautiful columns which belong to an early imperial restoration of the octostyle **Aedes Castorum** or **Temple of Castor and Pollux**, originally dedicated by Postumius, B.C. 482. Here costly sacrifices were offered on the ides of July, the anniversary of the battle of the Lake Regillus, after which the Roman knights, richly clothed, crowned with olive and bearing their trophies, rode past it in military procession, starting from the Temple of Mars outside the Porta Capena (S. Gregorio al Celio). Here were affixed to the walls Standard weights and measures.

The existing columns are part of the temple as rebuilt by Tiberius and Drusus in A.D. 7, with the spoils taken in Germany. The pedestal of the statue of Marcus Aurelius and the statue of Jonah in S. Maria del Popolo were formed from its marbles. The entablature which the three columns carry is of great richness, and the whole fragment is considered to be one of the finest existing examples of the Corinthian order. Baldassare Peruzzi called these columns 'La più bella e meglio lavorata opera di Roma.' Destroyed by the early Christians, none of the Roman ruins formerly gave rise to more discussion than this. It changed its name over and over again. Suetonius mentions that Caligula fancifully made this temple a vestibule to his house on the Palatine. He used himself in order to secure worship, to appear standing between the divine twin brothers. The temple was frequently used for meetings of the Senate. In Republican times, Cicero accused Verres, as a corrupt Praetor Urbanus, of having, in his greed of plunder, brought an action against those who were bound to keep the temple in order, asserting that its columns were not perpendicular, as they ought to be, and that having caused them to be taken down, he had rebuilt them, and demanded 560,000 sesterces for the work.

Between the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Basilica Julia, the important **Vicus Tuscus** ran from the Sacra Via past the huge Augusteum, towards the Circus Maximus. At its commencement stood the statue of Vertumnus, a God of Fruits, the patron of the quarter, whose shrine was on the Aventine, and whose feast was on August 13. In imperial days the sellers of incense had their shops in it, and enjoyed the best position for viewing the religious processions. It is now being thoroughly explored in front of the 'Augusteum,' or Temple of Augustus.

Facing the east side of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and across a little street called Vicus Vestae, is the **Lacus Juturnae**—a square tank lined with marble, in which was found an altar bearing reliefs of the Dioscuri, Diana Lucifera, Jupiter, and Leda, of the second century. The pool probably disappeared after the sack of Rome by the Normans in 1084. The abundant remains of jugs and glass bottles found show that it was frequented for medicinal

qualities long after these qualities had suffered woeful change, and been succeeded by others of quite a different kind. Some of these vessels are late mediaeval. In early times it had been recognised as the most pure and copious spring in the city. Its water was used in every temple. It was, therefore, not strange to discover that the mediaeval Christians had converted this purest of sources to the vilest uses; to find the Pagan Gods of Health, Apollo, Æsculapius, and Diana Lucifera, lying in fragments in four feet of indescribable filth. Such, however, was the fact, which will never be forgotten by eye-witnesses.

Remains also of statues of Castor and Pollux with their horses found here, remind us that this was the place where those sons of Jove and Leda watered their horses after the battle of the Lake Regillus (B.C. 498).

'Then on rode those strange horsemen,
With slow and lordly pace,
And none who saw their bearing
Durst ask their name or race.
On rode they to the Forum,
While laurel boughs and flowers
From house-tops and from windows
Fell on their crests in showers.

When they drew night to Vesta,
They vaulted down amain,
And washed their horses in the well
That springs by Vesta's fane.
And straight again they mounted,
And rode to Vesta's door;
Then, like a blast, away they passed,
And no man saw them more.'

—*Macaulay's 'Lays.'*

A few paces southward of the Pool or Tank is seen a marble well-head with inscriptions by its restorer, M. Barbatius Pollio, both on side and lip, standing immediately in front of the wrecked Shrine (Ædicula) of the nymph **Juturna**—'Juturnae Sacrum.' The latter retained its original 'orientation,' north and south, when the neighbouring temples became universally changed in order to suit Caesar's 'Haussmannisation' of the Forum. Numerous inscriptions found hereabouts point to the fact that under the late Empire the central Statio Aquarum was established at this spot, one of the larger chambers of which in the tenth century became the **Oratory of the XL. Martyrs** (*q.v.*) of Sebaste. Christian burials have been numerous in this locality, and there will be noticed many handsome sarcophagi, stolen from Pagan tombs outside Rome, in which important people were interned after the ejection of their original owners.

Just behind, and above the Fons Juturnae, concealed until 1900 by the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice, **Stairs** have been laid bare connecting the Forum with the Palatine. Hard-by (south) are the remains of **S. Maria Antiqua**, and the Mansion of the Curator Palatii of the second century in which that Basilica was constructed in the sixth. These are noticed in describing the churches of the Forum (*q.v.*).

At the north end of the street occur the remains of the circular **Shrine of Vesta** (Aedes Vestae), in which the sacred fire was preserved for 1100 years. The worship of Vesta, imported into Rome from Alba Longa (Castel Gandolfo)—'Alba oriundum sacerdotium'—had its origin in the common fire—'*focus publicus*'—which was preserved in a sacred or royal hut in the centre of every village, at a time when fire was procured with difficulty. Numa Pompilius established one of these close to the sacred spring of Juturna, with four priestesses to serve both it and the holy water. In later times there were always six Vestals. The Priest-King and his wife probably regarded the Vestals as their ritual daughters and the Flamens of Mars, Jove, and Quirinus as their ritual sons, thus constituting a sacred State-family, the members of which performed the religious functions for the Community. The Vestals presided over both the sacred water and the sacred fire; the two religious needs of State, as they were of the domestic hearth. Marriage was typified by the formula 'to accept fire and water': *i.e.*, to preside at a man's hearth. A goddess, we are told, defended the Vestal accused of violating her vows, by fire and water. One of these accused ones merely touching extinguished ashes with her garment, set them alight; another carried water in a sieve. Within their convent they presided over the Penus Vestae or symbolical State-Store, in which also were kept certain extremely sacred relics, and where the Penates or household gods of the city were worshipped daily. Here, therefore, the blessings of Vesta were invoked in the form of married felicity and abundant supplies.

In the circular **shrine** (of which only the ruined stylobate or raised platform with its ash-pit now remains), it was the duty of these maidens themselves, dressed in white (as the very emblems of light and purity), to guard and feed the sacred fire. The penalty for letting it go out was a flogging in the dark at the hands of the Pontifex Maximus. It was thus regarded as an everlasting fire (Ignis perpetuus). Nevertheless, at the close of each year the Pontifex, in the presence of all the Vestals (March 1), blew out the flame and quickly rekindled it. In times of grave crisis, or during prodigies, such as earthquake, famine, or pestilence, they were to offer special prayers, not only to Vesta, but to Apollo, Mars, and probably to Diana Lucifera. As a goddess of light and purity, and therefore of the upper world, the victims offered to Vesta were white. The Vestalia took place, June 7–15, when matrons only with bared feet and unbound hair were permitted to enter the Penus Vestae or Locus Intimus, and pay their devotions to the goddess. No marriages might then take place, &c., &c. Ovid speaks of having seen a barefooted lady returning by the little street which we now stand in, from the convent and her devotions.

The temple was burnt by the Gauls in 390 B.C., when the Vestals escaped to Caere: and it was again burnt in 241 B.C., when the Pontifex Maximus Metellus lost his eyesight in saving the precious Penates (*sacra fatalia*) treasured in the House, and upon which the safety of Rome was supposed to depend. In the great fire under

Nero it was again burnt, was sumptuously rebuilt by the Flavian emperors. Once more burnt down under Commodus, A.D. 191, it was restored for the last time by Julia Domna, empress of Severus. The temple, thus rebuilt, was fairly perfect in 1489, but was demolished in 1549. The broken columns and fragments found around the temple and elsewhere in the Forum, have been as far as possible brought together, 1899–1902. In the centre of the temple occurs a deep trapezoidal pit, presumably for the ashes of the sacred logs. It thus rose from a lofty circular platform, above the reach of Tiber floods, and entirely cased in white marble, and it was approached by a flight of steps traceable on the eastern side. It resembled the little circular temple of Dea Matuta seen on the Tiber bank. The central *cella*, in which the altar blazed day and night for over a thousand years, was encircled by a double peristyle of twenty fluted Corinthian columns apiece, supporting a graceful cupola covered with gilt-bronze tiles overlapping one another. The door of the *cella* was probably of cypress or cedar; and it had at least two apertures besides, through which the fragrant smoke escaped. A wall, now destroyed, concealed the temple and its precincts from the public passing along the lane which divides it from the Regia. The **Penus Vestae** has now been identified with a small apsidal chamber at the south-west angle of the Vestal Atrium near by. Behind the latter building, adjoining the Palatine, once flourished the sacred grove of Vesta. The Nova Via skirted it in imperial times.

> 'Quaeris iter? dicam. Vicinum Castora canae
> Transibis Vestae, virgineamque domum;
> Inde sacro veneranda petes palatia clivo,
> Plurima qua summi fulget imago ducis.'
>
> —*Martial*, *Ep.* i. 70.

> 'Hic focus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem.
> Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.'
>
> —*Ovid*, *Trist.* iii. *El.* 1.

> 'Hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestae,
> Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.
> Forma tamen templi, quae nunc manet, ante fuisse
> Dictur; et formae causa probanda subest.'
>
> —*Ovid*, *Fast.* vi. 263.

East of the Temple, on the right of the entrance to the cloister, is a *shrine*, *i.e.* **aedicula**, within which stood, in late Roman days, a statue of Vesta herself. Originally the goddess was only represented by her symbol—fire. It presents two Ionic columns, supporting an architrave inscribed, 'Senatus Populusque Romanus pecunia publica faciendam curavit.'

Just beyond this (E.) we enter by worn steps the **Atrium Vestae**, the palatial abode of the Vestal Virgins, the 'virginea domus' of Martial. The original building on this site was the Regia, or King's House, which became the residence of the Pontifex Maximus, or chief ecclesiastical magistrate of Rome, who dwelt 'in radicibus Palatii finibusque Fori.' The Domus was destroyed by the Gauls 390 B.C., and again much injured by fire in A.D. 191.

This important palace in the third century A.D. consisted of a handsome **Peristylium** of two storeys, measuring eighteen bays by six, and surrounded on all sides by a wide ambulatory into which opened fifty chambers on each floor. The **Penus Vestae**, and other rooms connected with the elaborate ritual of the sisterhood, were situated at the western, or temple, side of it, and can now be inspected. At the eastern, or opposite side, occurs **a large hall** flanked by three small and obscure rooms, which, however, once had larger windows. The great chamber adjoining these, and forming the south-east angle of the building, appears to have served at one time for a 'nymphaeum,' at another for a kitchen. The further wall is decorated with niches for statuettes, below which extends a handsome tank. This room is often miscalled the Furnace-room, by reason of a long vaulted passage which runs along the north wall, six feet in width by five in height. The irregular alterations in late Imperial days and after, throughout this building, give rise to many problems difficult of solution. Next adjoining are found dark vaulted rooms containing bins, a flue, and a 'mola versatilis,' or mill. Above these occur a number of small marble-lined bath-rooms provided with hypocausts. The bedrooms were adjacent.

On the northern side, beyond the central hall, and on the ground floor, excavations in 1901 laid bare the remains of a republican **altar** which belonged to the **Domus Publica**, or official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, which Augustus made over to the Vestals when Lepidus died, B.C. 12. The Vestals were thus enabled to extend their palace (for it was nothing less than one) over the site, and their architect spared the altar, perhaps for purely practical reasons. It is interesting as in likelihood having been that within the shrine of the Bona Dea, the profanation of whose midnight rites by the presence of a man in the person of Clodius, disguised as a female citharist, caused a divorce between Caesar and Pompeia, who, as wife of the Pontifex Maximus, was presiding at the usual sacrifice of a black pig (Dec. 3, 62 B.C.). The uses to which the remaining multitude of chambers were put is not known. Many of them were panelled with costly marbles. The long central court, after suffering sad changes in the time of Maxentius (?), A.D. 308, lost its colonnades and also its handsome marble 'impluvii' in about the third quarter of the fourth century, when for some reason not yet ascertained, an ill-built octagonal Ædicula was constructed in the centre. As this date corresponds to that of the destruction by fire of the dependent shrine of Vesta on the Palatine, A.D. 363, it seems reasonable to suppose a statue of the goddess may have been saved and brought down hither to the mother convent, and thus honoured. A headless seated statue of a goddess (? Cybele) was found near it in 1883, and is hard by it.

The sisterhood was directed by the Superior, or *Virgo Vestalis Maxima*. Vestals were admitted between six and ten years of age. One of their strict many qualifications for office was that both parents were to be living at the time of election. They had also to be free from any physical imperfection. The term of legal service

was thirty years; after that the Vestal might return home or marry; but they seldom did so, probably because it was regarded as unlucky. Some Vestals seem to have lived on here into old age. Tacitus mentions one who had been a priestess 57 years. Heliogabalus, however, in pretended right of being himself a priest of the Syrian Bel or Baal, insisted on marrying one of the Vestals. He further violated the sanctity of the most central cult in Rome by forcibly removing the 'Palladium' from the Penus Vestae to the Lararium on the Palatine. Under the Empire, the abbess enjoyed a position of the highest consideration. Secrets of State and Wills of Emperors were entrusted to her, and in outbursts of revolution or civil war she was resorted to as a last hope of peace. Caesar had owed his life to the intervention of an Abbess during the proscriptions of Sulla.

The Vestals owned seats of special honour in the amphitheatre and circus, and the Empress had to sit amongst them when she appeared in public. They had also the right of interment within the city, though their burial-place is unknown. The requests of the Vestals were rarely refused, and if one of them accidentally encountered a criminal on his way to the scaffold, he was reprieved if the encounter was proved accidental. When they entered the sisterhood their hair was cut off, and fastened to a sacred lotus tree (*Lotus capillata*), as a votive offering. It was, however, allowed to grow again. The Vestals had their own stables and horses, farms and villas, and the wealth of the sisterhood sometimes became the target for Imperial rapacity, especially in the fourth century.

The remains of the house of the Vestals were identified in 1883, when a number of statues dedicatory were found. The most important discoveries, however, remained to be made at points where the former excavators had left off work; such are the large 'vascae,' or tanks, and the 397 gold coins in one of the south rooms, and the altar before-mentioned. No pavements of the republican period have been found, though lately foundation-walls of *tufo verde* of the time of Augustus have come to light: most of the present pavement is of the time of Maxentius, or even later. Between the columns of the peristyle stood the honorary **statues** of *Virgines Vestales Maximae*. There may have been as many as a hundred of these. Many statues represented the same lady. More than four-fifths of this series were probably destroyed in the Middle Ages: only thirty-six inscriptions bearing names of Vestales Maximae have been found in Rome, twenty-eight in this atrium itself, two on the Palatine (now brought down here), and six in other parts of the town. The Vestals to whom commemorative inscriptions have been found are—Occia, 38 B.C.–19 A.D.; Junia Torquata, daughter of Silanus, A.D. 19–48; Vibidia, the intercessor with Claudius for Messalina; Cornelia Maxima, executed by Domitian; Praetextata; Numisia Maximilla, A.D. 200; Terentia Flavola, A.D. 215; Campia Severina, A.D. 240; Flavia Mamilia, A.D. 242; Flavia Publicia, A.D. 247 (of whom there is a beautiful statue); Cloelia Claudiana, A.D. 286; Terentia Rufilla, A.D. 300; and Cloelia Concordia, the last but

one of the Vestales Maximae. Besides these occurs an inscription from which the name has been erased. It is conjectured that the Vestal in this case embraced Christianity. It belongs to A.D. 364. 'Ob meritum castitatis, pudicitiae, atque in sacris religionibusque doctrinae mirabilis C . . . [name erased] virgini vestali maximae, pontifices viri clarissimi, Promagistro Macrinio Sossiano viro clarissimo, pro meritis; dedicata quinto idus Junias, divo Joviano et Varroniano consulibus.' The statues in the atrium, which are of life size, range from complete figures to mere fragments. They are mostly of the third century, but one or two date from the second. The finest as a work of art, apparently of the time of Antoninus, is the upper half of a figure, important as giving the only known representation of the *suffibulum*, always worn by vestals whilst sacrificing—an oblong wimple of white woollen cloth with a purple border, which was fastened on the breast by a fibula. The other statues only show the *stola*, with or without sleeves, a long gown bound by a girdle or *zona*, usually without sleeves. Over this is worn the *pallium*, a full garment of many folds, and around the head the sacred *vittae*—rope-like folds of linen. In some cases the hair is hidden by the pallium and vittae, yet in several statues enough hair is visible to show that it was allowed to grow long. All the pedestals are inscribed to the Vestalis Maxima, a rank attained by seniority, but the inscriptions on two of the six pedestals in honour of Flavia Publicia (*c.* A.D. 247) show that several grades were passed through before the highest dignity was attained. On one of the later statues a row of bronze pins on the breast shows where a metal *monile* or necklace was fastened; to a statue (now lost) which was found on the Esquiline in 1591, the necklace was still attached.[1] Only one male statue was found in the Atrium Vestae, which has been absurdly attributed to Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, one of the last public defenders of the Vestals in the fourth century.[2] The supposed statue of this important senator, however, must be dated at least a century and a half before he existed, so we must be careful in accepting the attribution, which is not supported by any inscription and is entirely contradicted by the style of execution, the head of the statue being plainly a copy of an earlier Greek model.

The Atrium Vestae[3] appears thus to have suffered a good deal in the fourth century, before the cult was suppressed. Zosimus[4] speaks of the last surviving Vestal as an old woman living in the almost deserted house, and cursing the ill-fated Serena, wife of Stilicho,

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[1] See the *Saturday Review*, No. 1554, August 8, 1885; also the *Times*, Nov. 19, 1879, May 8 and May 20, 1882.

[2] The statues for the most part were found closely packed together, apparently for removal to the lime-kilns. On February 9, 1883, the Crown Prince of Germany, afterwards the Emperor Frederick, and the writer, were present when they were found.

[3] Its position made the Atrium Vestae unhealthy; but, till the fourth century A.D. no physician was allowed to enter it; as soon as sickness made its appearance, the patient was removed to the house of her parents, or to that of some distinguished matron.

[4] v. 38.

who dared to remove a necklace from the sacred but forlorn statue of the awful goddess, and put it round her own neck. After the worship of Vesta was extinguished, the atrium appears to have been inhabited, probably by court officials, and later additions can be easily traced. At the north-western angle of the peristyle, burned-out rooms of the eighth century were found in 1883, and destroyed. In one of these was discovered a *ripostiglio* containing English pennies—probably Peter's pence—of Alfred, Eadward, Athelstan, Edmund, and a few of Sitric and Anlaf, kings of Northumbria. In the same pot with these was a bronze fibula, inlaid with silver, bearing the name of Marinus II., who was Pope from 942 to 946, and one gold solidus of the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus (842).

The **Nova Via** (new street), in the fourth century B.C., skirted the northern slope of the Palatine. This famous street is connected with many stirring events of the republican, as well as of the Imperial, period. At one point it must have skirted the **Nemus Vestae**, or sacred grove of Vesta, adjoining the early convent. Caligula, in A.D. 38, is believed to have improved the Nova Via at the cost of obliterating the last vestiges of the grove, and his palace began to tower on the southern side of it, overshadowing all things. He probably pushed it somewhat northward from its original line. It was a tradition that previous to the invasion of the Gauls there was heard at this spot an oracular voice, or '**Aius loquens**.' After their departure, during the rehabilitation of the ruined city, the Senate decreed an **Altar** to commemorate this oracular voice, and this is by some believed identifiable with the ancient redressed altar of coarse travertine to be found at the south-west angle below the Palatine Hill bearing an early inscription. Mommsen is responsible for the suggestion, and nothing is amiss with it, save that the inscription makes no allusion to the voice. The Nova Via was divided into summa, media, and infima, like the Sacra Via, and it was lined with shops, the custom of which must have rendered the Vestal region noisy. At the latter portion, lying precisely between the substructions of Caligula's palace and the Vestal Atrium, Comm. Boni has now begun to lay bare the polygonal pavement of the early Imperial level of that street, finding it at some four feet below the level already exposed by the explorers of 1884. As might be foretold, not only does it prove to be of noble construction, neatly fitting, and with not a little of its travertine margins for pedestrians remaining, but its exposure restores to the adjacent buildings (the smart shops on one side and the Vestal Domus on the other), their proper proportions, uncovering, in fact, the thresholds of the former. For there existed highly-rented 'tabernæ,' or shops, beneath the Imperial Palace, just as to-day there are similar ones under the mansions of Chigi and Colonna.

The whole of this lower section of the street then underwent serious change during the brief mad reign of Caligula (A.D. 37–41), when that Emperor extended the House of Tiberius so as to overbrow the Forum, and it is more than likely that the 'Nemus

Vestae,' or sacred patch of trees, belonging to the religious centre of Rome, then vanished, owing to his operations, either being abolished directly by his order, or—as with the sacred Cornel-tree on the opposite side of the Palatine—hurt at root by the work of his labourers. After the fire under Nero had destroyed both the Vestal dwelling-place and the opposite 'tabernae,' the Flavian Emperors included this site in the scope of their magnificent restorations. The fine drain running beneath the street, together with its various branches, yields evidences of the thoroughness of their workmanship, identifiable both by the presence of their coins and their beautiful brick-stamps.

The point, however, more especially engaging the visitor's attention is situated at the opposite, or upper, end of the New Street, where it mounts to the ridge called Velia to join the Clivus Palatini. For here, 'under the Velia,' where the Sacra Via was approached by the Nova Via, stood the Aedes deum Penatium, which, Augustus tells us, he reconstructed (refeci). Suetonius (Augustus, 92) adds further that the Emperor transferred to the court of this temple a palm tree which had chanced to grow up among the flags of his own house, and took every precaution for safeguarding its welfare. The ground plan of this important little edifice is now being explored. As mention of it does not occur in either of the fourth century Catalogues of the Buildings in the IVth Regio of the City, it is to be supposed it had ceased to exist before the days of Constantine. Thus, if the identification of these remains should prove to hold good, yet another important and central monument of Augustan Rome will have been brought back to light and correctly located after a lapse of seventeen centuries.

The **Lacus Curtius** has been rediscovered by Comm. Boni, 19th April 1904, immediately east of the column of Phocas. It was then perceived that Julius Caesar had so far respected this site of the historic pool so miraculously closed up, that in making his galleries for the Games in the Forum (beneath it) he had carefully passed one of these immediately west of it and the other east, so as to do it no harm. As to the true story of its origin we shall never know. Livy lamented that in his day means for finding out which of the legends concerning it was the true one were lacking. 'Cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret.'

The exposed remains of this sacred enclosed area observe a trapezoidal form once girdled with a stone fence and a balustrade, and measuring 30 feet by 20 feet. It is paved with travertine orientated according to the ancient cloaca of the Basilica Emilia (Maxima) found in 1900. Within this area appears a dodecagonal base, 10 feet wide, of the bason of a puteal. Traces of small rectangular altars also appear at the western or opposite end.

'Curtium in locum palustrem qui tum fuit in Foro antequam Cloacae sunt factae, secessisse, atque ad suos se in Capitolium recepisse ; ab eo lacum invenisse nomen' (*Ling. Lat.*, v. 149, 150), writes Varro. Curtius, pursuing the Romans, plunged in at a marshy

spot which was in the Forum before the Cloacae were made. That is to say, the Forum was then watery—a back-water, in fact, of the Tiber—and needed to be crossed in a boat. In returning from pursuit, therefore, Curtius plunged bravely in, and safely reached his friends on the Capitol.

A second tradition, belonging to the days immediately succeeding the Gaulish invasion, connected it with another Curtius, a Roman knight, who, in order to stay the plague which was decimating the city, devoted himself to the gods below (perhaps Dis Pater) by leaping all armed and on horseback into an ominous gulf that refused to close—as the Oracle said it would—until it should receive the gift most precious to the people. It closed over him.

A third story is related to the effect that the spot was enclosed by Curtius, a consul, because it was *fulguritum*, or a place struck by lightning, B.C. 446 (*Tacta de Cœlo*).

In whatever light we may regard these legends, relating to a marsh in the ancient site, we can entertain no doubt that, to the Roman mind throughout the ages, this sacred spot was especially linked with the idea of devotion to one's country.

It was adorned in various ways. Julius Caesar placed an altar there on successfully giving his gladiatorial games ; and, later on, other altars were added, for Ovid writes :—

> 'Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras,
> Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.'
> —*Fasti*, vi. 403.

Moreover, it was shaded by a fig-tree, an olive, and a vine. The first of these having formerly grown in front of the Temple of Saturn, at last had overturned the figure of Sylvanus, and been declared sacred by the Vestals B.C. 493.

Upon the discovery of the base of Domitian's monument, which had interfered with two of Caesar's disused galleries, it became certain that the Curtian Lacus must be at hand. For, speaking of his master's equestrian statue, Statius (Sylvae, v. 66) says :—

> 'Ipse loci Custos, cujus sacrata vorago,
> Famosique Lacus nomen memorabile servant.'

It may be doubted whether the Romans admired Domitian's presumption in placing his hated image at so sanctified a spot.

The whole Lacus was fenced round with a stone parapet. Here then was the spot where the agents of Otho slew the ill-fated Galba, and here his body lay until a common soldier cut off his head and carried it to the Pretorian camp, with his finger in the mouth. From hence fled his adopted son Piso, to the Temple of Vesta, whence he was dragged forth and slain beside the door.

But such incidents, although interesting, seem to be of minor importance when compared with the older significance of the place in Roman regard. 'Many and noble deeds have given glory to the Roman Forum,' wrote Valerius Maximus ; 'but not one of these radiates, even to our day, such a splendid light as does that deed of Curtius.' It may be well to recollect with it the October Horse

sacrifice to Mars. In those days of Valerius, however, it became associated with the welfare of the patriotic Augustus, and Suetonius tells us that folk of all ranks once a year used to throw into a puteal here a piece of money as an offering for his health. Some of these pieces will probably be found.

Close to it stands the celebrated Corinthian **Column of Phocas**, a monument really of the early fourth century, from the base of which the original inscription was imperfectly erased by the exarch Smaragdus in 608, and replaced by another in honour of Phocas. This is addressed by Byron as,—

'Thou nameless column with a buried base,'

but is now neither nameless nor buried, its pedestal having been laid bare by the Duchess of Devonshire in 1816, and further by Comm. Boni in 1904. It was one of the last monuments erected in the Forum, by Diocletian, and thus marks the close of the Classic Period. It was the latest of the honorary columns set up here in the Forum, after the fire of A.D. 282.

The column afterwards appropriated, therefore, to Phocas was surmounted by a statue of gilt bronze, belonging to an earlier Emperor. Not far from it (north-east) stand two low **Screens**, or *plutei*, of white marble, of the time of Trajan, discovered in September 1873. Their inner sides are adorned with reliefs (anaglyphs) with the three principal sacrificial animals, the pig, ram, and bull,[1] which in their combined names gave the title of *Suovetaurilia* to a great lustral ceremony. On the outer side of the screen nearest the Capitol is a representation of the charitable provision made by the Emperor for the children of poor citizens—'alimenta ingenuorum puerorum et puellarum Italiae.' On the outside of the other screen is represented the burning of bonds on his remission of debts due to the public treasury. The Emperor, clad in a toga, is seen addressing the people assembled before the Rostra. Behind him stand his 'suite' and the lictors. The people raise their hands in approbation. On the background of these reliefs are depicted the buildings existing on the north and west side of the Roman Forum in the time of Trajan. The Temple of Concord and Arch of Tiberius on the first, and the lower storey of the Basilica Julia on the second. The screens have been placed here in days of the late Empire, probably brought from the Imperial Rostra, hard by, to which they had formed a decorative parapet.

Skirting the left of the Sacra Via (looking towards the Coliseum), in republican days, stood the **Tabernae Argentariae**, or silversmiths' shops, in earlier times called Tabernae Novae, where Virginia (B.C. 449) was stabbed by her father with a butcher's knife, which he

[1] Pigs, white and black, the source of wealth to the first colonists of Rome, when the valleys between the hills were filled with quercus ilex and quercus robur, were regarded as an especially acceptable sacrifice. They are represented here with the woollen vittae and sacrificial belts. The sacrifice of a sheep is the origin of the word *ovation*. The three animals in procession represent the Roman farmer's most valuable stock.

had seized from a stall, saying, 'This, my child, is the only way to keep thee free,' as he plunged it into her heart. Near this will be noticed the marble base of the tiny open circular shrine identifiable with that of **Venus Cloacina**, situated actually on the great Cloaca that flows from under the Basilica, and having a well-worn door-sill. The original is seen on coins of M. Longus (B.C. 43), adorned with two female statues within an open-work balustrade.

The church of S. Adriano was first identified by the acumen of Detlefsen with the **Curia** or Senate House, as reconstructed in the reign of Diocletian after the fire of A.D. 282. Tullus Hostilius built on this site the Curia Hostilia, a hall of stone for the meetings of the Patres Conscripti, and it was approached by the flight of steps down which later the body of Servius Tullius was thrown by Tarquinius.

The exposed pavement of the Comitium in front of the present Senate House reveals four levels of different dates (tufo and travertine) and their respective orientations.

'Thus, in the last floor but one we perceive signs of a line of columns or pedestals running parallel with the front of the Curia at the foot of the steps. These steps are enclosed and separated from the public section of the Comitium by a marble screen or transenna. A gutter runs along the transenna, to carry off the rain-water from the steps. And when all these things and all these marks were covered by a fourth and last and uppermost stone floor, a beautiful fountain was set up in front of the main door, and the water taken advantage of to lay the lead pipe which carried the water for the jet.' —*Lanciani in the 'Athenaeum,'* No. 3781.

The **Curia** could contain six hundred senators, their number in the time of the Gracchi (B.C. 140). Here was 'the hall of assembly in which the fate of the world was decided.' The Curia, in which Cicero addressed the Senate, was destroyed by fire, caught from the funeral pyre of Clodius. It was rebuilt by Faustus, son of Sulla, and still again on the same site by Augustus Caesar as the Curia Julia, and once more rebuilt as now in the third century. This Curia of Diocletian was accessible from the Comitium by a flight of marble steps, the core of which remains visible. On the right of it ran to the 'Suburra' the street called Argiletum (*argilla* = clay), from which it was fenced off with a marble screen decorated with statues. The splendid bronze doors of the Curia were taken to the Lateran, which they still adorn; but the marble jambs are *in situ*. The pavement of the hall was found in 1900 in good condition, and examined by the Director of the excavations in company with the writer; but, owing to objections raised by the Vicar-General, it will not be accessible to the public for some time to come. Mediaeval Christianity turned the wall-face of the Curia into a catacomb and the Comitium into a cemetery. More than 400 bodies came from this spot during the excavation, and some yet lie in loculi cut in the wall.

'When we think that these very marble slabs have been trodden by all the *viri clarissimi* who took a share in the political life of Rome from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the sixth century, who witnessed the agony and the lingering death of the queen of the world, who fought the

great battles between Christianity and polytheism; when we consider that these very steps were ascended, and their very threshold crossed, by S. Ambrose and Symmachus, by King Theodoric and Cassiodorus, and by all the illustrious Anicii, Acilii, Olybrii, Petronii, Alfenii, Decii, Caionii, we cannot help being impressed.'—*Lanciani in the 'Athenaeum,'* No. 3771.

The excavations, which were entrusted to Comm. G. Boni, were commenced in December 1898. On January 11, 1899, while removing the rough mediaeval paving stones some fifteen metres eastward of the Arch of Severus, there became exposed the **Niger Lapis**, or black marble pavement, measuring 12 feet by 13.6 in area, and composed of slabs, 10 inches thick, of marmor celticum, —probably from the Pyrenees,—unlike any other known pavement. It had evidently been regarded by the ancients as a 'Locus religiosus et funestus'—black being the colour of things associated by them with gods of the lower or under-world. It was partly surrounded by a fence of irregular slabs of marble, evidently taken, in very late Imperial times, from other monuments; and three sides of it were found to be framed with travertine, or Tivoli, stone. Lying, as it does, directly in front of the Curia, this remarkable monument must, Comm. Boni conjectured, be within the inaugurated area, once so carefully screened from traffic, known as the **Comitium** (*co-ire*, to come together). He then recalled the passage in the treatise of the grammarian Festus, entitled, *De Verborum Significatione*:—'Niger Lapis in Comitio locum funestum significat, ut alii Romuli morti destinatum, sed non usu,' &c. Could this be anything else than the central spot associated by the ancients with the intended grave of the founder of Rome?—that grave which Varro tells us was held to have been adorned by two stone lions? The spade answered the question. In March following there was found beneath the pavement a frame-base of tufo, having two parallel pedestals finely moulded in the Etruscan style, orientated in conformity with the most ancient monuments (*i.e.* the *cella* of the Temple of Vesta, the aedicula of Juturna, &c.). This made it clear that the Black pavement, whether it be the original one or a later substitute, has been turned many points from its proper orientation, doubtless in order to suit the symmetry of later arrangements in the area above. The pavement, therefore, lies north-east and south-west instead of north and south, and thus no longer coincides with the lie of the monuments intended to be covered by it. Just beyond the westernmost pedestal was presently exposed a truncated **cone** of tufo-giallo (yellowish-tufo), a symbol of a guardian divinity. Behind this cone appeared a broken '**stela**,' of the same material, resembling the base of a small obelisk, having bevelled angles. It stands on a grooved frame-base from which it has, at some early date, been wrenched askew as found. On all four sides, and on the south-west bevelled angle, it was found to be inscribed in archaic lettering written vertically (to the eye), and now ascribed to the sixth century before Christ. As we do not know for how long archaic epigraphy lasted in Rome, the date cannot be precisely fixed by the writing. But it is certainly one

NIGER LAPIS

To face p. 136
(1)

TUFO MONUMENTS UNDER THE NIGER LAPIS (SIXTH CENTURY B.C.)

To face p. 136

FRAME OF NIGER LAPIS (FOURTH CENTURY A.D.)

Showing earlier levels of the Comitium pavement

To face p. 136

of the most venerable examples existing. We have probably less than half the original height of this 'stela.' The interpretation of this inscription proves that it relates to the laws dealing with religious sacrifices, their ceremonial, and appointment, and it concludes with the formula, 'Jovi estod,' *i.e.* 'Let him who violates it be devoted to Jove!' (be slain). Behind the above-mentioned group of early monuments is seen the base of a large altar. The entire group was enveloped in sacrificial material evenly disposed in a deliberate ritual manner, which was ultimately found to descend from the uppermost in twenty-four layers carefully disposed, and full of votive offerings, including dice, beads, spindle-whorls, styli, miniature amphorae, twelve miniature statuettes of bronze, rings, armlets, and fibulae. The most valuable of these were around the cone and stela. The fractures of these monuments evidenced maltreatment of a deliberate kind, and the sacrificial materials in such abundance seemed to evidence some great national expiatory offering. It was but natural to guess that we were in the presence of some of the national landmarks (such as the **volcanal**) whose loss Livy so deplored; but it was impossible not to connect their maltreatment with the violent sacrilege committed by the Gauls in 390 B.C., or, if later, with the civil violence during the time of the Gracchi. This great discovery, therefore, fixed for Roman topography the actual site of the Comitium, or political centre of ancient Rome. Livy quotes a 'senatus-consultum' (lib. vi. cap. i.) relating to what measures were to be taken with the monuments polluted by the Gauls: 'Fana omnia, quod ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur, terminarentur, expiarenturque.' They are to be cleansed, restored, and reconsecrated. These ones, however, were not restored, but were deliberately covered up with a black marble veil and committed to the gods of the lower world. [Ask the custodian to light the candle.][1]

Doliola. At a distance of ten yards eastward of the Niger Lapis, at a depth of six feet beneath the surface, were soon after found three large vases of coarse pottery, standing upright and full of soil. This being near the edge of the Cloaca, recalled Varro's words: 'Locus ad Cloacam Maximam ubi non licet despuere, a doliolis sub terra' (L.L. v. 157). Festus declares it was the spot where the Vestals concealed in jars the 'sacra fatalia' during the Gaulish invasion. A fragment of glass was found in one of them. But many other similar vase-burials have since been found.

Between the Comitium and the Basilica Aemilia stood the small **Temple of Janus Quirinus.** This was a diminutive model of a temple in bronze. Janus, having no priest and no ritual, except in the Regia, needed no great shrine. It is a mistake to imagine the ominous Temple of Janus was a large building: it was more pro-

[1] Between the Niger Lapis and Curia is seen the square **pedestal** dedicated by Maxentius (name erased) to Mars and the Founders of his Eternal City, and which doubtless carried the Wolf and Twins. Maxentius, unlike his successor, did not truckle to Mithraism or Christianity, but boldly named his child 'Romulus.'

bably, like the Ark of the Covenant, an almost portable one. Procopius, in the sixth century, saw it still standing. This was chief of many little shrines of the ancient Sabine god.

> 'Quum tot sint Jani; cur stas sacratus in uno,
> Hic ubi templa foris juncta duobus habes?'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* i. 257.

This temple was the index of peace and war, closed by Augustus, for the third time only, since its foundation, after the victory at Actium. Livy says that it stood at the lowest portion of the street called Argiletum, close therefore to the western end of the Basilica Æmilia.

> '. . . et vacuum duellis
> Janum Quirini clausit, et ordinem
> Rectum evaganti fraena licentiae
> Injecit.'
> —*Horace, Od.* iv. 15.

Janus was the god of entrances and exits, and so, of beginnings.

> '. . . Haec Janus summus ab imo
> Prodocet——'
> —*Horace, Ep.* I. i. 54.

A central arch, probably of an arcade in the Forum, was the resort of brokers and money-lenders. Archways were usually termed Jani.

> '. . . Postquam omnis res mea Janum
> Ad medium fracta est.'
> —*Horace, Sat.* II. iii. 18.

A little east of S. Adriano is (1905) the half excavated **Basilica of Aemilius Paulus**, the Exchange of ancient Rome.

The first Basilica occupying only a portion of this site was founded in 179 B.C. by M. Fulvius Nobilior and M. Aemilius Lepidus, to the rear of the tabernae novae. It became greatly enriched by his kinsman, Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedon, during the next generation, and from that period onward into the Empire, the building seems to have been regarded as the family monument of this, one of the most ancient of the Roman clans. During Caesar's grand rehabilitation of the Forum in 54 B.C., L. Aemilius Paulus is said to have expended 1500 talents (a bribe from Caesar) on enlarging and adorning it, causing Cicero in a letter to wonder at its magnificence and its marbles. There is no doubt that it was intended to fairly match and balance with the great Basilica Julia, or Law-Courts, then rising on the opposite or south side of the Forum. This edifice was finished by his son Lepidus in 34 B.C. Destroyed by a fire in 14 B.C., it rose again in still greater glory at the expense of another member of the family, assisted largely by Augustus. Further extensive restorations were made in A.D. 32 under Tiberius, and much of the exquisite detail recovered in the recent excavation of the site, is attributable to this golden period of Roman Art. The excavation was made with 64,000 lire,[1] generously given by Mr. Lionel Phillips at the advice of an English friend; and although the results

[1] Since augmented, in order to carry it completely through, by another 100,000 lire.

so far have only shown us the till then unknown tragedy of its destruction, they have at least settled a number of important problems concerning its size, design, adornment, as well as the course of the most ancient Cloacae, and the street called Argiletum. They have also disposed of the theory that the columns of Phrygian marble destroyed in the Church of S. Paolo fuori le Mura in 1823, were taken from here and were those mentioned by Pliny. The evidence to hand shows that the latter not-too-careful writer intended quite a different marble, namely, that now, from its dusky purples and greys, called Africano. A number of the beautiful columns of the two-storied central nave of the Basilica, though shockingly mutilated, have been recovered. The building expanded from this central hall in double aisles and ambulatories with arcaded porticoes of the Doric order on the north and south flanks respectively to Forum Transitorium and the old Forum. In the time of Theodoric, or a little later (A.D. 500–540), there seems to have been made an attempt at restoration of the exposed southern portico. The Basilica, however, remained a hopeless wreck of magnificence, apparently having collapsed after earthquake and fire. The central pavement, though composed of sumptuous marbles, betrays a restoration of the third century. Clots of small oxidised bronze coins belonging to the brokers, who seem to have hastily quitted, remain adhering to it here and there. The building had a length of 300 feet, and having its Doric arcades of pentelic with enriched cornices projecting against the blue sky, and crowned by a phalanx of white statues, must have produced a noble effect, especially if we reflect that a similar palatial Basilica for the Law rivalled it across the Forum on its southern side. Plutarch relates how the enraged Pretorian Guards swept down from the Viminal through the portico of the Basilica in order to intercept the Emperor Galba, whom they overtook and slew in the middle of the Forum, by the Curtian Lake, some of his suite vainly trying to take sanctuary at the Temple of Julius and at Vesta, where they were hacked to pieces (A.D. 68). Statius well called the Basilica 'Sublimis Regia Paulli.' The magnificent **Inscription** in honour of Lucius Caesar, grandson of Augustus, lying in pieces at the S.E. end of the ruin, probably belonged to the Basilica Julia.

Beyond the site of the Basilica, eastward, stand the noble remains of the **Temple of Antoninus and Faustina**, erected A.D. 141 by the flattery of the Senate to the memory of the Empress Faustina the Elder, the faithless, but attractive, wife of Antoninus Pius, whom they elevated to the rank of a goddess. Her husband, dying before its completion, was associated in her honours, and the inscription, which still remains on the architrave, runs, 'DIVO ANTONINO ET DIVAE FAUSTINAE EX. S. C.' The façade is adorned with eight columns of *cipollino*,[1] forty-three feet high, with ill-executed acanthus capitals, supporting a grand frieze with griffins and candelabra.

[1] Marmor Carystium from Euboea, the 'undosa Carystos' of Statius (*Sylv.* 1. v. 36), called *cipollino* from its layers resembling those of an onion—*cipolla*. It was the favourite marble of the Antonines.

In the fifteenth century the Guild of Apothecaries was allowed to erect a chapel between the columns, and the grooves cut in the pillars record its sloping roof. There were twenty-four steps of white marble opening down to the Via Sacra (which were carried off to the Lateran for the restoration of its Basilica after fire by Urban V., 1364), in the centre of which stood an altar to Faustina. The marble coating of the walls was removed as material for the Fabbrica di S. Pietro in 1540. The effect of what is left of the temple is injured by the Church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, built in 1602, which encloses the cella of the ancient building, and whose name perhaps expresses the admiration in which its patrons, not its Architect, held these remains. In front of the temple runs a drain restored in the first century, still in working, descending from the Velia, or ridge uniting the Palatine and Esquiline hills. Certain moulded blocks of travertine found beyond this temple and lying to R. of the Sacra Via further along, are remains of the **Arch** (built 120 B.C. in the severe simplicity of republican times) in honour of Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, the conqueror of Savoy. This arch, **Fornix Fabianus**, which was twelve feet in width, marked the eastern limit of the Forum in earlier days, as well as the width of the Sacred Way. Near it once stood statues of L. Aemilius Paulus and P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. Crassus said sarcastically of Memmius that he held himself so important that he must need stoop his head at this arch when descending to the Forum.

In 1902, in front of the easternmost column of the portico of the temple, at a depth of twelve feet was found a cinerary urn within a large 'olla,' containing the ashes of a man and some votive vases. Since then, twenty-three more tombs have been discovered near it, confirming the belief of Commendatore Boni, their discoverer, that he had opened a primitive Latian 'Sepulcretum' in the valley of the Forum, and the idea of Giovanni Pinza that such would be found. The urns are of black bucchero, made to resemble the primitive hut of Latium (*tugurium*). The votive cups found around them are precisely like those of the Terramare, near Modena and Parma.

Almost opposite the Temple of Antoninus, between it and the Temple of Castor, facing the Forum, stood the small **Temple of Julius Caesar** (Aedes Divi Julii) on a lofty platform. Here Antony pronounced the funeral oration over Caesar's body. Built by Augustus 42 B.C., this was the first temple in Rome dedicated to a mortal. An altar and column of Numidian marble (giallo antico). inscribed with the words, 'Parenti Patriae,' had previously occupied the solemn site behind which ran the line of Augural pits and the street which marked Caesar's eastern boundary of the Forum.

> 'Fratribus assimiles, quos proxima templa tenentes,
> Divus ab excelsa Julius aede videt.'
>
> —*Ovid, Pont. Ep.* ii. 2.

This column was thrown down by Dolabella, but the people successfully demanded its restitution. When the temple was to be

built, the architect was constrained to allow a curvilinear space in the western (or Forum) portion of the platform in order to include the *giallo* column already standing. The base for this column may still be seen within the hemicyde. Dion Cassius narrates that the temple was erected on the spot where the body of Julius was burnt by the frenzied populace, with the chairs, benches, and tables for fuel, snatched from the Basilica Julia hard by. The sides of the platform, north and south, were adorned by Augustus with the beaks of the vessels taken in the battle of Actium, and obtained the name of Rostra Julia. He also placed in the temple the picture of Venus Anadyomene of Apelles, because Caesar claimed descent from that Goddess; but this was removed by Nero. Here, in A.D. 14, the body of Augustus, being brought by the Via Appia from Nola, where he died, was placed upon a bier, and Tiberius pronounced a funeral oration over it from the rostra, before it was carried to the Mausoleum in the Campus Martius (*q.v.*). The marbles of this temple and of Castor and Pollux were burnt into lime by the Farnese in 1547. The temple occupied the south-eastern portion of the latter, having a Corinthian portico facing the Forum. It appears to advantage on coins of Augustus and Hadrian. It was declared to be a sanctuary; but evidence shows that even Augustus himself did not respect it as such. For at it he slew three hundred prisoners taken at Perugia, in honour of the Manes of the murdered Caesar.

South of the Temple of Julius foundations discovered in 1888 are identified with the **Arch of Augustus**, known from a scholium to the Aeneid to have been built *juxta aedem divi Julii*. It was a triple arch, with its outer piers narrower than the inner, as in the arch at Orange. It was destroyed by the workmen for the Fabbrica di S. Pietro between 1540 and 1546. It stands on a street which till then marked the eastern limit of Caesar's Forum, and which is now exposed.

The line of the **Via Sacra** (a very variable one) appears to have been made to turn rather sharply eastward by the erection of this Temple of Caesar. The portion of the curving imperial Sacra Via between the Temple of Faustina and the Arch of Titus, was a handsome wide street, adorned by honorary statues, some of them placed in elaborate shrines, of which the remains of that in honour of the Emperor Gordian form a late example. A splendid tract of it has been laid bare, having a uniform width of twenty-one feet, paved with polygonal 'selce' or lava blocks: this dates back to Vespasian's time, or even earlier. Evidence provided by the spade and axe has now revealed that some important edifice was destroyed by Maxentius when he resolved to build the circular Heroon Romuli (A.D. 308) in memory of his son by Magna Urbica. A corridor flanked by a number of (once vaulted) cells running east and west has been brought to light. To this the discoverer has given the title of **Carceres**, or Prisons, believing that the situation at the entrances to the Forum proper, from the Clivus Sacer, as well as the design of the structure, points to such a conclusion. Others are

inclined to regard it as 'Repositoria,' or safe-places for storing valuables; others still consider the cells merely to have belonged to private houses along the sacred way, as mere cellars, such as are found in Pompeii.

Between this and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina is to be seen (roofed-over) the primitive burial-ground of the ancient dwellers on the surrounding heights (septi montes) called '**Sepulcretum.**' It is situated in fact at the foot of the Esquiline slope where it joins the valley of the Forum. The latest burials (without cremation) belong to the early fifth century B.C., while the earliest may be as ancient as B.C. 1100. The excavation has yielded over thirty tombs belonging to four categories, to each of which pertains its especial class of pottery. The latest tombs have cut into the earlier ones, the burials having been laid horizontally, closed in sections of oak-trees from which the pith had been extracted with picks. It is noticeable that the earliest of all the tombs contained proto-Corinthian pottery. Many are those of children. In them have been found various ritual foods, such as remains of pulse-cakes, grapes, fish-bones. The foundations of the Temple of Antoninus destroyed a large portion of this cemetery and also those of an unknown adjoining building. (*Cf.* 'Recent Discoveries in the Roman Forum'.)

Immediately behind the Temple of Julius rose the much-curtailed **Regia.** The Regia, or chapter-house, of the **Sacred College** of Pontifices, occupies a trapezoidal area between the Sacra Via, the Temple of Julius, and the group of buildings pertaining to Vesta, divided from it by a little lane, upon which is a sacred well. In the course of ages it has suffered various modifications, both on the north-east and south-west sides, until little beyond the very holy **Sacrarium of Mars** (now represented by a small circular altar-basement on an oblong tufo platform) and that of Ops Consiva, consisting of a **Tholos,** or subterranean store, and the eastern doorway, remains. The true nature of this site was identified by our countryman, Mr. F. M. Nichols. It was excavated by Comm. Boni in July 1899, when both these sacraria (the chief ones within the Regia) were rediscovered. Pirro Ligorio, a Neapolitan architect, and Palladio, both saw a good deal of it standing in 1544; and the former, mistaking it for a Temple of Janus, executed a misleading sketch to suit his free idea of a restoration. He tells us that its precious remains were 'sold as bullocks are sold to the butcher.' After many destructions, this most sacred edifice re-arose in solid marble magnificence in the year 36 B.C., and was adorned with statues which had belonged to Alexander the Great. On the kalends of each month the priestess, called Regina Sacrorum, here offered a ewe lamb or a sow to Juno Lucina. On August 25 the Vestals performed some unknown rite here in honour of Ops Consiva (wife of Saturn), at her Penus or sacred Store. Perhaps the most interesting of the ceremonies performed here, however, were those relating to Mars the spear-thrower. Two 'hastae' or spears (the national weapon of the early Romans) were kept suspended in his shrine, and were observed attentively by a priest whose duty it was to record

every telluric vibration announced by their movement; earthquake being regarded as a prodigy, and requiring solemn expiatory offerings. **Hastae Martis** in regia sua sponte motae, B.C. 104. Their oscillations, therefore, were looked upon as a matter of the utmost gravity, often as an omen of war, and the Pontifex announced the occurrence to the Senate, while the Salii, or dancing dervishes of Mars, were ordered to the Regia, where they sang the Carmen Saliare, in order to avert evil effects. In front of the Regia stood two laurels, the sacred trees of Mars. Two new laurels have been planted at the writer's cost in their places.

The Church of SS. Cosma and Damiano (entered from Via in Miranda), being the remains of a **Temple of Romulus, son of Maxentius**, has been partly converted into a temporary museum. The round cella of the Heroon was appropriated by Felix IV. (A.D. 527) as a vestibule to his church, and remains in good preservation. Its façade was ornamented by columns of *cipollino*, of which two occupy their old pedestals. The bronze door with its porphyry columns, which had been raised by Urban VIII. to the modern level of the church, was lowered to its old site in 1880. The richly decorated cornice was apparently taken from an earlier building. It occupies the site of the so-named Imperial prisons of the first century. Behind it stands the so-called **Templum Sacrae Urbis** (A.D. 78). Built by Vespasian, it was partly destroyed in the fire of Commodus (A.D. 191), but was restored by Severus and Caracalla. To its outer N. wall, toward the Forum of Peace (the pavement of which can be seen), Vespasian affixed[1] the famous Forma Urbis (or marble Map of Rome), of which many fragments are preserved at the Capitol. Work of his time may be seen in the travertine doorway on the eastern side, and most of the adjacent wall. This (1905) is soon to be freed from its mediaeval débris. Here (if we are right in attributing to this building its title) were kept the municipal archives relating to property in Imperial days. At the rear of this temple we see a gigantic fragment of a turret fallen or shaken down from the adjacent Basilica of Maxentius. Within it are seen twelve steps. It has been underpinned in the position as found.

In the neighbouring, but as yet only partly excavated, and finely-paved Forum Pacis of Vespasian, stood his **Temple of Peace**, burnt down in the time of Commodus (A.D. 192). The fire started here and spread across to the Vestal abode, which it destroyed also. This temple became a museum, and contained the seven-branched candlestick and other spoils brought from Jerusalem, as well as works of art which had been collected in the Domus Aurea, or palace of Nero. A statue of the Nile, with children playing round it, is mentioned by Pliny as among the objects in the Temple of Peace.

On the south side of the Sacra Via are scant remains of a **Memorial Shrine** raised by the people of Tarsus in honour of the Emperor

[1] 512 pieces of the Pianta Capitolina were found under the Via Giulia (1900), having been taken thither by Paul III. in 1533, to be utilised by those working on the building of the Farnese Palace, but left unused.

Gordian the Younger, but with an inscription which gives less praise to the Emperor than to the town—'the most excellent, the largest, and handsomest, the metropolis of these provinces.' Here also can be followed the long parallel walls of an immense fourth century Horreum, or Grain-store, extending from the Atrium Vestae almost to the Arch of Titus, probably built by Constantine, or his sons. These walls cut the Clivus Sacra Via, being, in fact, built over it.

Farther on, over-browing the remaining north-eastern flank of the Clivus stands the platform, or podium, of the colossal **Basilica of Constantine**, 320 feet in length by 235 feet in width. A perfect spiral (newel) staircase is walled up at the west end of it (1904). This belonged and led to the upper galleries. Part of its terminal apse and the three vast arcaded bays of its north aisle remain. The basilica was built by **Maxentius**, and dedicated under Constantine, who appropriated the unfinished basilica designed by his rival. In this basilica, the principal apse was at the western end, but another was added on the north-east. The panelling in the apses was of marble with gilded rosettes. The basilica as a law-court must have accommodated many tribunals. The existing remains are chiefly those of one of the aisles. The original entrance was toward the Coliseum. The vault pretended to be supported by eight colossal Corinthian columns, of which one, remaining here until the time of Paul V., was removed by him to the piazza of S. Maria Maggiore, where it still stands. The building of Maxentius is remarkable as almost the last which bears the full impress of the grandeur of Roman genius. Traces of religious paintings, seen by Nibby in its western apse, show that part of the building became used for Christian purposes. The debased entrance to it from the Sacra Via was made in times later than the Empire, and was flanked with porphyry columns stolen from the portico of the neighbouring Temple of Venus. In the second century this portion of the Sacra Via was looked upon by numbers of buildings of which nothing is yet definitely known.

The name **Campo Vaccino**, by which the Forum was until recently known, has been supposed by antiquaries to be derived from Vitruvius Vacca, a traitor, who once had a house there (B.C. 311). But the name will seem singularly appropriate to those who once were familiar with the groups of meek-faced oxen of the Campagna, which used to be seen lying in the shade under the trees of the picturesque Forum of two generations ago, or drinking at its marble water-troughs.

'In many a heap the ground
Heaves, as if Ruin in a frantic mood
Had done its utmost. Here and there appears,
As left to show his handiwork, not ours,
An idle column, a half-buried arch,
A wall of some great temple. It was once,
And long, the centre of their Universe,
The Forum—whence a mandate, eagle-winged,
Went to the ends of the earth. Let us descend
Slowly. At every step much may be lost,
The very dust we tread stirs as with life

And not a breath but from the ground sends up
Something of human grandeur.

. . . . . .

Now all is changed ; and here, as in the wild,
The day is silent, dreary as the night ;
None stiring, save the herdsman and his herd,
Savage alike ; or they that would explore,
Discuss and learnedly ; or they that come
(And there are many who have crossed the earth)
That they may give the hours to meditation,
And wander, often saying to themselves,
"This was the Roman Forum !"'

—*Rogers' 'Italy.'*

'We descended into the Forum, the light fast fading away and throwing a kindred soberness over the scene of the ruin. The soil has risen from rubbish at least fifteen feet, so that no wonder the hills look lower than they used to do, having been never very considerable at the first. There it was one scene of desolation, from the massy foundation-stones of the Capitoline Temple, which were laid by Tarquinius the Proud, to a single pillar erected in honour of Phocas, the Eastern emperor, in the fifth century. What the fragments of pillars belonged to, perhaps we can never know ; but that I think matters little. I care not whether it was a temple of Jupiter Stator or the Basilica Julia, but one knows that one is on the ground of the Forum, under the Capitol, the place where the tribes assembled and the orators spoke ; the scene, in short, of all the internal struggles of the Roman people.'—*Arnold's Journal.*

'À Rome, vous marchez sur les pierres qui ont été les dieux de César et de Pompée : vous considérez la ruine de ces grands ouvrages, dont la viellesse est encore belle, et vous vous promenerez tous les jours parmi les histoires et les fables. . . . Il n'y a que Rome où la vie soit agréable, où le corps trouve ses plaisirs et l'esprit les siens, où l'on est à la source des belles choses. Rome est cause que vous n'êtes plus barbares : elle vous a appris la civilité et la religion. . . . Il est certain que je ne monte jamais au Palatin ni au Capitole que je n'y change d'esprit, et qu'il ne me vienne d'autres pensées ques les miennes ordinaires. Cet air m'inspire quelque chose de grand et de généreux que je n'avais point auparavant : si je rêve deux heures au bord du Tibre, je suis aussi savant que si j'avais étudié huit jours.'—*De Balzac.*

Before leaving the Forum we must turn from its classical to its mediaeval remains, and examine the interesting group of churches which have sprung up amid its ruins.

Almost opposite the Mamertine Prisons, surmounted by a handsome **dome,** is the **Church of S. Martina**, which was formerly believed to stand in a Forum Martis, and to have received its dedication because of the similarity of names. Hence also the inscription which was placed over the door—

'Martyrii gestans virgo Martina coronam,
Ejecto hinc Martis numine templa tenes.'

It, however, more probably occupies the site of the ancient Secretarium, or Chancellery of the Senate.

The church contains the original model, bequeathed by the sculptor Thorwaldsen, of his Copenhagen statue of Christ in the act of benediction. The opposite transept contains an inferior statue of Religion by *Canova.* The figure of the saint by *Guerini* reposes beneath the high altar, as at S. Cecilia. The subterranean church

is worth visiting. An ante-chapel adorned with statues of four virgin martyrs leads to a beautiful chapel erected at the cost and from the designs of Pietro da Cortona, whose tomb stands near its entrance with a bust by *Bernini*. In the centre of the inner chapel, lamps are always burning round the magnificent bronze altar which covers the shrine of S. Martina, and beneath it you can discover the martyr's tomb by the light of a torch which a monk lets down through a hole. In the tribune is an ancient throne. A side-chapel contains the grave in which the body of the virgin saint, with three other martyrs, her companions, was found in 1634; it is adorned with a bas-relief by *Algardi*. An inscription, found in the Catacombs of S. Agnese, commemorates the Christian Gaudentius, the legendary architect of the Coliseum, afterwards martyred in that building.

'At the foot of the Capitoline hill, on the left hand as we descend from the Ara-Coeli into the Forum, there stood in very ancient times a small chapel dedicated to S. Martina, a Roman virgin. The veneration paid to her was of very early date, and the Roman people were accustomed to assemble there on the first day of the year. This observance was, however, confined to the people, and not very general till 1634; an era which connects her in rather an interesting manner with the history of art. In this year, as they were about to repair her chapel, they discovered, walled into the foundations, a sarcophagus of terra-cotta, in which was the body of a young female, whose severed head reposed in a separate casket. These remains were very naturally supposed to be those of the saint who had been so long venerated on that spot. The discovery was hailed with the utmost exultation, not by the people only, but by those who led the minds and consciences of the people. The Pope himself, Urban VIII., composed hymns in her praise; and Cardinal Francesco Barberini undertook to rebuild her church. Amongst those who shared the general enthusiasm was the painter Pietro da Cortona, who was at Rome at the time, who very earnestly dedicated himself and his powers to the glorification of S. Martina. Her church had already been given to the Academy of Painters, and consecrated to S. Luke, their patron saint. It is now "San Luca and Santa Martina." Pietro da Cortona erected at his own cost the chapel of S. Martina, and, when he died, endowed it with his whole fortune. He painted for the altar-piece his best picture, in which the saint is represented as triumphing over the idols, while the temple in which she has been led to sacrifice is struck by lightning from heaven, and falls in ruins around her. In a votive picture of S. Martina kneeling at the feet of the Virgin and Child, she is represented as very young and lovely; near her, a horrid instrument of torture, a two-pronged fork with barbed extremities, and the lictor's axe, signifying the manner of her death.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred and Legendary Art.'*

The feast of the saint is observed here on 30th January, with much solemnity. Then, in all the Roman churches, is sung the Hymn of S. Martina:—

'Martinae celebri plaudite nomini,
Cives Romulei, plaudite gloriae;
Insignem meritis dicite virginem,
Christi dicite martyrem.

Haec dum conspicuis orta parentibus
Inter delicias, inter amabiles
Luxus illecebras, ditibus affluit
Faustae muneribus domus.

Vitae despiciens commoda, dedicat
Se rerum Domino, et munifica manu
Christi pauperibus distribuens opes,
Quaerit praemia coelitum.

A nobis abigas lubrica gaudia
Tu, qui martyribus dexter ades, Deus
Une et trine : tuis da famulis jubar,
Quo clemens animos beas. Amen.'

There is nothing especial to notice inside **S. Adriano**, otherwise the Curia of Diocletian,[1] or in **S. Lorenzo in Miranda**, which occupies the temple of Antoninus and Faustina; but the vanished **S. Maria Liberatrice** was more interesting. It was built above part of the Atrium Vestae, and was destroyed in the spring of 1900, to gratify the legitimate archaeological desire of recovering the Springs of Juturna, the Augusteum, and the buried sixth century Basilica-Church of **S. Maria Antiqua**. It commemorated by its name a curious legend of the fourth century. On this site, it is said, dwelt in a cave a terrible dragon, who had slain three hundred persons with the poison of his breath. (No doubt the neighbouring Cloaca Maxima!) Into this cave, instructed thereto by S. Peter, and entrusting himself to the care of the Virgin, descended S. Silvester, attended by two acolytes bearing torches. Here, having pronounced the name of Christ, he was miraculously enabled to bind the dragon and shut him up till the Day of Judgment. But when he returned in safety, he found at the mouth of the cave two magicians, who had followed him in the hope of discovering some imposture, dying from the poison of the dragon's breath—and these also he saved alive! The church was of little importance internally, but externally it added to the picturesqueness of the Forum, and artists must regret it, though archaeologists rejoice in the rich discoveries made on the site. It was purchased from the nuns of the Tor de' Specchi, whose orange garden covered the ancient church.

The Mirabilia Urbis mentions a church dedicated to S. Antonio on this site — "Ecclesia S. Antonii juxta palatium Catilinae (Caligulae) et locum qui dicitur Infernus," and some archaeologists maintained that this was the church under the site of S. Maria Liberatrice, and that S. Maria Antiqua was covered by S. Francesca Romana. This seems to have been due to the fact that S. Anthony possessed a favourite altar and image in the building, which has since been found, and may be seen at the left corner (S.) of the Atrium.

The existence of **S. Maria Antiqua** was first established in 1702 by one Andrea Bianchi, when there was discovered an apse decorated with the frescoes of the Saviour and saints, and a portrait of Paul I. (757–67) having the square nimbus which indicated a living person. But an inrush of water caused the then abbess of the Tor de' Specchi to have the soil which had been moved replaced.

[1] Its ancient bronze doors are now at the entrance to the nave of the Lateran.

This early Christian shrine has now been made visible from end to end in all its ruined glory, and has been covered in to protect it from the weather. In the apse are frescoes which were brilliant when first exposed, though they are already greatly faded. Formic acid (made from ants) has been employed as a dressing to preserve them. No surviving church of the middle ages can give so complete an idea of the ritual arrangements of an early Christian Basilica as can this one. It is found to occupy a mansion of the time of Hadrian, and probably that of the chief custodian of Caesar's Palace. The 'Tablinum' of the Hadrianic house has had an apse roughly hollowed in its southern wall, and, being frescoed, it became the chancel and presbytery, while the 'alæ' were converted into chapels. That on the L. (dedicated to SS. Quirico and Jolitta) is adorned with frescoes relating to the lives of those saints, and a **Crucifixion** in a square niche over the altar is at once brilliant and fascinating. The 'Impluvium' of the house has become the nave of the church, and its 'ambulatoria' the aisles for men (left) and women (right). A mosaic path midway led up to the presbytery, flanked on either side by the inclosures for the 'Schola Cantorum' and the 'ambones' for reading the Gospel and Epistle. A base of one of these was found in 1901, bearing an inscription of John VII. (A.D. 705), who resided in the remains of Caligula's palace above, and is known to have decorated this (then) much-favoured Basilica. The frescoes in the right aisle have been almost obliterated by the sweep of falling débris in the ninth century, which destroyed the building. It is probable that the covered **atrium** of the church for a time became its substitute. The patrons and clergy have secured graves for themselves in the form of '**loculi**' in the walls, though a few have been honoured by being interred in handsome Pagan sarcophagi. An ugly pillar in the atrium (now removed), built of blocks plundered from the Temple of Castor, outside, witnessed to a clumsy and futile attempt in mediaeval times to prop up the yielding vault—now vanished. To the right is entered the vast hall of the Temple of Augustus, as rebuilt by Hadrian, which faced the Vicus Tuscus; to the left is seen the beautiful winding '**rampa**' or inclined passage, by which the Emperors ascended and descended in privacy to the Forum. Its pavement was once of mosaic, and the walls were veneered with very precious light marbles, while the vaulting was doubtless exquisitely panelled out in delicate stuccoes and gilded. S. Maria Nova (now S. Francesca Romana) arose as a substitute for this ruined Basilica, A.D. 847–55.

The **Left Aisle** (or outer wall of peristyle), was covered with four superimposed sections of frescoes, above a dado painted to represent a curtain. Above this, facing the visitor, is seen a line of full-length saints divided by an enthroned figure of Christ in the act of Benediction. The names of all are inscribed vertically in Greek. On the **Left** of Christ are saints of the Western Church, Sylvester, Clement, Leo, Alexander; to his **Right**, those of the Eastern Church, bishops, all wearing pallium and chasuble and

ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΗϹ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ

holding books, and having cruciform nimbi: John Chrysostom, Gregory (Nazianzen), Basil, Peter Alexandrinus, Cyril, Epiphanius, and Athanasius. The scenes depicted (but much ruined) above these represent the story of Joseph; and their artistic qualities are low. Below the figure of Christ, attached to the wall, stands part of an altar with a reliquary-box. The **sarcophagi** seen here are elaborate examples brought from tombs without the city to be used by the appropriators as coffins. An early third century one displays masks with festoons of fruit and bays. The next one is a fourth century Christian one representing in relief the usual subjects: Jonah; the Baptism; the Good Shepherd; an orante, &c. Here also lies the octagonal base of a marble pulpit, or ambo, inscribed in both Greek and Latin, Johannes Servu(s), (S)anc(t)ae M(a)ria, on sunken panels. The lead in the clamp-holes still remains. Stairs led up to it originally, which covered the uninscribed longer sides. It stood close by in the left-hand choir-screen. The John here is Pope John VII. The terminal **chapel** of this aisle was dedicated to **SS. Quiricus and Jolitta**, and decorated with frescoes illustrating their lives and martyrdoms, by *Theodotus*, whose portrait, seated and with a square nimbus, is nearly ruined, but seen on the **R.** wall. He is known to us as the rebuilder of S. Angelo in Pescheria, (*c.*) A.D. 760, in which his inscription also exists. He holds in his lap the church. It is therefore probable that he restored this chapel at least, though his interest in these Asiatic Saints is not so obvious. The jewel of this chapel is the picture in the rectangular recess, of the crucifixion. Here Christ is depicted living extended upon a yellow cross, wearing a blue sleeveless garment with two yellow stripes down the front of it. Around His head is a cruciform nimbus, and at the top of the cross is a 'tabula ansata' inscribed in Greek letters: 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.' On his left stands his **mother**, dressed in dark blue, raising her hands to her suffering face. Between the cross and herself stands **Longinus**, piercing the side of the crucified. Right of the cross stands **S. John** in a yellow pallium over a white tunic, with red stripes down the front. Between him and the cross occurs the soldier raising the sponge upon a cane, dressed in a red tunic. The **cross** is fastened by three pegs to a small hillock, and the feet are nailed separately.

Below the niche (but much spoiled) extended a tier of saints centred by an enthroned Madonna and Child. The patrons of the chapel, Pope Zacharius (741–752), S. Julitta, S. Paul; and (**R.**) S. Peter, S. Quiricus and Theodotus, the Donor. The frescoes (**L.**), near the entrance door, (1) S. Jolitta addressing the Roman Governor after her arrest; (2) S. Quiricus, brought to give evidence by a soldier; (3) ruined; (4) His flagellation; (5) St. Quiricus having had his tongue removed, addresses Alexander the Judge; (6) represented their torture in a cauldron; (right wall, nearest altar) (7) they are placed in a brazen frying-pan; (8) nails being driven into the head of S. Quiricus. This was, however, useless, and they were ultimately beheaded.

The Church of **SS. Cosma e Damiano**, formed by the union (Heroon Romuli and Templum Sacrae Urbis) of two temples (the earliest example of a Forum temple being applied to Christian use), was founded by Felix IV. in 527, and restored by Adrian I. in 780; Sergius I. built the ambones and ciborium above the confession in 695. In 1633 the whole building was modernised by Urban VIII., under Arigucci, who, in order to raise it to the level of the soil outside, cut the ancient church in half by a partition, recently removed, dividing it into upper and lower churches.

'The entire edifice of the fourth century can now again be admired, from its ancient pavement to its vaulted ceiling, and recalls, though of smaller proportions, the Pantheon, even to the vault with its round hole, through which light can penetrate to the interior of the temple.'—*Luigi Borsari.*

The tomb of SS. Cosma and Damiano is beneath the altar, which is formed of beautiful translucent marble. Under a side altar was the grave of Felix IV. An altar was shown as that at which Felix IV. celebrated mass while his adherents were in hiding here,[1] as well as the grave in which the body of the Pope was afterwards discovered, and a miraculous Spring, still flowing, which is said to have burst forth in answer to his prayers that he might have wherewithal to baptize. In the upper church, on the right of the entrance from the circular vestibule into the body of the building (Temple Sacrae Urbis), in this inscription :—

'L'immagine di Madonna Santissima che esiste all' altar maggiore parlò a S. Gregorio Papa dicendogli, "Perchè più non mi saluti mentre passando eri solito salutarmi?" Il santo domandò perdona e concesse a quelli che celebrano in quell' altare la liberazione dell' anima dal purgatorio, cioè per quell' anima per la quale si celebra la messa.'

Among the curious relics preserved in this church are 'Una ampulla lactis Beatae Mariae Virginis;' 'De Domo Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae;' 'De Domo Sancti Zachariae prophetae!'

Deserving of minute attention is the grand mosaic of Christ coming on the clouds of sunset.

'The **mosaics** of SS. Cosma and Damiano (A.D. 526–30) are the finest in ancient Christian Rome. Above the arch appear, on each side of the Lamb, four angels, of excellent but somewhat severe style; then follow various apocalyptic emblems; a modern walling-up having left but few traces of the twenty-four elders. A gold surface, dimmed by age, with little purple clouds, forms the background: though in Rome, at least, at an earlier and later date, a blue ground prevailed. In the apsis itself, upon a dark blue ground, with golden-edged clouds, is seen the colossal figure of Christ; the right hand raised, either in benediction or teaching, the left holding a written scroll; above is the hand, which is the emblem of the First Person of the Trinity. Below, on each side, the apostles Peter and Paul are leading SS. Cosma and Damiano, each with crowns in their hands, towards the Saviour, followed by S. Theodore on the right, and by Pope Felix IV., the founder of the church, on the left. This latter, unfortunately, is an entirely restored figure. Two palm-trees, sparkling with gold, above one of which appears

[1] He was elected at the command of Theodoric, but against the wishes of the Roman clergy, though afterwards confirmed by them in order to avoid a schism.

the emblem of eternity, the phoenix, with a star-shaped nimbus, close the composition on each side. Farther below, indicated by water-plants, sparkling also with gold, is the river Jordan. The figure of Christ may be regarded as one of the most marvellous specimens of the art of the Middle Ages. Countenance, attitude, and drapery combine to give Him an expression of quiet majesty, which, for many centuries after, is not found again in equal beauty and freedom. The drapery, especially, is disposed in noble folds, and only in its somewhat too ornate details is a further departure from the antique observable. The saints are not as yet arranged in stiff parallel forms, but are advancing forward, so that their figures appear somewhat distorted, while we already remark something constrained and inanimate in their step. The apostles Peter and Paul wear the usual ideal costume. SS. Cosma and Damiano are attired in the late Roman dress: violet mantles, in gold stuff, with red embroideries of oriental barbaric effect. Otherwise the chief motives of the drapery are of great beauty, though somewhat too abundant in folds. The high lights are brought out by gold and other sparkling materials, producing a gorgeous play of colour which relieves the figures vigorously from the dark-blue background. Altogether a feeling for colour is here displayed, of which no later mosaics with gold grounds give any idea. The heads, with the exception of the principal figure, are animated and individual, though without any particular depth of expression; somewhat elderly, also, in physiognomy, but still far removed from any Byzantine stiffness; S. Peter has already the bald head, and S. Paul the short brown hair and dark beard, by which they were afterwards recognisable.[1] Under this chief composition, on a gold ground, is seen the Lamb upon a hill, with the four rivers of Paradise, and the twelve sheep on either hand. The great care of execution is seen in the five or six gradations of tints which the artist has adopted.'—*Kugler.*

SS. Cosma and Damiano to whom this church is dedicated, were two Asiatic physicians (perhaps priests of Æsculapius), who exercised their art for the benefit of the poor. They suffered under Diocletian. 'First they were thrown into the sea, but an angel saved them; and then into the fire, but the fire refused to burn them; then they were bound to crosses and stoned, but the stones either fell harmless or rebounded on their executioners and killed them; so then the proconsul Lycias, believing them to be sorcerers, commanded that they should be beheaded, and thus they died.' SS. Cosma and Damiano were the patron saints of the Emperor Justinian and of the Medici, and their gilt statues were carried in state at the coronation of Leo X. (Giovanni de' Medici). Their fame is general in many parts of France, where their fête is celebrated by a village fair—children who ask for their fairing (of a toy or ginger-bread) calling it their 'S. Côme.'

'It is related that a certain man, who was afflicted with a cancer in his leg, went to perform his devotions in the church of SS. Cosma and Damiano at Rome, and he prayed most earnestly that these beneficent saints would be pleased to aid him. When he had prayed, a deep sleep fell upon him. Then he beheld S. Cosma and S. Damiano, who stood beside him; and one carried a box of ointments, and the other a sharp knife. And one said, "What shall we do to replace this diseased leg when we have cut it off?" And the other replied, "There is a Moor who has been buried just now at S. Pietro in Vincoli; let us take his leg for the purpose." So they brought

[1] There are no aureoles round the heads of the saints. This emblem of glory, which belonged to Apollo and the deified emperors, was not bestowed upon the martys of the Catacombs till the time of Constantine, and had not yet become universal.

the leg of the dead man, and with it they replaced the leg of the sick man; anointing it with celestial ointment, so that he remained whole. When he awoke he almost doubted whether it could be himself; but his neighbours, seeing that he was healed, looked into the tomb of the Moor, and found that there had been an exchange of legs: and thus the truth of this great miracle was proved to all beholders.'—*Mrs. Jameson, from the 'Legenda Aurea.'*

At the head of the Forum (E.) stands the **Church of S. Francesca Romana**, which is full of interest. (Festa, March 6.) Its beautiful thirteenth-century tower is ornamented with the discs of enamelled pottery called *ciotole*, the forerunners of majolica. The church was first built by Leo IV., A.D. 850, in the portico of Hadrian's Temple of Venus, and dedicated to the Virgin under the title of S. Maria Nuova, the Diaconate of S. Maria Antiqua being transferred to it. It was rebuilt by Honorius III. (1220). An ancient picture attributed to S. Luke, brought from Troia in 1100, was the only object in this church preserved when the building was totally destroyed by fire in 1216. During the restoration the picture was kept at S. Adriano, and its being brought back led to a contest among the people, which was ended by a child exclaiming, 'What are you doing? the Madonna is already in her own church.' She had betaken herself thither none knew how.

In the twelfth century the church was given to the Lateran Canons, in the fourteenth transferred to the Olivetan monks; under Eugenius IV. the latter extended their boundaries so far that they included the Coliseum, but their walls were forced down in the succeeding pontificate. Gregory XI., Paul II., and Caesar Borgia were cardinals of S. Maria Nova. In 1440 the dedication was changed to that of S. Francesca Romana, when that popular saint, Francesca de' Ponziani (canonised 1608), foundress of the Order of Oblates, was buried here. Her tomb was erected in 1640 by Donna Agata Pamfili, sister of Innocent X., herself an Oblate. It is from designs of Bernini, and is rich in marbles. The figure was not added till 1868. The graceful cloister was added in the fifteenth century, and is now being restored and converted into a museum by Commendatore Boni.

'After the death of Francesca, her body remained during a night and a day at the Ponziani Palace, the Oblates watching by turns over the beloved remains. . . . Francesca's face, which had recently borne traces of age and suffering, became as beautiful again as in the days of youth and prosperity; and the astonished bystanders gaze with wonder and awe at her unearthly loveliness. Many of them carried away particles from her clothes, and employed them for the cure of several persons who had been considered beyond the possibility of recovery. In the course of the day the crowd augmented to a degree which alarmed the inhabitants of the palace. Battista Ponziani took measures to have the body removed at once to the church, and a procession of the regular and secular clergy escorted the venerated remains to Santa Maria Nuova, where they were to be interred.

'The popular feeling burst forth on the occasion; it was no longer to be restrained. Francesca was invoked by the crowd, and her beloved name was heard in every street, in every piazza, in every corner of the Eternal City. It flew from mouth to mouth, it seemed to float in the air, to be borne aloft by the grateful enthusiasm of a whole people, who had seen her walk to that church by her mother's side in her holy childhood; who had seen her kneel at that altar in the grave beauty of womanhood, in the hour of bereavement,

and now in death carried thither in state, she the gentle, the humble saint of Rome, the poor woman of the Trastevere, as she was sometimes called at her own desire.'—*Lady G. Fullerton's 'Life of S. Francesca Romana.'*

A chapel R. of the church contains the monument of Cardinal Vulcani (1403), supporting his figure, with Faith, Hope, and Charity sculptured in high relief below. Near the door is the tomb of Cardinal Adimari, 1432, who died here after an ineffectual mission to the anti-pope Pedro da Luna. In the **left transept** was a fine Perugino (removed 1867); in the **right** is the tomb of Pope Gregory XI. (1378), the last Frenchman who occupied the papal throne, by *Olivieri*, erected by the Senate in 1584 in gratitude for his having restored the papal court to Rome from Avignon. A bas-relief represents his triumphal entry, by the gate of S. Paolo, with S. Catherine of Siena, by whose entreaties he was induced to return, walking before his mule. A breach in the walls indicates the ruinous state into which Rome had fallen; the chair of S. Peter is represented as floating back through the air, while an angel carries the papal tiara and keys; a figure of Rome, as Minerva, is coming forth to welcome the Pope. It is said that when Gregory XI. returned there were only 17,000 inhabitants left in Rome.

'The greatest part of the praise due to Gregory's return to Rome belongs to S. Catherine of Siena, who, with infinite courage, travelled to Avignon, and persuaded the Pope to return, and by his presence to dispel the evils which disgraced Italy, in consequence of the absence of the Popes. Thus it is not to be wondered at that those writers who rightly understand the matter should have said that Catherine, the virgin of Siena, brought back to God the abandoned apostolical chair upon her shoulders.'—*Ughielli, Ital. Sacra*, vi. col. 45.

Near Pope Gregory's tomb some blackened marks on the wall are shown as dimples made by the (gigantic) knees of S. Peter, when he knelt to pray that Simon Magus might be dropped by the demons he had invoked to support him in the air, which he is said to have done to show his power on this spot. Removed also to the church is a mediaeval **paving-stone**, of the Clivus Sacra Via, of which the same story is told. The water which collected in the two holes was looked upon as an important remedy, and when it lay in the road, groups of infirm persons used to gather around it on the approach of a shower.

'When the error of Simon was spreading farther and farther, the illustrious pair of men, Peter and Paul, the rulers of the Church, arrested it by going thither, who suddenly exhibited as dead, Simon, the putative God, on his appearance. For when Simon declared that he would ascend aloft into heaven, the servants of God cast him headlong to the earth, and though this occurrence was wonderful in itself, it was not wonderful under the circumstances, for it was Peter who did it, he who bears with him the keys of heaven . . . it was Paul who did it, he who was caught up into the third heaven.'—*S. Cyril of Jerusalem.*

'Simon promised to fly, and thus ascend to the heavenly abodes. On the day agreed upon, he went to the Capitoline hill, and throwing himself from the rock, began his ascent. Then Peter, standing in the midst, said, "O Lord Jesus, show him that his arts are in vain." Hardly had the words been uttered, when the wings which Simon had made use of became en-

tangled and he fell. His thigh was fractured, never to be healed; and some time afterwards the unhappy man died at Aretia, whither he had retired after his discomfiture.'—*S. Ambrose.*[1]

The vault of the tribune is covered with **mosaics.**

'The restored tribune mosaics (A.D. 858–87, during the pontificate of Nicholas I.) close the list of Roman Byzantine works. By their time it had become apparent that such figures as the art of the day was alone able to achieve could have no possible relation to each other, and therefore no longer constitute a composition; the artists accordingly separated the Madonna on the throne, and the four saints with uplifted hands, by graceful arcades. The ground is gold, the nimbuses blue. The faces consist only of feeble lines—the cheeks are only red blotches; the folds merely dark strokes; nevertheless a certain flow and fulness in the forms, and the character of a few accessories (for instance, the exchange of a crown upon the Virgin's head for the invariable Byzantine veil), seem to indicate that we have not so much to do here with the decline of Byzantine art, as with a Northern and probably Frankish influence.'—*Kugler.*

In the 1st chapel (left) is a Madonna with saints by a scholar of Perugino.

The convent, with fifteenth century cloisters, attached to this church was the abode of **Tasso** during his first visit to Rome. It is now becoming a musèum.

S. Francesca Romana stands, therefore, in the Pronaos of Hadrian's Temple of Venus. The **Temples of Venus and Rome** (Venus Felix and Roma Aeterna), which were originally planned by the Emperor Hadrian (to outdo the proud monuments of the Flavian Emperors), were erected by the architect Apollodorus, and finished by Antoninus Pius. Little remains standing of these, the largest of all the temples in Rome, excepting a cella facing the Coliseum, and another within the cloisters of the adjoining convent (these being chiefly restorations by Maxentius, *c.* 310, after a fire had destroyed much of the building of Hadrian); but the surrounding grassy area is positively littered with fragments of the grey granite columns of the porticus (400 by 200 feet), which entirely surrounded the twin temples. The pedestals partly remain which supported colossal statues of Venus and Roma. A large mass of exquisite Corinthian cornice may be viewed within. This was perhaps the last Pagan temple which remained in use in Rome. It was closed by Theodosius in 391, and remained entire until 630, when Pope Honorius I. carried off the bronze tiles of its roof to adorn S. Peter's; although some of these were seen here still in 1606.

'Ac sacram resonare viam mugitibus, ante
Delubrum Romae; colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
More dease, nomenque loci, ceu numen, habetur.
Atque Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt
Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus.'
—*Prudentius contr. Symm.* v. 214.

'When about to construct his magnificent Temple of Venus and Rome, Hadrian produced a design of his own and showed it with proud satisfaction to the architect Apollodorus. The creator of the Trajan column remarked

[1] See the whole question of Simon Magus discussed in Waterworth's *England and Rome.*

with a sneer, that the deities, if they rose from their seats, must thrust their heads through the ceiling. The Emperor, we are assured, could not forgive this banter; but we can hardly take to the letter the statement that he put his critic to death for it.'—*Merivale*, ch. lxvi.

The pavement of the earlier Sacra Via has been traced running under the porticus of the Temples of Venus and Rome toward the Sacellum Streniae, the site of which last shrine has yet to be located. We merely know that it began thereby.

Close to the Coliseum may be seen the remains of the pedestal made by Hadrian, A.D. 121, to receive the **Colossus**, executed in brass by Zenodorus. The head (originally that of Nero) was surrounded with rays that it might represent Apollo. It is described by Martial:

> 'Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus
> Et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,
> Invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis,
> Unaque jam tota stabat in urbe domus.'
> —*De Spect.* ii.

It was moved (with the aid of twenty-four elephants) from its former situation (one hundred yards nearer the Forum) by Hadrian when he built his Temples of Venus and Rome. Pliny describes the colossus as 110, Dion Cassius as 100 feet high. It appears on the coins of Gordianus II.

'Hadrian employed an architect named Demetrianus to remove the colossus of Nero, the face of which had been altered into a Sol. He does not seem to have accomplished the design of Apollodorus to erect a companion statue of Luna.'—*Merivale*, ch. lxvi.

The **Arch of Titus**, like the preceding monument, was also moved, and probably more than once, in order to accommodate Hadrian's porticus and the great twin temples. In imperial times an arch did not necessarily span a street, but might stand as an isolated monument, for admiration. Even in its cleverly restored condition, this one is perhaps the most beautiful structure of the kind remaining in Rome. Its Christian interest is unrivalled, from having been erected by the Senate to commemorate the taking of Jerusalem, and from its bas-reliefs displaying a seven-branched candlestick and other treasures of the Jewish Temple. In mediaeval times it was called the Arch of the Seven Candlesticks (*septem lucernarum*) from the relief representing the first of these, concerning which Gregorovius remarks that the fantastic figures carved upon it prove that it was *not* an exact likeness of that which came from Jerusalem. The Jews may have had more than one candelabrum. The bas-reliefs are much mutilated, but they are shown in a better state in a drawing of Giuliano di Sangallo. The arch was repaired by Valadier under Pius VII., who replaced in travertine its missing marble portions. The composite capitals here are the earliest examples known. Furnished with a portcullis, it was engrafted into the fortress of the Frangipani. Close by, on the site of the temple of Jupiter Stator, stood the Turris Cartularia, to which, for the sake of security, the remains of the library and archives of Pope Damasus and other precious MSS. were removed from the Lateran,

in the tenth century.[1] The tower formed part of the vast fortress of the powerful family before-named, which included the Coliseum and a great part of the Palatine and Coelian hills; and in it Pope Urban II. dwelt in 1093, under the protection of Giovanni Frangipani.

'The Jewish trophies are sculptured in bas-relief on the inside of the arch beneath the vaulting. Opposite to these is another bas-relief representing Titus in the quadriga, the reins borne by the goddess Roma. In the centre of the arch Titus is borne to heaven by an eagle. It may be conjectured that these ornaments to his glory were designed after the death of Vespasian, and completed after his own. . . . These witnesses to the truth of history are scanned at this day by Christians passing to and fro between the Coliseum and the Forum: and at this day the Jew refuses to walk beneath them, and creeps stealthily by the side, with downcast eyes or countenance averted.'—*Merivale*, '*Romans under the Empire*,' vii. 250.

'On the inner compartment of the **Arch of Titus** is sculptured, in deep relief, the desolation of a city. On one side, the walls of the Temple, split by the fury of conflagrations, hang tottering in the act of ruin. The accompaniments of a town taken by assault, matrons and virgins and children and old men gathered into groups, and the rapine and licence of a barbarous and enraged soldiery are imaged in the distance. The foreground is occupied by a procession of the victors, bearing in their profane hands the holy candlestick and the table of shewbread, and the sacred instruments of the eternal worship of the Jews. On the opposite side, the reverse of this sad picture, Titus is represented standing in a chariot drawn by four horses, crowned with laurel and surrounded by the tumultuous numbers of his triumphant army, and the magistrates, and priests, and generals, and philosophers, dragged in chains beside his wheels. Behind him stands a Victory eagle-winged.

'The arch is now mouldering into ruins, and the imagery almost erased by the lapse of fifty generations. . . . The Flavian amphitheatre has become a habitation for owls. The power of whose possession it was once the type, and of whose departure it is now the emblem, is become a dream and a memory. Rome is no more than Jerusalem.'—*Shelley*.

The procession of the newly-elected Popes from the Vatican to the Lateran for their solemn 'Possesso' used to pass under the Arch of Titus. The Jews at one time purchased from their Christian masters the liberty of not having to pass beneath it. In early mediaeval days it became a thoroughfare, by which for generations building materials were carted out of the inexhaustible Forum. The level of this (as may be noticed by the wheel marks on the marble) kept rising, century by century until it reached the sculptured work and bit into it.

The foundations used for the Turris Cartularia, south-east of the arch—finely fitted blocks of *peperino*—are remains of the **Temple of Jupiter Stator**, vowed by Romulus after his encounter with the Sabines, but only built in 296 by M. Atilius Regulus, and rebuilt (Hexastyle, peripteral) in imperial times. Its position here is identifiable by the bas-relief of the Haterii, now in the Lateran Museum (*q.v.*).

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[1] Not a trace of these collections now remains; it is supposed that they were destroyed by the imperial faction in 1244, out of spite toward the Pope and his faithful supporters, the Frangipani.

'Inde petens dextram, Porta est, ait, ista Palati;
Hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est.'
—*Ovid, Trist.* iii. *El.* 1. 31.

'Tempus idem Stator aedis habet, quam Romulus olim
Ante Palatini condidit ora jugi.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 798.

The Temple of Jupiter Stator, which was burnt in the great fire under Nero, has an especial interest from its connection with the story of Cicero and Catiline (*cf.* Plutarch, Cic., 16).

The remains now excavated at this interesting point show among other things that the old Sacra Via, and, in fact, the whole Forum, was by the time of Maxentius, 306, entirely cut off and stopped out for important traffic, and people must have been gradually more and more compelled to reach the noisy and ill-charactered Coliseum through the Forum of Peace, and at the north of the adjacent Basilica of Maxentius. Imperial triumphs likewise must have adopted a new and more accommodating route.

At this point it may not be inappropriate to notice two other buildings, which, though situated in the Palatine, are disconnected with the classical remains occupying that hill.

A lane runs up (south-west) to the right from the Arch of Titus to the Palatine. On the left is reached a gateway, with a faded fresco of S. Sebastian. Here is the entrance to a wild and beautiful garden, possessing lovely views of the various ruins, occupying the probable site of the **Gardens of Adonis** laid out by Domitian, and wherein he received Apollonius of Tyana. Previously it was occupied by part of the Golden House of Nero. This garden is the place where S. Sebastian underwent his martyrdom, and will call to mind the many pictures scattered over Europe of the youthful and beautiful saint, bound to a tree and pierced with arrows.[1] The finest of these are the Domenichino in S. Maria degli Angeli, and the Sodoma at Florence. He is sometimes represented as bound to an orange tree, and sometimes, as in the Guido at Bologna, to a cypress, like those we still see on this spot. Here was an important fortified Benedictine convent, in which Pope Boniface IV. was a monk before his election to the papacy, and where the abbots of Monte Cassino had their Roman residence. In 1118, twenty-one cardinals took refuge here, and elected Gelasius II. as Pope. The only building remaining is the **Church of S. Maria in Pallara** or **S. Sebastiano**, mentioned as early as the eleventh century, but rebuilt by Urban VIII. in 1636. It contains some curious inscriptions relating to events which have occurred here, and, in the tribune, frescoes of the Saviour in benediction with four saints, and below, two other groups representing the Virgin with saints and angels, placed here, as we learn by the inscription beneath, by one Benedict, a priest. The name Pallara is probably derived from an ancient 'palladium palatinum' mentioned in an inscription of

[1] The Acts of Sebastian, of the fifth century, say that the saint suffered *in hippodromo palatii*, and this was the name given to the existing garden from the fall of the Empire to the tenth century, after which it became applied to the Stadium.

the time of Constantine.[1] The substructions are apparently of the time of Hadrian.

Farther up the lane, passing (left) what may have been the site of the Temple of Apollo, built by Augustus, a 'Via Crucis' leads to the **Church of S. Buonaventura**, 'the seraphic doctor' (Cardinal and Bishop of Albano, ob. July 14, 1274), who in childhood was raised from the point of death (1221) by the prayers of S. Francis. The latter was so surprised when he came to life, that he involuntarily exclaimed 'O buona ventura'—('what a happy chance')—whence the name by which the Saint was afterwards known.[2]

The little church (1625) contains several good modern monuments. Beneath the altar is shown the body of the Blessed Leonardo da Porto-Maurizio (*d.* 1751), who arranged the destroyed (1874) Via Crucis in the Coliseum, and who is much revered by ultra-Romanists for having prophesied the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The crucifix and the picture of the Madonna which he carried with him in his missions are preserved in niches on either side of the tribune, and many other relics of him used to be shown in his cell in the adjoining convent of Minor Franciscans. The picturesque convent was for the most part destroyed in 1901–2; but its garden, whence there is a grand view of the Coliseum, and where a fountain is shaded by two tall palm trees, has been preserved. The monks made their Refectory in one of the reservoirs for storing the water of the Aqua Claudia, which Domitian had brought by an aqueduct across the valley from the Coelian.

'Oswald se rendit au couvent de Bonaventure, bâti sur les ruines du palais de Néron : là, où tant de crimes se sont commis sans remords, de pauvres moines, tourmentés par des scrupules de conscience, s'imposent des supplices cruels pour les plus légères fautes. "*Nous espérons seulement,*" disait un de ces religieux, "*qu'à l'instant de la mort nos péchés n'auront pas excédé nos pénitences.*" Lord Nelvil, en entrant dans ce couvent, heurta contre un trappe, et il en demanda l'usage. "*C'est par là qu'on nous enterre,*" dit l'un des plus jeunes religieux, que la maladie du mauvais air avait déjà frappé. Les habitants du Midi craignant beaucoup la mort, l'on s'étonne d'y trouver des institutions qui la rappellent à ce point ; mais il est dans la nature d'aimer à se livrer à l'idée même que l'on redoute. Il y a comme un enivrement de tristesse, qui fait à l'âme le bien de la remplir tout entière. Un antique sarcophage d'un jeune enfant sert de fontaine à se couvent. Le beau palmier dont Rome se vante est le seul arbre du jardin de ces moines.'—*Madame de Staël, 'Corinne.'*

The Arch of Titus was described as being 'in summa **Sacra Via**,' as the upper portion of the street was called which led from the Sacellum Streniae past the Regia to the Capitol, and by which the victorious generals originally passed in their triumphal processions to the Temple of Jupiter. This street, from perhaps being a mere familiar path leading to the primitive ancestral cemetery of the clans of the surrounding hills, has undergone every sort of modifi-

[1] See De Rossi, *Bull. de Arch. Christ.*, 1867.

[2] S. Buonaventura is perhaps best known to the existing Christian world as the author of the beautiful hymn, 'Recordare sanctae crucis.'

cation, and has thus given rise to volumes of controversy. Here we may picture Horace taking his famous walk:

> 'Ibam forte Via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
> Nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.'
> —*Sat.* i. 9.

It appears to have been the favourite resort of the *flâneurs* of his day:

> 'Videsne, Sacram metiente te Viam
> Cum bis trium ulnarum toga,
> Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
> Liberrima indignatio? —*Horace, Epod.* iv. 7.

The Clivus of the Sacra Via was in republican times bordered with houses and shops, later with shrines and statues. Ovid alludes frequently to the purchases which might be made there in his day. In this upper part of the Via, in early times, was also a market for fruit and honey:[1]

> 'Dum bene dives ager, dum rami pondere nutant;
> Adferat in calatho rustica dona puer.
> Rure suburbano poteris tibi dicere missa,
> Illa vel in Sacra sint licet empta Via.'
> —*Ovid, de Art. Aman.* ii. 263.

It has been supposed, though on insufficient grounds, that the first chapel of the Christian emperors stood amongst the buildings sometimes called the Baths of Heliogabalus, on the right of the descent of the Road, from the Arch of Titus to the Coliseum. It was called Ecclesia S. Cesarii in Palatio, and is first mentioned in 603. From an association with the name Caesar, it became dedicated to Caesarius, an African saint, martyred at Terracina. Portraits of the Byzantine emperors were preserved here under the care of Greek monks. The ruined chambers against the cliffs of the Palatine belonged to the palace of Nero,[2] which began there, and spread across to the Esquiline.

At the foot of the road (east) are the remains of the basin and the brick cone of a fountain called **Meta Sudans**, erected by Domitian perhaps for the riff-raff who came to the spectacles of the Coliseum.[3] Seneca complains[4] of the noise which was made by a showman who blew his trumpet close to this fountain. It certainly for centuries was a most unpleasant neighbourhood.

On the right, passing under the **Arch of Constantine**, the Via Triumphalis, now Via di S. Gregorio, turns off to join the Via Appia. The lower bas-reliefs upon the arch, which are crude and ill-designed, refer to the achievements of Constantine; but the upper, of fine workmanship, illustrate the life of Trajan, and were appropriated by the pious, but vacillating, Constantine. The sides of the arch are built with materials from the tombs of the Fabii and Arruntii.

It was excavated and decorated for the absurd triumphal pro-

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[1] Varro, *De R. Rust.* i. 2, and iii. 16.
[2] The Palace of Nero is described in Tac. *Ann.* xv. 42, and Suet. *Ner.* 31.
[3] Lucio Fauno, *Compendio di Roma Antica*, 1552.
[4] Epist. lvi.

cession of Charles V., but plundered by Clement VIII., who carried off one of its eight columns to adorn a chapel at the Lateran. These were formerly *all* of *giallo-antico* (marmor Numidicum). Clement XII. restored the arch with blocks taken from the Temple of Neptune (Piazza di Pietra). But in spite of all vicissitudes this is still a striking and beautiful arch, and there is something touching in its inscription—'fundatori quietis.'

'The importance of this arch rests not on its sculptured panels or medallions—spoils taken at random from older structures, from which the arch has received the nickname of Aesop's crow (*la cornacchia di Esopo*)—but on the inscription engraved on each side of the attic. The S.P.Q.R. have dedicated this triumphal arch to Constantine, because *instinctu divinitatis* (by the will of God) and by his own virtue, he has liberated the country from the tyrant (Maxentius) and his faction—containing two memorable words, the first proclaiming officially the name of the true God in the face of imperial Rome.'—*Lanciani.*

The statues, restored by Clement XII., were erroneously said to have been decapitated by Lorenzino de' Medici. The arch appears in several famous pictures, including the 'Dispute of S. Catherine,' by Pinturicchio, in the Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican, and the 'Castigo del fuoco celeste,' by Botticelli, in the Sistine Chapel.

We now turn to the **Coliseum**, or Flavian Amphitheatre (excavated by Rosa, 1875–8). This vast building was begun in A.D. 72, upon the site of the fish-pond of the Domus Aurea of Nero.

> 'Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
> Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.'
> —*Martial, De Spect. Ep.* ii. 5.

Vespasian raised it as far as the third tier. His work was inaugurated eight years later by Titus after his return from the conquest of Jerusalem. It is said that 12,000 captive Jews were employed in this work, and that the external binding walls alone cost a sum equal to 17,000,000 lire. The material of this last is travertine—*lapis Tiburtinus.* It rises in four storeys—the first Doric, the second Ionic, the third Corinthian, and the uppermost Composite. Some of the existing upper storey belongs to a rebuilding under Alexander Severus and Gordian III. after a fire caused by lightning (A.D. 217), and still more is composed of fragments clumsily fitted together (sixth century work). The circumference of the ellipse externally measures 1790 feet, its length 620, its width 525, and its height 157. The Imperial entrance was by an unnumbered arch approached by a passage between two arches (38 and 39) facing the Esquiline, for the lower arches still bear their numbers. On the opposite (S.) side was a similar entrance. Towards S. Gregorio has been discovered the subterranean passage (*crypto-porticus*) in which the Emperor Commodus was once near being assassinated. The **arena**, of stout wood sanded over, was surrounded by a low wall surmounted by a metal railing sufficiently high to protect the spectators from the wild beasts, which were introduced by trap-doors. This was, in turn, encircled by a **wide passage** in which custodians patrolled during the performances. To this succeeded a '**podium**,' or broad raised marble terrace, upon which

sat the most privileged spectators, *i.e.*, senators, members of the sacred colleges, and highly-paid officials; and from it on the southern side projected a '**suggestum**,' or elevated loggia, having a canopy under which sat the emperor, empress, and members of the imperial family, on thrones of ivory or gold; and next them sat the Vestals. Many of the marble thrones of the Senators were works of ancient Greek art stolen from the theatres at Corinth and Athens, some of which became episcopal thrones during the middle ages. Behind this circle rose the **cavea** in twenty tiers of seats for people of equestrian rank, divided into three grades, distinguished each by particular costume. Above these occurs a divisional wall (once of marble) beyond which sat the world of ordinary citizens. Behind them again arose a **lofty wall** pierced by doors and recesses for statues, separating them from the galleries containing lower class folk. The whole ended in a colonnade of the Corinthian order, in which was standing room only. From the external cornice of the building projected a circle of pine masts, from which could be unrolled within trapezoidal segments of **velarium** or awning reaching down to the tops of lofty masts which arose from the circumference of the arena, so as to shade any exposed section of the spectators; for the sun never visited the whole 'auditorium' at once. The arena itself was never shaded, and it must have consequently been a matter of importance to the combatants to avoid having the sun in their eyes. Below the arena were temporary lodgings for the beasts, lifts for cages (*pegmata*), wards in which wounds were attended to, rooms full of weapons, and repositories for spoil; besides these, a magnificent system of drainage. In every archway of the external upper tiers of arcading stood a life-sized statue. The flapping of the 'velaria' alone sounded like thunderclaps. What must have been the roar, or the silence, of eighty thousand spectators during moments of excitement?

The external charm of the Coliseum has been much diminished by the cutting down of all trees and destruction of the beautiful pomegranate gardens that adorned the lower slope of the adjacent Esquiline. In place of these have been erected the most offensive and gigantic houses, destroying the main effect of the grand buildings below them.

Nothing is known with certainty as to the architect of the Coliseum, though a tradition (founded on a forged inscription now carefully preserved in the crypt of S. Martina) ascribes it to Gaudentius, a Christian martyr, who afterwards suffered on the spot.[1]

'The name of the architect to whom the great work of the Coliseum was entrusted has not come down to us. The ancients seem themselves to have regarded this name as a matter of little interest; nor, in fact, do they gene-

[1] This inscription, found in the catacomb of S. Agnese, runs:—

Sic praemia servas Vespasiane dive — Premiatus es more Gaudenti letare
Civitas ubi gloriae tue autori — Promisit ista dat Kristus omnia tibi
Qui alium paravit theatrū in celo.

This apparently addresses alternately Vespasian, Gaudentius, and Rome. It is not clear in what order the lines should be read. Does it matter?

rally care to specify the authorship of their most illustrious buildings. The reason is obvious. The forms of ancient art in this department were almost wholly conventional, and the limits of design within which they were executed gave little room for the display of original taste and special character. . . . It is only in periods of eclecticism and renaissance, when the taste of the architect has wider scope, and may lead the eye instead of following it, that interest attaches to his personal merit. Thus it is that the Coliseum, the most conspicuous type of Roman civilisation, the monument which divides the admiration of strangers in modern Rome with S. Peter itself, is nameless and parentless, while every stage in the construction of the great Christian temple, the creation of a modern revival, is appropriated with jealous care to its special claimants.

'The dedication of the Coliseum afforded to Titus an opportunity for a display of magnificence hitherto unrivalled. A battle of cranes with dwarfs representing the pigmies was a fanciful novelty, and might afford diversion for a moment; there were combats of gladiators, among whom women were included, though no noble matron was allowed to mingle in the fray; and the capacity of the vast edifice was tested by the slaughter of five thousand animals in its circuit. The show was crowned with the immission of water into the arena, and with a sea-fight representing the contests of the Corinthians and Corcyreans, related by Thucydides. . . . When all was over, Titus himself was seen to weep, perhaps from fatigue, possibly from vexation and disgust; but his tears were interpreted as a presentiment of his death, which was now impending, and it is now probable that he was already suffering from a decline of bodily strength. . . . He lamented effeminately the premature disease he too surely anticipated, and looking wistfully at the heavens, exclaimed that he did not deserve to die. He expired on the 13th September 81, not having quite completed his fortieth year.'—*Merivale*, ch. lx.

'Hadrian gave a series of entertainments in honour of his birthday, with the slaughter of a thousand beasts, including a hundred lions and as many lionesses. One magical scene was the representation of forests, when the whole arena became planted with living trees, shrubs, and flowers; to complete which illusion the ground was made to open, and sent forth wild animals from yawning clefts, instantly re-covered with bushes.

'One may imagine the frantic excess to which the taste for gladiatorial combats was carried in Rome, from the preventive law of Augustus that gladiators should no more combat without permission of the senate; that praetors should not give these spectacles more than once a year; that more than sixty couples should not engage at the same time; and that neither knights nor senators should ever contend in the arena. The gladiators were classified according to the national manner of fighting which they imitated. Thus were distinguished the Gothic, Dacian, Thracian, and Samnite combatants; the *Retiarii*, who entangled their opponents in nets thrown with the left hand, defending themselves with tridents in the right; the *Secutores*, whose special skill was pursuit; the *Laqueatores*, who threw slings against their adversaries; the *Dimachae*, armed with a short sword in each hand; the *Hoplomachi*, armed at all points; the *Myrmillones*, so called from the figure of a fish at the crest of the Gallic helmet they wore; the *Bustuarii*, who fought at funeral games; the *Bestiarii*, who only assailed animals; other classes who fought on horseback, called *Andabates;* and those combating in chariots drawn by two horses, *Essedarii*. Gladiators were originally slaves or prisoners of war; but the armies who contended on the Roman arena in later epochs were divided into compulsory and voluntary combatants, the former alone composed of slaves or condemned criminals. The latter went through a laborious education in their art, supported at the public cost, and instructed by masters called *Lanistae*, resident in colleges called *Ludi*. To the eternal disgrace of the morals of Imperial Rome, it is recorded that women sometimes fought in the arena, without more modesty than hired gladiators. The exhibition of himself in this character by Commodus was a degradation of the imperial dignity, perhaps more infamous, according to ancient Roman notions, than the theatrical performances of Nero.'—*Hemans*, '*Story of Monuments in Rome*.'

The Emperor Commodus (A.D. 180–192) frequently fought in the Coliseum himself, killing both gladiators and wild beasts, calling himself Hercules, dressed in a lion's skin, and having his hair sprinkled with gold-dust. He excelled as an archer.

The gladiatorial combats came to an end when, in 403 A.D., an oriental monk named Telemachus rushed into the arena and besought the spectators to renounce them. Instead of listening to him, they stoned him to death. The first Christian martyrdom here was that of S. Ignatius—said to have been the child especially blessed by our Saviour—the disciple of John and the companion of Polycarp—who was sent here from Antioch, of which place he was bishop. When brought into the arena he knelt down and exclaimed, 'Romans who are present, know that I have not been brought into this place for any crime, but in order that by this means I may merit the fruition of the glory of God, for love of whom I have been made prisoner. I am as the grain of the field, and must be ground by the teeth of the lions, that I may become bread fit for His table.' The lions were then let loose, and devoured him, excepting the larger bones, which some Christians collected during the night.[1]

'It is related of Ignatius that he grew up in such innocence of heart and purity of life, that to him it was granted to hear the angels sing; hence, when he became Bishop of Antioch, he introduced into the service of his church the practice of singing the praises of God in responses, as he had heard the choirs of angels answering each other. . . . His story and fate are so well attested, and so sublimely affecting, that it has always been to me a cause of surprise as well as regret to find so few representations of him.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* 693.

Soon after the death of Ignatius, 115 Christians were shot down here with arrows. Under Hadrian, A.D. 118, a patrician named Placidus, his wife Theophista, and his two sons, were first exposed here to the wild beasts, but when these refused to touch them, were shut up in a brazen bull and roasted by a fire lighted beneath (?). In 253, Abdon and Sennen, two rich citizens of Babylon, were exposed here to two lions and four bears, but as the beasts refused to attack them, they were killed by the swords of gladiators. In A.D. 259, Sempronius, Olympius, Theodulus, and Exuperia were burnt at the entrance of the Coliseum, before the colossus of the Sun. In A.D. 272, S. Prisca was vainly exposed here to a lion, then starved for three days, then stretched on a rack to have her flesh torn by iron hooks, then put into a furnace, and—having successfully survived all these torments—she was finally beheaded. In A.D. 277, S. Martina, another noble Roman lady, was exposed similarly in vain to the beasts, and afterwards beheaded in the Coliseum.

'It is no fiction, but plain, sober, honest truth, to say: so suggestive and distinct is it at this hour: that, for a moment—actually in passing in—they who will, may have the whole great pile before them, as it used to be, with thousands of eager faces staring down into the arena, and such a whirl of strife, and blood, and dust going on there, as no language can describe. Its

[1] Under the Papal Government, his relics, preserved at S. Clemente, were carried round the Coliseum, with every circumstance of sacerdotal pomp, his festival, February 1.

solitude, its awful beauty, and its utter desolation, strike upon the stranger, the next moment, like a softened sorrow; and never in his life, perhaps, will he be so moved and overcome by any sight not immediately connected with his own affections and afflictions.

'To see it crumbling there, an inch a year; its walls and arches overgrown with green, its corridors open to the day; the long grass growing in its porches; young trees of yesterday springing up on its rugged parapets, and bearing fruit: chance produce of the seeds dropped there by the birds who built their nests within its chinks and crannies; to see its pit of fight filled up with earth, and the peaceful cross planted in the centre; to climb into its upper halls, and look down on ruin, ruin, ruin, all about it; the triumphal arches of Constantine, Septimius Severus, and Titus, the Roman Forum, the Palace of the Caesars, the temples of the old religion, fallen down and gone; is to see the ghost of old Rome, wicked, wonderful old city, haunting the very ground on which its people trod. It is the most impressive, the most stately, the most solemn, grand, majestic, mournful sight conceivable. Never, in its bloodiest prime, can the sight of the gigantic Coliseum, full and running over with the lustiest life, have moved one heart as it must move all who look upon it now, a ruin. God be thanked: a ruin.'—*Dickens.*

The spot where the Christian martyrs suffered was marked until 1872 by a tall cross, devoutly kissed by the faithful,—and all around the arena of the Coliseum stood the small chapels or 'stations,' used in the Via Crucis procession. This was observed here at 4 P.M. every Friday, when a Confraternity, clothed in grey, with eyes only visible, was followed by a crowd of worshippers who chaunted and prayed at each station in turn—a most picturesque scene—after which a Capuchin monk preached from a pulpit on the left of the arena. These sermons were often very striking, being delivered in a familiar style, and touching on popular subjects of the day, but they also often bordered (after the manner of things Roman) on the burlesque.

'Oswald voulut aller au Colisée pour entendre le Capucin qui devait y prêcher en plein air au pied de l'un des autels qui désignent, dans l'intérieur de l'enceinte, ce qu'on appelle *la route de la Croix*. Quel plus beau sujet pour l'éloquence que l'aspect de ce monument, que cette arène où les martyrs ont succédé aux gladiateurs! Mais il ne faut rien espérer à cet égard du pauvre Capucin, qui ne connaît de l'histoire des hommes que sa propre vie. Néanmoins, si l'on parvient à ne pas écouter son mauvais sermon, on se sent ému par les divers objets dont il est entouré. La plupart de ses auditeurs sont de la confrérie des Camaldules; ils se revêtent, pendent les exercices religieux, d'une espèce de robe grise qui couvre entièrement la tête et tout le corps, et ne laisse que deux petites ouvertures pour les yeux; c'est ainsi que les ombres pourraient être représentées. Ces hommes, ainsi cachés sous leurs vêtements, se prosternent la face contre terre, et se frappent la poitrine. Quand le prédicateur se jette à genoux en criant *miséricorde et pitié!* le peuple qui l'environne se jette aussi à genoux, et répéte ce même cri, qui va se perdre sous les vieux portiques du Colisée. Il est impossible de ne pas éprouver alors une émotion profondément religieuse; cet appel de la douleur à la bonté, de la terre au ciel, remue l'âme jusque dans son sanctuaire le plus intime.'—*Madame de Staël.*

The pulpit of the Coliseum was used for the stormy sermons of Gavazzi, who from thence called the people to arms in the revolution of March 1848.

Many of the 400 species of plants found there formerly (until 1874) may have been imported as seeds in the cages of the beasts from distant lands.

It is well worth while to ascend to the upper galleries (a guardian

will open a locked door for the purpose near the entrance toward the Forum), as then only is it possible to realise the vast size of the building, as well as the magnificent prospect it commands.

'*May* 1827.—Lastly, we ascended to the top of the Coliseum, Bunsen leaving us at the door, to go home; and I seated myself just above the main entrance, towards the Forum, and there took my farewell look over Rome. It was a delicious evening, and everything was looking to advantage:—the huge Coliseum just under me, the tufts of ilex and aliternus and other shrubs that fringe the walls everywhere in the lower part, while the outside wall, with its top of gigantic stones, lifts itself high above, and seems like a mountain barrier of bare rock, enclosing a green and varied valley. I sat and gazed upon the scene with an intense and mingled feeling. The world could show nothing grander; it was one which for years I had longed to see, and I was now looking at it for the last time. When I last see the dome of S. Peter's I shall seem to be parting from more than a mere town full of curiosities, where the eye has been amused and the intellect gratified. I never thought to have felt thus tenderly towards Rome; but the inexplicable solemnity and beauty of her ruined condition has quite bewitched me, and to the latest hour of my life I shall remember the Forum, the surrounding hills, and the magnificent Coliseum.'—*Arnold's Letters.*

The upper arches frame a series of views of the Capitoline, the Aventine, the Coelian, and the Campagna, a succession of enchanting pictures.

Those who visit the Coliseum by moonlight will realise the truthfulness of the following description:—

'I do remember me, that in my youth,
When I was wandering,—upon such a night
I stood within the Coliseum's wall,
'Midst the chief relics of almighty Rome;
The trees which grew along the broken arches
Waved dark in the blue midnight, and the stars
Shone through the rents of ruin; from afar
The watch-dog bayed beyond the Tiber; and
More near from out the Caesars' palace came
The owl's long cry, and, interruptedly,
Of distant sentinels the fitful song
Began and died upon the gentle wind.
Some cypresses beyond the time-worn breach
Appeared to skirt the horizon, yet they stood
Within a bowshot. Where the Caesars dwelt,
And dwell the tuneless birds of night, amidst
A grove which springs through levell'd battlements,
And twines its roots with the imperial hearths;
Ivy usurps the laurel's place of growth;—
But the gladiators' bloody Circus stands,
A noble wreck in ruinous perfection!
While Caesar's chambers and the Augustan halls,
Grovel on earth in indistinct decay.
And thou didst shine, thou rolling moon, upon
All this, and cast a wide and tender light,
Which softened down the hoar austerity
Of rugged desolation, and fill'd up,
As 't were anew, the gaps of centuries;
Leaving that beautiful which still was so,
And making that which was not, till the place
Became religion, and the heart ran o'er
With silent worship of the great of old:—
The dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.'—*Manfred.*

'Arches on arches! as it were that Rome,
Collecting the chief trophies of her line,
Would build up all her triumphs in one dome,
Her Coliseum stands; the moonbeams shine
As 't were its natural torches, for divine
Should be the light which streams here, to illume
This long explored but still exhaustless mine
Of contemplation; and the azure gloom
Of an Italian night, where the deep skies assume

'Hues which have words, and speak to ye of heaven,
Floats o'er this vast and wondrous monument,
And shadows forth its glory. There is given
Unto the things of earth, which Time hath bent,
A spirit's feeling, and where he hath leant
His hand, but broke his scythe, there is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower.'
—*Childe Harold.*

'No one can form any idea of full moonlight in Rome who has not seen it. Every individual object is swallowed in the huge masses of light and shadow, and only the marked and principal outlines remain visible. Three days ago (Feb. 2, 1787) we made good use of a light and most beautiful night. The Coliseum presents a vision of beauty. It is closed at night; a hermit lives inside in a little church, and beggars roost amid the ruined vaults. They had lighted a fire on the bare ground, and a gentle breeze drove the smoke across the arena. The lower portion of the ruin was lost, while the enormous walls above stood forth into the darkness. We stood at the gates and gazed on this phenomenon. The moon shone high and bright. Gradually the smoke moved through the chinks and apertures in the walls, and the moon illuminated it like a mist. It was an exquisite moment!'—*Goethe.*

It is believed that the structure of the Coliseum, although seriously damaged by two earthquakes in the days of Theodoric, remained entire until the eighth century, and that its ruin dates chiefly from the invasion of Robert Guiscard, who endeavoured to prevent its being used as a stronghold by the Romans. During the later Middle Ages it served as a fortress, and became the castle of the Frangipani, who here gave refuge to Pope Innocent II. (Papareschi) and his family against the anti-pope Anacletus II., and afterwards in the same way protected Innocent III. (Conti) and his brothers against the anti-pope Paschal. Constantly at war with the Frangipani were the Annibaldi, who possessed a neighbouring fortress (Septizonium), and obtained from Gregory IX. a grant of half the Coliseum, which was rescinded by Innocent IV. (1264). During the absence of the popes at Avignon (1305–78) the Annibaldi got possession of the whole of the Coliseum, but it was taken away again in 1312, and placed in the hands of the municipality, after which it was used for bull-fights (1332), in which (as described by Monaldeschi) nobles of high rank took part and eighteen lost their lives. The Campagna bull, with his healthy instincts, has never liked the *flâneurs* of the Corso. In 1381 the senate made over part of the ruins to the Canons of the Lateran, to be used as a hospital, and their occupation is still commemorated by the arms of the Chapter (our Saviour's head between two candelabra) sculptured in various parts of the building. Necromancers used to practise their

arts in the enclosure, and Benvenuto Cellini, in his *Memoirs*, describes how he caused a magician to people the arena with devils — perhaps no very difficult feat! From the fourteenth century (if not long before), after a severe earthquake, mentioned by Petrarch, had damaged it again, the Coliseum began to be viewed as a stone quarry, and the Farnese, Barberini, Venezia palaces, with the Cancelleria, were built chiefly of material plundered from its walls. It is said that the prince of its destroyers, Cardinal Farnese (1540), only extorted permission from his reluctant uncle, Paul III., to quarry as much stone as he could remove in twelve hours, and that he availed himself of this permission to let loose four thousand workmen upon the building; but it is quite probable that masses of fallen masonry supplied most of his needs. An official document testifies that in 1452 Giovanni Foglia of Como was permitted to carry off 2522 cart-loads of travertine. Sixtus V. endeavoured to utilise the building by turning the arcades into shops and establishing a woollen manufactory, and Clement XI. (1700-21) by a manufactory of saltpetre, but both happily failed. In the eighteenth century the tide of restoration began to set in. A Carmelite monk, Angelo Paoli, represented the iniquity of allowing a spot consecrated by such holy memories to be desecrated, and Clement XI. consecrated the arena to the memory of the martyrs who had suffered there, and erected in one of the archways a chapel of S. Maria della Pietà. The hermit appointed to take care of this chapel was stabbed in 1742, which caused Benedict XIV. to shut in the Coliseum with bars and gates. Under the six last Popes destruction was made sacrilege, and they all contributed to strengthen and preserve the walls which remain; but since the fall of the Papacy, the ruins have been cruelly injured by the tearing out, under Rosa, of all the shrubs and plants which adorned them, in the eradication of which more of the stones have given way than would have fallen in perhaps five hundred years of time. As lately as fifty years ago, the interior of the Coliseum was (like that of an English abbey) an uneven grassy space littered with masses of ruin, amid which large trees grew and flourished.[1]

In the gaunt, bare, ugly interior of the Coliseum as it now is, it is difficult even to conjure up a recollection of the ruin formerly so gloriously beautiful, where every turn formed a picture.

Among the ecclesiastical legends connected with the Coliseum, it is said that Gregory the Great presented some foreign ambassadors with a handful of earth from the arena as a relic for their sovereigns, and upon their receiving the gift with disrespect, he pressed it, whereupon blood flowed from the soil. Pius V. urged those who wished for relics to gather up the dust of the Coliseum, saturated with the blood of the martyrs.

In 1744, 'the Blessed Leonardo da Porto Maurizio,' who is buried in S. Buonaventura, drew immense crowds to the Coliseum by his

[1] A work on the Flora of the Coliseum, 420 species, has been published by S. Deakin.

preaching, and obtained permission from Benedict XIV. to found the confraternity of 'Amanti di Gesù e Maria,' for whom the Via Crucis was established here, which was destroyed in 1872. In later days the ruins have been associated with the holy beggar, Benoît Joseph Labré (beatified by Pius IX. in 1860 and since canonised), who died at Rome in 1783, after a life spent in devotion. He was accustomed to beg in the Coliseum, to sleep at night under its arcades, and to pray for hours at its various shrines. Nothing remains of the seven earlier churches of the Coliseum—S. Salvatore in Tellure, de Trasi, de Insula, de rota Colisei, S. James, S. Agatha, and that of SS. Abdon and Sennen, at the foot of the Colossus of the Sun, where the bodies of those saints had been exposed after martyrdom.

The name Coliseum is first found in the writings of the Venerable Bede, who quotes a prophecy of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims—

> 'While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;
> When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall;
> And when Rome falls, the world.'[1]

The name may have been derived from its size (the amphitheatre of Capua was also called Colossus), but, more probably, from the colossal statue which stood beside it.

Once or twice in the course of every Roman winter the Coliseum is illuminated with Bengal lights.

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[1] 'Quamdiu stat Colysaeus, stat et Roma; quando cadet Colysaeus, cadet et Roma, cadet et mundus.'

CHAPTER V

VELABRUM AND THE GHETTO

Vicus Tuscus—S. Teodoro—S. Anastasia—Circus Maximus—S. Giorgio in Velabro—Arch of Septimius Severus—Arch of Janus—Cloaca Maxima—S. Maria in Cosmedin—Temple of Matuta—Temple of Fortuna—House of Crescenzo—Ponte Rotto—Ponte Sublicio—S. Nicolo in Carcere—Theatre of Marcellus—Porticus of Octavia—Pescheria—Jewish Synagogue—Palazzo Cenci—Fontana delle Tartarughe—Palazzo Mattei—Palazzo Caëtani—S. Caterina dei Funari—S. Maria Campitelli—Palazzo Margana—Convent of the Tor de' Specchi.

LEAVING the south side of the Roman Forum runs nowadays the Via di San Teodoro, anciently the **Vicus Tuscus.** During the empire, this street, leading from the Forum to the Circus Maximus, was one of the most important in Rome. Martial speaks of its silk-mercers: from an inscription on a tomb we know that fashionable tailors were also to be found there; and perfumers' shops were so abundant as to give to part of the street the name of Vicus Thurarius. At its commencement in the Forum stood the statue of the Fruit-god Vertumnus, the patron of the quarter. By it the processions of the Circensian games passed from the Forum to the Circus Maximus. In one of the Verrine Orations, an accusation Cicero brought against the corrupt Praetor Verres was that from avaricious motives he had paved even this street in such a manner that he would not venture to use it himself.[1] It is now being excavated by Commendatore Boni.

All this valley was once quasi-stagnant marsh, or back-water of the Tiber, for in early times the river often overflowed the whole valley between the Palatine and the Capitoline hills, as far as the foot of the Quirinal. Ovid, in describing the processions of the games, speaks of the willows and rushes which once had covered the ground, and the marshy places which one could not pass over except with bare feet:—

> 'Hic, ubi nunc Fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas,
> Nil praeter salices cassaque canna fuit.
> Saepe suburbanas rediens conviva per undas
> Cantat, et ad nautas ebria verba jacit.

[1] 'Quis a signo Vertumni in Circum Maximum venit, quin is unoquoque gradu de avaritia tua commoneretur? quam tu viam tensarum atque pompae ejusmodi exegisti, ut tu ipse illa ire non audeas.'—*In Verrem*, i. 59.

Nondum conveniens diversis iste figuris
Nomen ab averso ceperat amne deus.
Hic quoque locus erat, juncis et arundine densus,
Et pede velato non adeunda palus.
Stagna recesserunt, et aquas sua ripa coërcet;
Siccaque nunc tellus; mos tamen ille manet.'
—*Fast.* vi. 405–414.

If we turn to Varro, we are even told the price which was paid for being ferried across the Velabrum in its marshy days; it was a *quadrans*, three times as much as one may pay for the boat at the Ripetta.[1] The creation of the Cloaca Maxima had done much toward draining, but some fragments of the marsh remained until a late period.

According to Varro, the name of Velabrum was derived from *vehere*, because of the boats which were employed to convey passengers from one hill to another.[2] Others derive the name from *vela*, also in reference to the mode of transit, or, according to another idea, in reference to the awnings which were stretched across the street to shelter the processions—though the name was in existence long before any processions were thought of. 'Etymology has barbed-wire fences. The same root is apparent in Velia. Here was, at any rate, the tomb of Acca Larentia, where, on December 23, used to be celebrated the Larentalia, in which the Pontifical College took part.

The waters of the Velabrum bore the cradle of Romulus and Remus from the Tiber, and deposited it under the fig-tree of the Lupercal.

On the left, leaving the Forum, is the round **Church of S. Teodoro.** The origin of this building is unknown, but it may have been a Baptistery. This church[3] formerly stood on a much higher level than the street, and it was so as late as 1534; its present relation to the street is evidence of the rapid rise of 'rubbish' in this part of Rome. The church used to be called the Temple of Romulus, on the slight ground that the famous bronze wolf, mentioned by Dionysius as existing in the Temple of Romulus, was said (erroneously) to have been found near this spot. Be they what they may, ancient remains here were dedicated as a Christian church by Adrian I. in the eighth century, and some entirely remade mosaics in the tribune were of that time. The vestibule is paved with pieces of porphyry found at the Marmorata. The high altar, till 1703, was supported by a Roman ara, on the rim of which was inscribed: 'On this marble of the Gentiles incense was offered to the gods.'

'It is curious to note in Rome how many a modern superstition has its root in an ancient one, and how tenaciously customs still cling to the old localities. On the Palatine hill the bronze she-wolf was once worshipped as the wooden Bambino is now. It stood in the Temple of Romulus, and there the ancient Romans used to carry children to be cured of their diseases by touching it. On the supposed site of the temple now stands the church dedicated to S. Teodoro, or Santo Toto, as he is called in Rome. Though names must have changed and the temple has vanished, and church after church has here

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[1] Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* v. 44. [2] Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* iv. 8.
[3] Commemorating in its name the Byzantine colony around the Palatine, as do the names of S. Anastasia, S. Giorgio, and S. Maria in Scuola Greca.

decayed and been rebuilt, the old superstition remains, and the common people at certain periods still bring their sick children to Santo Toto, that he may heal them with his touch.'—*Story's 'Roba di Roma.'* [1]

Farther on the left, still under the shadow of the Palatine Hill, stands the large and ancient **Church of S. Anastasia** (*Anastasis, i.e.* Resurrection), completely modernised in 1722 by Cardinal Dacunha.[2] The stemma on the handsome pediment bears the arms of Urban VIII. (Barberini). It contains, beneath the altar, a beautiful statue of the imaginary martyred saint reclining on a faggot. Its origin is unknown, but does not date behind the fifth century. It is the only church in the city bearing this dedication.

'Notwithstanding her beautiful Greek name, and her fame as one of the great saints of the Greek Calendar, S. Anastasia is represented as a noble Roman lady, who perished during the persecution of Diocletian. She was persecuted by her husband and family for openly professing the Christian faith, but being sustained by the eloquent exhortations of S. Chrysogonus, she passed triumphantly, receiving in due time the crown of martyrdom, being condemned to the flames. Chrysogonus was put to death with the sword and his body thrown into the sea.

'According to the best authorities, these two saints did not suffer in Rome, but in Illyria; yet in Rome we are assured that Anastasia, after her martyrdom, was buried by her friend Apollina in the garden of her house under the Palatine Hill and close to the Circus Maximus. There stood the church

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[1] 'There is no doubt that many of the amusements, still more many of the religious practices now popular in this capital, may be traced to sources in pagan antiquity. The game of *morra*, played with the fingers (the *micare digitis* of the ancients); the rural feasting before the chapel of the Madonna del Divino Amore on Whit Monday; the revelry and dancing *sub dio* for the whole night on the Vigil of S. John (a scene on the Lateran piazza, riotous, grotesque, and licentious); the divining by dreams to obtain numbers for the lottery; hanging *ex-voto* pictures in churches to commemorate escapes from danger or recovery from illness; the offering of jewels, watches, weapons, &c., to the Madonna; the adorning and dressing of sacred images, sometimes for particular days, throwing flowers on the Madonna's figure when borne in processions (as used to be honoured the image or stone of Cybele); burning lights before images on the highways; paying special honour to sacred pictures, under the notion of their having moved their eyes; or to others, under the idea of their supernatural origin—made without hands; wearing effigies or symbols as amulets (thus Sulla wore, and used to invoke, a little golden Apollo hung round his neck); suspending flowers to shrines and tombs; besides other uses, in themselves blameless and beautiful, nor, even if objectionable, to be regarded as the genuine reflex of what is dogmatically taught by the Church. This enduring shadow thrown by pagan over Christian Rome is, however, a remarkable feature in the story of that power whose eminence in ruling and influencing was so wonderfully sustained, nor destined to become extinct after empire had departed from the Seven Hills.'—*Hemans, 'Monuments of Rome.'*

[2] 'The plan (of eighteenth century "restoration") may be easily outlined. The columns of the nave were walled up, and concealed in thick pilasters of whitewashed masonry; the inscribed or sculptured marble slabs, and the cosmatesque pavements, were taken up and replaced by brick floors; the windows were enlarged out of all proportion. For the beautiful roof made of cedarwood, vaults or lacunaria were substituted. The simple but precious frescoes of the fourteenth century were whitewashed, and the fresh surface was covered with the insignificant productions of Francesco Cozza, Gerolamo Tuoppa, Giacinto Brandi, and other painters equally obscure. But the most surprising fact is that all these preparations could be accomplished, not only without opposition, but amid general applause; such was the perverted taste of the time.'—*Rod. Lanciani.*

dedicated in the fourth century, and there it now stands. It was one of the principal churches in Rome in the time of S. Jerome, who, according to ancient tradition, celebrated mass at one of the altars, which is still regarded with peculiar veneration.'—*Jameson*, '*Sacred and Legendary Art*.'

It was the custom for the mediaeval Popes to celebrate their second mass of Christmas night in this church, for which reason S. Anastasia is still especially commemorated in that mass. Plato (*vir illustris*), father of Pope John VII., 705–7, buried in this church, is described in his epitaph as having restored, at his own expense, the passage (*rampa*) leading into the ancient Palace of the Caesars beside S. Maria Antiqua.

To the left of the high altar is the tomb of the learned Cardinal Mai, by the sculptor *Benzoni*, who owed everything to the kind interest with which this cardinal regarded him from childhood. The epitaph is remarkable. It is thus translated by Cardinal Wiseman:—

'I, who my life in wakeful studies wore,
Bergamo's son, named Angelo, here lie.
The empyreal robe and crimson hat I bore,
Rome gave. Thou giv'st me, Christ, th' empyreal sky.
Awaiting Thee, long toil I could endure:
So with Thee be my rest now, sweet, secure.'

Below this church we may descend and enter ancient houses, which are of considerable interest as belonging to a street of doubtful character flanking the Circus Maximus.

The valley near this, between the Palatine and the Aventine, was originally called Vallis Murcia, from an altar to the Dea Murcia (Venus), the garden goddess of the early Romans, named from the myrtle trees which abounded here.[1] It became the site of the **Circus**[2] **Maximus**, the most extensive monument of Rome, of which almost the last vestiges were destroyed in the time of Paul V. Its ground-plan can, however, be identified. It was used chiefly for chariot-races, and is said to have been first instituted by Tarquinius Priscus in honour of Consus. It was a vast oblong of 730 yards, ending eastward in a hemicycle, and surrounded by three tiers of seats, termed collectively *cavea*. In the centre of the area ran a high platform called the *spina*, at each end of which stood the *metae* or goals, and in the centre the obelisk now in the Piazza del Popolo.[3] Between the metae were columns supporting the *ova*, egg-shaped balls, and *delphinae*, or dolphins, each seven in number, one of which was dropped for each lap made in the race. At the western extremity of the Circus were the stalls for the horses and chariots, called *carceres*. This end of the Circus was termed *oppidum*, from its external resemblance to a town with walls and towers. The charioteers offered sacrifice to Consus, that he might protect them in case of an upset; though the connection of beasts of burden with this ancient divinity is probably long anterior to the races. The *Ludi Circenses* were first established by Romulus, in order to attract his Sabine neighbours, *i.e.* that he

[1] Varro, *De. Ling. Lat.* v. 154; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xv. 29.
[2] *Cf.* Circus: *giri*, gyration.
[3] Under Constantius the obelisk, now at the Lateran, was also erected there.

might supply his city with wives (?). The games were generally at the expense of the aediles, and so great was their cost that Caesar was obliged to sell his Tiburtine villa to defray those given during his aedileship. Perhaps the most magnificent games witnessed here were those in the reign of Carinus (A.D. 283), when the Circus was transformed into an artificial forest, in which hundreds of wild beasts and birds were slaughtered. At one time this Circus was capable of containing 350,000 persons.

The factions of the Circus wore different colours and typified the four seasons; the cry of the common people was 'panem et circenses'—bread and games; and it will be the cry of common people to the end of the chapter. A course consisted of seven times round. Numerous inscriptions commemorate victorious charioteers. Classes were separated here, as in the Coliseum; its plan imitated that of the Greek Stadium. From its decorations, size, and significance to the people, it may be considered the most important building in the ancient world. It measured over two thousand feet in length, and six hundred in breadth. The Editor of the games or races presided, in a box over the *carceres*, or vaulted chambers, whence the start was made. Before the building of amphitheatres, the Circus, as well as the Forum, was used for the wild-beast shows, and other scenes. Races sometimes lasted from sunrise to sunset. The life of the Circus ended in the sixth century. 'A great part of its site is now made hideous with large gasworks, pouring forth volumes of black smoke' (Middleton, vol. ii. p. 54).

We must now retrace our steps for a short distance, and descend into the hollow, where rises the tower of S. Giorgio in Velabro.

Here an interesting group of buildings still marks the site of the meat-market, **Forum Boarium**. In its centre a brazen bull, by Myron, brought from Egina,[1] once commemorated the story of the cattle of Geryon, which Hercules left to pasture on this marshy site, and which were stolen hence by Cacus, and Ovid says gave a name to the locality:—

> 'Pontibus et magno juncta est celeberrima Circo
> Area, quae posito de bove nomen habet.'
> —*Fast.* vi. 478.

As a market for oxen it is mentioned by Livy.[2]

The Forum Boarium is associated with unpleasant events. After the battle of Cannae, a male and a female Greek and a male and a female Gaul were buried alive here; and here the first fight of gladiators took place, being introduced by M. and D. Brutus at the funeral of their father in 264 B.C. It was formerly believed that this was the place where the Vestal virgins buried the sacred utensils of their worship, at the spot called Doliola, when they fled from Rome after the battle of the Allia, but ancient writers show the spot to have been in the Forum, near the Comitium.

Amongst the buildings which existed, and still do exist, in the Forum Boarium were the circular temple of Dea Matuta and the

[1] Pliny, xxxiv. 2. [2] Livy, xxi. 92.

Ionic tetrastyle Temple of Fortune ascribed to Servius Tullius, which latter contained a wooden statue of that deity robed in a double toga of wool, which lasted from the founder's day to that of Tiberius.

> 'Hac ibi luce ferunt Matutae sacra parenti
> Sceptriferas Servi templa dedisse manus.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 479.

The service and ritual of this Temple of Matuta were singular to a degree. In them the goddess was chiefly venerated as the Presider over Child-birth, and therefore, by women. Varro says that the matrons admitted one female slave alone to the sacrifices; but having been just admitted, she was expelled with a slap on the face. This would seem to hark back to patrician and plebeian caste differences. The celebrants, moreover, were not allowed to take their own children thither; but only those of their sisters: and the statue of the benign divinity was then be-garlanded by a lady who must not have lost her husband. It is easy to imagine this little shrine of an early summer morning, serene in its girdle of white fluted columns, closely resembling the Aedes Vestae of the Forum, with all its fair worshippers, who, by the way, were clad, because of the June festival, in their least weighty raiment. Some looked like mere moving bundles of clean white folds; but others came slowly, graceful and majestic—walking as really beautiful Romans are still wont to do—on whom the goddess herself would seem to smile. We see them draped in the 'stola,' which fell from its gold border round the olive neck, to reappear in manifold close soft lines below the proudly-folded 'palla,' happily troubled only by the gentle rhythmic movements of the neatly-sandalled feet—as taking their turn, one after another, they mount the yet whiter worn steps to enter the circular portico; while others with their children are leaving it, perhaps with smiles. The more seriously-minded young mothers, many of them, have been there still earlier, and have left. Possibly, as the sun mounts up a little more radiantly, a few other interesting faces are seen looking on from the precincts of Ceres and the Corn Exchange, not a little enjoying the happy picture!

The building which most, but least worthily, attracts attention among those now standing, is the **Arch of Janus**, a late third-century construction. It displays four equal sides, with arches opening to four points of the compass, and forty-eight niches, intended for the reception of statues. It thus stood at the intersection of two streets. It was probably used as a portico for shelter or business for those who trafficked in the forum. It formed the (west) limit of the Frangipani stronghold. Sixtus V. ordered Domenico Fontana, in 1588, to destroy the arch, and to use its marbles for the pedestal of the Lateran obelisk, but Fontana fortunately feared the wrath of the Roman people, or their not yet defunct pride!

On the left of the Arch of Janus is a narrow alley, spanned by low brick arches, which leads first to the beautiful clear spring of the Aqua Argentina. The alley is closed, however, by an arch of the celebrated **Cloaca Maxima**, the drain said to have been formed

by Tarquinius Priscus, fifth king of Rome, to dry the marshy land of the Velabrum.

The Cloaca—'receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis'—extended from the Forum to the Tiber, and was until 1902, after 2400 years, used, during the latter part of its course, for the purpose for which it was originally intended, though Pliny was filled with wonder that in his time it had already withstood the earthquakes, inundations, and accidents of seven hundred years. Strabo tells that the tunnel of the Cloaca was of sufficient height to admit a waggon laden with hay. Agrippa, a municipal master-surgeon, who cleaned out the Cloaca and repaired it, navigated its whole length in a boat. Twenty-five centuries old, it still answers its purpose perfectly. The mouth of the Cloaca, composed of three concentric courses of blocks of *peperino*, without cement, was till recently visible on the river a little to the right of the Temple of Dea Matuta, and, united with the little temple and an adjoining garden, formed a point in a picturesque scene of exquisite beauty. Now only a hole in the contemptible masonry which lines the river indicates the mouth of the Cloaca, close to the modern bridge. Its contents, however, have been lately diverted into a finely-constructed 'collector,' which has its exit far outside the town, as near as possible to S. Paolo.

The church with the picturesque little twelfth-century campanile near the Arch of Janus is **S. Giorgio in Velabro**, founded probably early in the fifth century, and restored in 683. The architrave above its portico was that whereon Rienzi affixed his pitiful inscription, announcing the return to the Good Estate: '*In breve tempo li Romani torneranno al loro antico buono stato.*' The church is seldom open, except on its festival (Jan. 20), and during its station in Lent, but the custodian is amenable enough. The deplorable interior observes the basilica form, the nave being divided from the aisles by sixteen columns, of various sizes, with different capitals, showing their provenance from ancient temples. The carving on some is sharp and delicate. Among the inscriptions at the extremity of the left aisle is a runic one. There is rather a handsome baldacchino, with an old Greek picture let into its front, over the high altar. Beneath is preserved a fragment of the banner of S. George. Some injured frescoes in the apside replace others by Pietro Cavallini, which once existed here, and were attributed, like the present ones, to Giotto. In the centre is the Saviour, between the Virgin and S. Peter; on one side, S. George, with the martyr's palm and the warrior's banner—on the other, S. Sebastian, with an arrow. The pictures are poor and ugly which relate to the patron-saint of the church, S. George (of England), the knight of Cappadocia, who delivered the Princess Cleodolinda from the dragon. Cardinal Newman was titular of this Basilica.

'Among good specimens of thirteenth-century architecture is the portico of S. Giorgio, with Ionic columns and horizontal architrave, on which is a gothic inscription, in quaint Leonine verse, informing us that the Cardinal (or Prior) Stephen added this detail (probably the campanile also) to the

ancient church—about the beginning of the thirteenth century, as is supposed, though no date is given here; and in the midst of an age so alien to classic influences, a work in which classic feeling thus predominates is remarkable.'—*Hemans*, '*Sacred Art.*'

Partly hidden by the portico of this church is the gateway or **Arch of Septimius Severus**—*Arcus Argentarius*—erected A.D. 204 to the Emperor, his wife Julia Domna, and his sons Caracalla and Geta, by the silversmiths (argentarii) who had their shops in the Forum Boarium on this spot ('cujus loci qui invehent'). The part of the dedication relating to Geta (as in the larger arch of Septimius) was obliterated after his murder, and the words FORTISSIMO FELICISSIMOQUE PRINCIPI engraved in its place. The architecture and sculpture, part of which represents a sacrifice by the imperial family, prove the decadence of art at this period. This arch formed an entrance from the Vicus Jugarius into the Forum Boarium.

Proceeding in a direct line to the river from the Arch of Janus, we approach the **Church of S. Maria in Cosmedin**, on the site of a Statio Annonae, or Corn-exchange, and adjoining the Temple of Ceres, dedicated by the consul Spurius Cassius, 473 B.C., and afterwards re-dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine, probably by Augustus, who had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries while in Greece. The church was built in the basilica form under Theodoric or Athalaric within the ruins of the Corn Exchange. It was greatly enlarged in A.D. 782 by Adrian I., who used many spoils of the ancient temple in its decoration, when the name Cosmedin, from the Greek κόσμος, is supposed to have been given it in memory of a church of the same name at Byzantium. It was intended for the service of the Greek exiles expelled from the East by the iconoclasts under Constantine Copronimos, and owed the epithet of S. Maria in Scuola Greca to a 'Schola' (or hall) attached to it for their benefit. Another evidence of the Greek colony which existed here is to be found in the name of the adjoining street, Via della Greca. In the Middle Ages the whole bank of the river near this was called Ripa Greca. The church was greatly adorned and improved by Calixtus II. (1109–24). Cardinal Francesco Gaetani, nephew of Boniface VIII. (1294–1303), repaired it in what is now called 'the Cosmatesque style.' Annibale Albani, nephew of Clement XI., did much to modernise it in 1715–19, and it was further injured in 1758. During the last few years a Committee of the Society of Roman Archæologists under Prof. Giovenale undertook its restoration to the mediaeval (or Cosmatesque) style, using and replacing all the fragments of the ancient chancel-screens, ambones, &c., scattered by Cardinal Albani. The work has been done with the utmost taste and care. The removal of whitewash has revealed many precious remains of fresco on the walls; the presbyterium, chancel, and ciborium are replaced; the crypt has been reopened, the windows and façade restored to their thirteenth-century state, and the result has been to make this one of the most beautiful and interesting churches in the city. The belfry of S. Maria in Cosmedin is one of the finest of thirteenth-century Rome.

The restful and delightful interior of the church has been described as 'an architectural and historical palimpsest.' The nave is divided from the aisles by twelve ancient marble columns, of which two have especially curious antique capitals, and are evidently remains of the adjoining temple. The choir is raised, as at S. Clemente. The pavement, the joint offering of many parishioners, is of *opus cosmatescum* (1120); the ambones are perfect; there is a crypt; the altar covers an ancient basin of red granite, and is shaded by a gothic canopy, supported by four Egyptian granite columns; behind it is an episcopal throne, with lions—said to have been used by S. Augustine—an ancient Greek picture of the Virgin, and a graceful tabernacle of marble inlaid with mosaic by *Deodato Cosmati*, who was also the sculptor of the paschal candlestick. In the sacristy is a quaint mosaic—an Adoration of the Magi—one of the few relics preserved from the old S. Peter's, A.D. 705. (There is another in S. Marco at Florence.) Crescimbeni, the historian and founder of the Arcadian Academy (ob. 1728), is buried in this church, of which he was canon. On S. Valentine's day the skull of S. Valentine is exhibited here crowned with roses.

In the portico is the strange mask of stone—the supposed scarecrow of the very few Roman children who show an inclination to lie—a marble disk five feet in diameter, probably once the mouth of a drain for surface-water, carved with a face, which gives the name of **Bocca della Verità** to the neighbouring piazza. It was believed that if a witness, whose truthfulness was doubted, placed his hand in the mouth of this mask, it would bite him if he were guilty of perjury. An incredulous person once put in his hand, and drew it back very quickly: a scorpion had stung him!

'Cette Bouche-de-Vérité est une curieuse relique du moyen âge. Elle servait aux jugements de Dieu. Figurez-vous une meule de moulin qui ressemble, non pas à un visage humain, mais au visage de la lune; on y distingue des yeux, un nez et une bouche ouverte où l'accusé mettait la main pour prêter serment. Cette bouche mordait les menteurs; au moins la tradition l'assure. J'y ai introduit ma dextre en disant que le Ghetto était un lieu de délices, et je n'ai pas été mordu.'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine.*'

On the other side of the portico is the tomb of Cardinal Alfani, ob. 1150.

'The church was rebuilt under Calixtus II., about 1128 A.D., by Alfanus, Roman Chancellor, whose marble sepulchre stands in the atrium, with his epitaph along a cornice, giving him that most comprehensive title, "an honest man," *vir probus*. Some more than half-faded paintings, a Madonna and Child, angels, and two mitred heads, on the wall behind the canopy give importance to this Chancellor's tomb. Though now disfigured exteriorly by a modern façade in the worst style, interiorly by a waggon-vault roof and heavy pilasters, this church is still one of the mediaeval gems of Rome, and retains many olden details: the classic colonnades, probably left in their original place since the time of Adrian I.; and the fine campanile, one of the loftiest in Rome; also the sculptured doorway, the rich intarsio pavement, the high altar, the marble and mosaic-inlaid ambones, the marble episcopal throne, with supporting lions and mosaic decoration above, &c.—all of the twelfth century. But we have to regret the destruction of the ancient choir-screens, and (still more inexcusable) the whitewashing of wall surfaces so as to entirely conceal the mediaeval paintings which adorned them, conformably to that once almost universal practice of polychrome decorations in churches prescribed even by law under Charlemagne. Ciampini (see his

valuable history of this basilica) mentions the iron rods for curtains between the columns of the atrium, and those, still in their place, in the porch, with rings for suspending; also a small chapel with paintings, at one end of the atrium, designed for those penitents who were not allowed to worship within the sacred building—as such, an evidence of disciplinary observance, retained till the twelfth century. Over the portal are some tiny bas-reliefs, so placed along the inner side of the lintel that many might pass underneath without seeing them: in the centre, a hand blessing, with the Greek action, between two sheep, laterally; the four evangelistic emblems, and two doves, each pecking out of a vase, and one perched upon a dragon (more like a lizard), to signify the victory of the purified soul over mundane temptations.'—*Hemans*, '*Christian Art*.'

The restorations have not only brought to light more valuable remains of the temple than were expected, but, behind the church, those of a hall of the fourth century which had an open colonnade on three sides, and belonged to the *Statio Annonae*—one of the *Loggie dei Mercanti* of ancient Rome; also the original *Diaconia*, believed to be contemporary with the reigns of Theodoric and Athalaric.

In a line with the church, under the nearest corner of Via dei Cerchi, the remains of the Ara Maxima Herculis (the oldest altar in Rome) were discovered during the reign of Sixtus IV., but have been totally destroyed.

Close to the church stood the palace of Pope Gelasius II. (1118).

Opposite the church is an exquisitely proportioned fountain, erected by Clement XI. (G. F. Albani), *c.* 1718, from designs of Carlo Bizzaccheri (now scraped and modernised), and beyond it the graceful round temple which has so long been familiarly called the **Temple of Vesta**, but rightly supposed by Canina to have been that of **Mater Matuta**, Goddess of Dawn (see *ante*). The temple was rebuilt by Camillus after the fall of Veii, but the existing edifice probably dates from the second century. It is very small, the circumference of the peristyle being only 156 feet, and that of the cella 26 feet—the height of the surrounding Corinthian columns (originally twenty in number) 32 feet. This temple was first dedicated as a church under the name of S. Stefano delle Carrozze; it now bears the name of **S. Maria del Sole**. The overhanging tiled roof replaces an entablature like that on the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli, and a marble-tiled cupola. The temple rests on the old republican base, or podium.

This, therefore, is not the Temple of Vesta (which was situated in the Forum) of which Horace wrote:—

> 'Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
> Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
> Ire dejectum monumenta regis
> Templaque Vestae.'—*Carm.* i. 2.

'C'est auprès de la Bouche-de-Vérité, devant le petit temple de Vesta, que la justice romaine exécute un meurtrier sur cent. Quand j'arrivai sur la place, on n'y guillotinait personne; mais six cuisinières, dont une aussi belle que Junon, dansaient la tarantelle au son d'un tambour de basque. Malheureusement elles divinèrent ma qualité d'étranger, et elles se mirent à polker contre la mesure.'—*About*.

This spot, perhaps the most beautiful in Rome in the sixties, has been more ruthlessly dealt with than almost any other. A

new road lined with the popular false rockwork leads past the temple to a hideous bridge, and beyond the river rise card-board box-like buildings—utterly abominable. The prospects, where every turn was formerly a poem and picture, backed by huge gas-works and lined by modern quays, are now revolting.

Close to this—and overhanging what was till recently a little hollow lane—stands the grey little **Temple of Fortuna**, commonly called **Fortuna Virilis**, built originally by Servius Tullius, but rebuilt during the republic; and if the existing building is really republican, it is the most perfect pre-Augustan temple remaining in Rome. It stands on a stylobate of travertine, surrounded by Ionic pilasters in the style of construction which Vitruvius stigmatises under the name of pseudo-peripteral, but with a pro-style portico with engaged columns along the sides, 28 feet high, coated once with hard stucco, and supporting a fragmentary entablature adorned with figures of children, oxen, candelabra, &c. When freed from the squalid houses and mediaeval additions which partly still surround it, this little temple will prove to be most attractive. The Roman matrons had a great regard for this goddess, who was supposed to have the power of concealing any personal imperfections from the eyes of men. At the close of the tenth century this temple was consecrated to the Virgin, but has since been bestowed upon **S. Mary of Egypt**. Its intercolumniations were walled up in 872, when it was first converted into a church.

Hard by, facing it, stands a picturesque house, laden with rich but incongruous sculpture, at one time called 'The House of Pilate,'[1] but now wrongly known as the **House of Rienzi**. Chiefly built with fragments of early buildings and bas-reliefs, it is a curious example of a mediaeval appreciation of antiquities and an individual desire to preserve them. It derives its name from a long inscription over a doorway, which was fancied to correspond with the bombastic epithets assumed by 'The Last of the Tribunes' in his pompous letter of August 1, 1347, when, in his semi-insanity, he summoned Kings and Emperors to appear before his judgment-seat. The inscription closes:—

> 'Primus de primis magnus Nicolaus ab imis
> Erexit patrum decus ob renovare suorum.
> Stat patris Crescens matrisque Theodora nomen.
> Hoc culmen clarum caro de pignore gessit,
> Davidi tribuit que pater exhibuit.'

It is believed, from the inscription, that the house was fortified by Nicola, son of Crescentius and Theodora, who gave it to David, his son; and that the Crescentius alluded to was son of the famous patrician who headed the populace against the Emperor, Otho III.[2] It is, however, known that Rienzi was not born in (neither did he

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[1] It was thus named and used in the passion-plays enacted in this quarter. The Locanda della Giaffa in the Via della Bocca della Verità recalls the 'House of Caiaphas.'

[2] The tomb of Crescenzio is at S. Alessio; that of his brother Landolfo at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.

adorn) this house, but in a narrow street between S. Tommaso and the river, in the Rione alla Regola, where his father, Lorenzo Gabrini, kept an inn, and his mother, Maddalena, gained her bread as a washer-woman and watercarrier. Near the back of this house was the ancient river-gate in the Servian-wall (which descended from the Capitol to the river) called Porta Flumentana.[1]

Here is the approach, by an ugly modern suspension-bridge, to the only remnant of the **Ponte Rotto.** On this site was the Pons Aemilius, begun 180 B.C. by M. Aemilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, finished by P. Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius, the censors, in B.C. 142. It was sometimes called the Pons Lapideus, as being then the only stone bridge in Rome.[2] From it the martyr brothers Simplicius and Faustinus were thrown into the Tiber under Diocletian. Hence also was thrown into the river the body of the Emperor Heliogabalus. The bridge has been three times rebuilt by different Popes, but two of its arches were finally carried away in an inundation of 1598. The recent remains, which only dated from the time of Julius III., on which the two districts of the Monti and Trastevere long held their turbulent meetings, were highly picturesque, and were painted by every artist in Rome: they were wantonly destroyed—with the exception of a single arch—in 1887. They had been repaired with blocks from the Coliseum in 1557.

This bridge commanded exquisite views of the Isola Tiberina and its bridges, and from it, also, the so-called Temple of Vesta was seen to great advantage, with the ancient quay of the Tiber—the καλὴ ἀκτή of Plutarch. Both these beautiful views have been utterly ruined. Artists may now (1903) also regret the loss of the old custom-house and tobacco factory on the quay opposite the Marmorata, just below.

Just beyond the Cloaca Maxima, on the left bank, the mouth of the **Cloaca of the Circus Maximus** can be seen. Its course has been traced through the valley between the Palatine and Coelian, and it excels the Cloaca Maxima in perfection of masonry.

Part of the ancient road, paven with selce, or lava, which led to the Pons Aemilius, may be seen near the house of Crescentius. In the river near this the favourite fish *lupa* used to be caught abundantly in ancient times, *inter duos pontes.*

In the bed of the river a little lower down, near the Marmorata, until they were wantonly blown up in 1877, might be seen at low water some massive fragments of masonry, remains, it was then believed, of the **Pons Sublicius**, the earliest bridge in Rome,[3] built by Ancus Martius (639 B.C.), on which Horatius Cocles and his two companions 'kept the bridge' against the Etruscan army of Lars Porsena, till—

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[1] Cicero, *Ad Att.* vii. 3; Livy, xxxv. 19, 21.
[2] Plut. *Num.* 9.
[3] Archaeologists to-day think that the remains may, with more likelihood, be those of a bridge built by the Emperor Probus, *c.* 288 A.D.

'Back darted Spurius Lartius;
  Herminius darted back:
And, as they passed, beneath their feet
  They felt the timbers crack.
But when they turned their faces,
  And on the farther shore
Saw brave Horatius stand alone,
  They would have crossed once more.

But with a crash like thunder
  Fell every loosened beam,
And, like a dam, the mighty wreck
  Lay right athwart the stream:
And a long shout of triumph
  Rose from the walls of Rome,
As to the highest turret-tops
  Was splashed the yellow foam.'—*Macaulay's 'Lays.'*

That bridge owed the name 'Sublicius' to the wooden beams used in its construction, which enabled the Romans to cut it away. It was rebuilt by Tiberius, and again by Antoninus Pius, each time of beams, but resting upon stone piers, of which the recent remains may have been fragments, the rest having been destroyed by an inundation in the time of Adrian I. (800).

On the Trastevere (or further) bank, between these two bridges, half hidden in shrubs and ivy (but worth examination in a boat), were two gigantic *Heads of Lions*, to which in ancient times chains were fastened, and drawn across the river to prevent hostile vessels from passing. The lions have been replaced in the modern masonry, but are stripped of all their former charm and dignity.

Near the before-described house of Crescenzio we enter the **Via S. Giovanni Decollato**, decorated with numerous heads of John the Baptist in the charger, let into the walls over the doors of the houses. The 'Confraternità della Misericordia di S. Giovanni Decollato,' founded in 1488, devoted themselves to criminals condemned to death. They visited them in prison, accompanied them to execution, received their bodies, and offered masses for their souls in their little chapel. Michelangelo was a member of this Confraternità. Vasari gives the highest praise to two pictures of Francesco Salviati in the church of S. Giovanni Decollato, 'before which all Rome stood still in admiration,'—representing the appearance of the angel to Zacharias, and the meeting of the Virgin and Elizabeth.

On the left is the **Hospital of S. Galla**, commemorating the pious foundation by a Roman matron in the time of John I. (523–526), who attained such celebrity that she is still commemorated in the Roman mass by the prayer—

'Almighty and merciful God, who didst adorn the blessed Galla with the virtue of a wonderful love towards Thy poor; grant us, through her merits and prayers, to practise works of love, and to obtain Thy mercy, through the Lord, &c. Amen.'

On, or very near this site, stood the **Porta Carmentalis**, which, with the temple beside it, commemorated Carmenta, the supposed mother of Evander, a Sabine prophetess, who is made by Ovid to

predict the future grandeur of Rome.[1] Carmenta was especially invoked by women in childbirth. All leather objects were rigidly excluded from her temple. The Porta Carmentalis[2] was reached from the Forum by the Vicus Jugarius. It was by this route that the Fabii went forth to meet their doom in the valley of the Cremera, by Veii. The Porta had two gates—one for those who entered, the other for those who left it, so that in each case the passenger passed through the 'Janus,' as it was called, upon his right. After the massacre of the Fabii, the road by which they left the city was avoided, and the Janus Carmentalis on the right was closed, and called Porta Scelerata.

> 'Carmentis portae dextro est via proxima Jano,
> Ire per hanc noli, quisquis es; omen habet.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 201.

We now reach (left recessed) the **Church of S. Nicolo in Carcere**, with nave and aisles of nine bays with cipollino and granite columns. It has a mean façade, with an inscription in honour of one of the Aldobrandini family, and is only interesting as occupying the site of the three **Temples of Juno Sospita, Spes,** and another, perhaps of **Apollo Medicus,**[3] which are believed to mark the site of the Forum Olitorium, or vegetable market. The vaults beneath the church contain the massive substructions of these temples and fragments of their columns. They can be entered from the rear of the church on paying a trifle to the custodian.

The **central temple** is believed by some to be that of **Piety,** built by M. Acilius Glabrio, the duumvir, in 165 B.C. (though Pliny says that this temple was pulled down in order to make way for the theatre of Marcellus), in fulfilment of a vow made by his father, a consul of the same name, on the day of his defeating the forces of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, at Thermopylae. Others endeavour to identify it with the temple built on the site of the Decemviral prisons, to keep up the recollection of the story, called the 'Caritas Romana'—of a woman condemned to die of hunger in prison being nourished by the milk of her own daughter. Pliny and Valerius Maximus tell the story as of a mother; Festus speaks of a father.[4] Art and poetry have always followed the latter legend. A cell is, of course, shown, by torchlight, as the scene of this touching incident.

> 'There is a dungeon, in whose dim drear light
> What do I gaze on? Nothing. Look again!
> Two forms are slowly shadowed on my sight—
> Two insulated phantoms of the brain:
> It is not so; I see them full and plain—
> An old man, and a female young and fair,
> Fresh as a nursing mother, in whose vein
> The blood is nectar—but what doth she there,
> With her unmantled neck and bosom white and bare?

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[1] *Fasti*, i. 515.
[2] Carmen signifies a spell as well as a chant or song.
[3] See Livy, xl. 51, where this temple is mentioned as '*post Spei ad Tiberim.*' See Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, and C. Huelsen, *Forma Urbis.*
[4] Plin. *H. N.* vii. 36; Val. Max. v. 4-7; Festus, p. 609.

But here youth offers to old age the food,
The milk of his own gift :—it is her sire,
To whom she renders back the debt of blood
Born with her birth. No, he shall not expire
While in those warm and lovely veins the fire
Of health and holy feeling can provide
Great Nature's Nile, whose deep stream rises higher
Than Egypt's river ; from that gentle side
Drink, drink, and live, old man! Heaven's realm holds no such tide.

The starry fable of the milky way
Has not thy story's purity ; it is
A constellation of a sweeter ray,
And sacred Nature triumphs more in this
Reverse of her decree than in the abyss
Where sparkle distant worlds :—Oh, holiest nurse!
No drop of that clear stream its way shall miss
To thy sire's heart, replenishing its source
With life, as our freed souls rejoin the universe.'

—*Childe Harold.*

A memorial of a prison, but not necessarily of this story, is preserved in the name of the church—S. Nicolo in Carcere. It is quite possible that the temples were utilised as prisons in Byzantine days (A.D. 550). The pedestal of a statue was found in the tiny piazza in front of the church in 1808, and is conjectured to have been that of the equestrian statue of M. Acilius Glabrio mentioned by Livy.

A wide opening out of the street near this, with a pretty fountain, is called the **Piazza Montanara**, and is one of the places where country people collect and wait for hire. The adjacent Theatre of Marcellus increases its attractions for the artist.

'Le dimanche est le jour où les paysans arrivent à Rome. Ceux qui cherchent l'emploi de leurs bras viennent se louer aux marchands de campagne, c'est-à-dire aux fermiers. Ceux qui sont loués et qui travaillent hors de murs viennent faire leurs affaires et renouveler leurs provisions. Ils entrent en ville au petit jour, après avoir marché une bonne partie de la nuit. Chaque famille amène un âne, qui porte le bagage. Hommes, femmes, et enfants, poussant leur âne devant eux, s'établissent dans un coin de la place Farnèse, ou de la place Montanara. Les boutiques voisines restent ouvertes jusqu'à midi, par un privilège spécial. On va, on vient, on achète, on s'accroupit dans les coins pour compter les pièces de cuivre. Cependant les ânes se reposent sur leurs quatre pieds au bord des fontaines. Les femmes, vêtues d'un corset en cuirasse, d'un tablier rouge, et d'une veste rayée, encadrent leur figure hâlée dans une draperie de linge très blanc. Elles sont toutes à peindre sans exception ; quand ce n'est pas pour la beauté de leurs traits, c'est pour élégance naïve de leurs attitudes. Les hommes ont le long manteau bleu de ciel et le chapeau pointu ; là-dessous leurs habits de travail font merveille, quoique roussis par le temps et couleur de perdrix. Le costume n'est pas uniforme ; on voit plus d'un manteau amadou rapiécé de bleu vif ou de rouge garance. Le chapeau de paille abonde en été. La chaussure est très capricieuse ; soulier, botte et sandale foulent successivement le pavé. Les déchaussés trouvent ici près de grandes et profondes boutiques où l'on vend des marchandises d'occasion. Il y a des souliers de tout cuir et de tout âge dans ces trésors de la chaussure ; on y trouverait des cothurnes de l'an 500 de la république en cherchant bien. Je viens de voir un pauvre diable qui essayait une paire de bottes à revers. Elles vont à ses jambes comme une plume à l'oreille d'un porc, et c'est plaisir de voir la grimace qu'il fait chaque fois qu'il pose le pied à terre. Mais le marchand le fortifie par de bonnes paroles ; "Ne crains rien," lui dit-il, "tu souffriras pendant cinq ou six jours, et puis tu n'y penseras plus." Un autre marchand

débite des clous à la livre ; le chaland les enfonce lui-même dans ses semelles ; il y a des bancs *ad hoc*. Le long des murs, cinq ou six chaises de paille servent de boutique à autant de barbiers en plein vent. Il en coûte un sou pour abattre un barbe de huit jours. Le patient, barbouillé de savon, regarde le ciel d'un œil résigné ; le barbier lui tire le nez, lui met les doigts dans la bouche, s'interrompt pour aiguiser le rasoir sur un cuir attaché au dossier de la chaise, ou pour écorner une galette noire qui pend au mur. Cependant l'opération est faite en un tour de main ; le rasé se lève et sa place est prise. Il pourrait aller se laver à la fontaine, mais il trouve plus simple de s'essuyer du revers de sa manche.

'Les écrivains publics alternent avec les barbiers. On leur apporte les lettres qu'on a reçues ; ils les lisent et font la réponse : total, trois sous. Dès qu'un paysan s'approche de la table pour dicter quelque chose, cinq ou six curieux se réunissent officieusement autour de lui pour mieux entendre. Il y a une certaine bonhomie dans cette indiscrétion. Chacun place son mot, chacun donne un conseil : "Tu devrais dire ceci."—"Non ; dis plutôt cela." —"Laissez-la parler," crie un troisième, "il sait mieux que vous ce qu'il veut faire écrire."'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine*.'

Under a little inn—Albergo della Catena—remains of a **Temple of Apollo** (?) have been discovered.

An opening on the left discloses the bold curve of the blackened **Theatre of Marcellus.** This noble edifice was projected by Julius Caesar, but he probably made little progress with it. It was actually erected by Augustus (possibly on the site of an earlier Theatre of Metellus, 149 B.C.), and dedicated (*c.* 13 B.C.) in memory of the young nephew (son of his sister Octavia) whom he married to his daughter Julia, and intended as his successor, but who was cut off by an early death. Suffering in the fire of Titus, it was rebuilt by Domitian. The theatre was capable of containing 15,000 (?) spectators, and consisted of three tiers of arcading ; but the uppermost has disappeared, while the lower is very imperfect. Still it is a grand remnant, and rises magnificently above the squalid houses which surround it. The proportions of its Doric and Ionic columns served as models to Palladio. It can now be inspected on payment of 1 lira, having been declared a national monument. [Entrance in Via Teatro.]

From the twelfth to fourteenth century this theatre remained the fortress of the family of Pierleoni, the rivals of the Frangipani, who occupied the Palatine ; their name is commemorated by the neighbouring street, Pia Porta Leone.[1] The constant warfare in which they were engaged with their neighbours did much to destroy the building, whose interior became reduced to a mass of ruins, forming a mound, upon which Baldassare Peruzzi (1526) built the **Palazzo Savelli**, of which the entrance, flanked by the two armorial bears of the family, may be seen in the street (Via Savelli) which, still populated with Hebrews, leads to the **Ponte Quattro Capi.**

[1] The Pierleoni were of immediate Jewish extraction, their ancestors having embraced the Christian faith under Benedict IX. This Pope died in 1128, and his sarcophagus still remains in the cloister of S. Paolo, inscribed, "May Peter and Paul, to whom you were so faithful, protect you, Peter, son of Leo, and welcome your soul into the glory of heaven." The grandson of this convert became the anti-Pope Anacletus II. The inscription and bust of the last of the family, Lucrezia, exist in the Church of S. Maria della Consolazione.

'Au dix-septième siècle, les Savielli exerçaient encore une jurisdiction féodale. Leur tribunal, aussi régulièrement constitué que pas un, s'appelait Corte Savella.[1] Ils avaient le droit d'arracher tous les ans un criminel à la peine de mort: droit de grâce, droit régalien reconnu par la monarchie absolue des papes. Les femmes de cette illustre famille ne sortaient point de leurs palais sinon dans un carrosse bien fermé. Les Orsini et les Colonna se vantaient que, pendant les siècles, aucun traité de paix n'avait été conclu entre les princes chrétiens, dans lequel ils n'eussent été nominativement compris.'—*About.*

The palace afterwards passed from the Savelli to the family of Orsini-Gravina, who descend from a senator of A.D. 1200. The princes Orsini and Colonna, in their quality as attendants on the Papal throne (*principi assistenti al soglio*), take precedence of all other Roman nobles. But the Pierleoni-Savelli-Orsini palace has again (1903) changed hands.

'Nicolovius will remember the theatre of Marcellus, in which the Savelli family built a palace. My house is half of it. It has stood empty for a considerable time, because the drive into the courtyard (the interior of the ancient theatre) rises like the slope of a mountain upon the heaps of rubbish; although the road has been cut in a zig-zag, it is still a break-neck affair. There is another entrance from the Piazza Montanara, whence a flight of seventy-three steps leads up to the same storey I have mentioned; the entrance-hall of which is on a level with the top of the carriage-way through the courtyard. The apartments in which we shall live are those over the colonnade of Ionic pillars, forming the third storey of the ancient theatre, and some, on a level with them, which have been built out like wings on the rubbish of the ruins. These enclose a little quadrangular garden, which is indeed very small, only about eighty or ninety feet long, and scarcely so broad, but so delightful! It contains three fountains—an abundance of flowers: there are orange-trees on the wall between the windows, and jessamine under them. We mean to plant a vine besides. From this storey, you ascend forty steps, or more, higher, where I mean to have my own study, and there are most cheerful little rooms, from which you have a prospect of the whole country beyond the Tiber, Monte Mario and S. Peter's, and can see over S. Pietro in Montorio, indeed almost as far as the Aventine. It would, I think, be possible besides to erect a loggia upon the roof (for which I shall save money from other things), that we may have a view over the Capitol, Forum, Palatine, Coliseum, and all the inhabited parts of the city.'—*Niebuhr's Letters.*

Following the wall of the theatre down a narrow street, formerly lined with marble slabs for the fish-market, we arrive at the picturesque group of ruins of the Porticus Octaviae, erected by Augustus in honour of his sister (the unhappy wife of Antony), close to the theatre to which he had given the name of her son.[2] The exact form of the building is known from the Pianta Capitolina as a parallelogram, surrounded by a double arcade of 270 columns, enclosing in its ample area temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina, built by the Greek architects, Batrachos and Sauros.[3]

With regard to these temples, Pliny narrates a fact which reminds one of the story of the Madonna of S. Maria Nuova.[4] The porters

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[1] Beatrice and Lucrezia Cenci were imprisoned in the Corte Savella, and led thence to execution.

[2] Suet. *Aug.* 29; Ovid, *Art.* i. 69 and iii. 391.

[3] See the account of the Basilica of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.

[4] See Chap. IV., and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 4.

having carelessly carried the statues of the gods to the wrong temples, it was imagined that they had done so from divine inspiration. The people would not venture to remove them, so that the statues always remained in the wrong temples, though their accessories were utterly unsuitable.

The **Porticus of Octavia**, built by Augustus, occupied part of the site of the Porticus Metelli, built by A. Caecilius Metellus, after his triumph over Andriscus in Macedonia, in 146 B.C. Temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno existed also in this earlier porticus, one of them being the first temple built of marble in Rome. Before these temples Metellus placed the famous group of twenty-five bronze statues, which he had brought from Greece, executed by Lysippus for Alexander the great, representing that conqueror himself and twenty-four officers of his troop who had fallen at the Granicus.

The existing fragment of the porticus is the entrance. The building had suffered from the great fire in the reign of Titus, and was restored, probably after another fire, by Septimius Severus, and of this later time is the large brick arch on one side of the ruin. Much of the remains, however, relates to a fifth-century restoration.

'It was in this Porticus of Octavia that Titus and Vespasian celebrated their triumph over Israel with festive pomp and splendour. Among the Jewish spectators stood the historian Flavius Josephus, who was one of the followers and flatterers of Titus . . . and to this base Jewish courtier we owe a description of the triumph.'—*Gregorovius, 'Wanderjahre in Italien.'*

Within the porticus stands the **Church of S. Angelo in Pescheria** (entered from the street behind). Here Cola Rienzi at midnight—May 20, 1347—summoned all good citizens to a meeting for the re-establishment of 'the Good Estate'; here he kept the vigil of the Holy Ghost; and hence he went forth, bareheaded, accompanied by the papal legate, and attended by a vast multitude, to the Capitol, where he called upon the populace to ratify the Good Estate.

It is said that one of the causes which most incited the indignation of Rienzi against the assumption and pride of the Roman families was the fact of their painting their arms on the ancient Roman buildings, and thus appropriating them to their own glory. Remains of coats of arms thus painted may be seen on the front wall of the Portico of Octavia. On the wall of one of the towers of the Capitol he caused the figure of Giordano Orsini to be painted upside down. It was also on this very wall that Rienzi painted one of his allegorical pictures. In this painting kings and men of the people were seen burning in a furnace, with a woman half-consumed, who personified Rome—and on the right was a church, whence issued a white-robed angel, bearing in one hand a naked sword, while with the other he plucked the woman from the flames. On the church tower were SS. Peter and Paul, crying to the angel, 'Aquilò, aquilo, succurri a l' albergatrice nostra'—and beyond this were represented falcons (typical of the Roman barons) falling from heaven into the flames, and a white dove bearing a wreath of olive, which it gave to a little bird (Rienzi), which was chased by the

falcons (Orsini and Colonna). Beneath was inscribed, 'I see the time of great justice; do thou await that time.'

> 'Then turn we to her latest tribune's name,
> From her ten thousand tyrants turn to thee,
> Redeemer of dark centuries of shame—
> The friend of Petrarch—hope of Italy—
> Rienzi! last of Romans! While the tree
> Of freedom's wither'd trunk puts forth a leaf
> Even for thy tomb a garland let it be—
> The Forum's champion and the people's chief—
> Her new-born Numa thou—with reign, alas! too brief.'
> —*Childe Harold.*

Through the brick arch of the portico we used (till 1888) to enter the ancient **Pescheria**, or fish-market, with its multitude of white marble fish-slabs. It was a most striking scene—the dark, many-storied houses almost meeting overhead and framing a narrow strip of deep blue sky—below, the bright groups of figures and rich colourings of hanging cloths and drapery. That this historic and picturesque scene should not have been spared in the recent destruction of Rome is not surprising after occurrences previously described.

On the demolition of the streets to the north-west of the Porticus of Octavia, it was expected that some remains of the Temple of Hercules Musarum and the surrounding Porticus Philippi would be discovered, but little more than fragments of walls was found.

'Who that has ever been to Rome does not remember Roman streets of an evening, when the day's work is done? They are all alive in a serene and homelike fashion. The old town tells its story. Low arches cluster with life—a life humble and stately, though rags hang from the citizens and the windows. You realise it as you pass them—their temples are in ruins, their rule is over—their colonies have revolted long centuries ago. Their gates and their columns have fallen like the trees of a forest, cut down by an invading civilisation.'—*Miss Thackeray.*

Here we are in the centre of what was the Jews' quarter—the famous and infamous **Ghetto**, most, but not all, of which has been swept away under the modern 'improvements' of 1885–88.

The name is by some derived from the Hebrew word *chat*, broken, destroyed, shaven, cut down, cast off, abandoned (see the Hebrew in Isaiah xiv. 12, xv. 2; Jer. xlviii. 25, 27; Zech. xi. 10–14, &c.); but it is perhaps more reasonably the short for Borghetto, in contradistinction to Borgo. The first Jewish slaves, though by no means the first Jewish settlers here, were brought to Rome by Pompey the Great, after he had taken Jerusalem and forcibly entered the Holy of Holies. But for a century after this, except for one or two brief, but serious, crises, they lived in Rome in wealth and honour, their princes Herod and Agrippa being received with royal distinction, and finding a home in the Palace of the early Caesars. Berenice (or Veronica), the daughter of Agrippa, presided as the acknowledged mistress of Titus, who would willingly have made her empress of Rome. The chief Jewish settlement in imperial times was in the Trastevere; but when S.

Peter was at Rome (if the church tradition be true), he dwelt, with Aquila and Priscilla, on the slopes of the Aventine. Julius and Augustus Caesar treated the Jews with kindness, and even made gifts to their Temple; but under Tiberius and Caligula they already met with ill-treatment—the latter being especially irritated against them as the only nation which refused to yield him divine honours, and because they had successfully resisted the placing of his statue in the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem. But they were not meddled with in Rome until ill-feeling became acute between them and their unorthodox kindred, the followers of John the Baptist, and then, the early Christians, resulting in conflicts which brought the magistrates on the scene. On the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, thousands of Jewish slaves were brought to Rome, and were employed on the building of the Coliseum. At the same time Vespasian, while allowing the Hebrews in Rome the free exercise of their religion, obliged them to pay the tax of two drachmae, formerly paid into the Temple Treasury, to Jupiter Capitolinus—and this humiliating custom was till lately represented in the annual tribute paid by the Jews to the Camera Capitolina.

Under Domitian the Jews, owing to seditions, were banished from the city to the valley of Egeria (Coelian), where they lived in a state of outlawry, which is described by Juvenal,[1] occupying themselves with soothsaying, love-charms, magic potions, and mysterious cures.[2] The Christian Jews were treated no less harshly.

During the reigns of the earlier Popes, the Jews at Rome enjoyed considerable liberty, and the anti-Pope, Anacletus II. (ob. 1138) was even the grandson of a baptized Jew, whose family (Pierleoni) came to bear a leading part in Rome as one of the patrician houses. The clemency with which the Jews were occasionally treated was, however, due to their skill as physicians; and long after their persecutions had begun (as late as Martin V., 1417–31), the physician of the Vatican was usually a Jew. With Innocent III. began a special segregation and the compulsory wearing of a badge. The first really bitter Papal enemy of the Jews was Eugenius IV. (Gabriele Condolmiere, 1431–39), who forbade Christians to trade, to eat, or to dwell with them, and prohibited them from walking in the streets, from building new synagogues, or from occupying any public post. Paul II. (1468) increased their humiliation by compelling them to run races during the Carnival, as the horses ran, amidst the hoots of the populace. This cruel custom continued for two hundred years. Sprenger's 'Roma Nuova,' of 1667, mentions that 'the asses ran first, then the Jews—naked, with only a band round their loins — then the buffaloes, then the Barbary horses.' It was Clement IX. (Rospigliosi), in 1668, who first permitted the Jews to commute it for a sum of money, or by paying for the horses.

'On the first Saturday in Carnival, it was the custom for the heads of the Jews in Rome to appear as a deputation before the Conservators in the Capitol. Throwing themselves upon their knees, they offered a nosegay and

[1] *Sat.* iii. [2] *Sat.* xvi.

twenty scudi, with the request that this might be employed to ornament the balcony in which the Roman Senate sat in the Piazza del Popolo. In like manner they went to the senator, and, after the ancient custom, implored permission to remain in Rome. The senator placed his foot upon their foreheads, ordered them to stand up, and replied in the accustomed formula, that Jews were not adopted in Rome, but allowed from compassion to remain there. This humiliation has now disappeared, but the Jews still go to the Capitol on the first Saturday of Carnival, to offer their homage and tribute for the *pallii* of the horses, which they have to provide, in memory that now the horses amuse the people in their stead.'—*Gregorovius*, '*Wanderjahre*.'

On September 9, 1553, the feast of the New Year, all Talmudic literature was confiscated and publicly burned. Originally, the Jews congregated in Trastevere, in the neighbourhood of S. Cecilia, but after the twelfth century pushed across the island to their present locality. They were there first shut up within the walls of the Ghetto by the fanatical Dominican Pope, Paul IV. (Gio. Pietro Caraffa, 1555–59), and commanded never to appear outside it, unless the men were in yellow hats or the women in yellow veils. 'For,' says the Bull 'Cum nimis'—

'It is most absurd and unsuitable that the Jews, whose crime has plunged them into everlasting slavery, under the plea that Christian magnanimity allows them, should presume to dwell and mix with Christians, not bearing any mark of distinction, and should have Christian servants, yea, even buy houses.'

The **Ghetto**, or Vicus Judaeorum, as it was at first called, was shut in by walls which reached from the Ponte Quattro Capi to the Piazza del Pianto, or 'Place of Weeping,' whose name bears witness to the grief of the people on the 25th July 1556, when they were first forced into their prison-house, and henceforward subjected to every possible vexation.

'Those Jews who were shut up in the Ghetto were placed in possession of the dwellings of others. The houses in that quarter were the property of Romans, and some of them were inhabited by families of consideration, such as the Boccapaduli. When these removed, they remained the proprietors and the Jews only tenants. But as they were to live for ever in these streets, it was necessary that the Jews should have a perpetual lease to defend them against a twofold danger—negligence on the part of the owner to announce to his Jewish tenant when his possession expired, or bankruptcy if the owner raised his rent. Thus originated a law which established that the Romans should remain in possession of the dwellings let to the Jews, but that the latter should hold the houses in fee-farm; that is, the expiration of the contract cannot be announced to a Jewish tenant, and so long as he pays the lawful rent, the rent can never be raised; the Jew at the same time may alter or enlarge his house as he chooses. This still existing privilege is called the Jus Gazzaga. By virtue of it a Jew is in hereditary possession of the lease, and can sell it to his relations or others, and to the present day it is a costly fortune to be in possession of a Jus Gazzaga, or an hereditary lease. Highly extolled is the Jewish maiden who brings her bridegroom such a dowry. Through this salutary law the Jew became possessed of a home, which to some extent he may call his own.'—*Gregorovius*.

The Jews were better treated by Sixtus V., on the plea that they were 'the family from whom Christ came,' and he allowed them to practise many kinds of trades, and to have intercourse with Christians, and to build houses, libraries, and synagogues; but his mild laws were all repealed by Clement VIII. (Aldo-

brandini, 1592–1605), and under Clement XI. (1721) and Innocent XIII. all trade was forbidden them, except that in old clothes, rags, and iron, 'stracci ferracci.' To these Benedict XIV. (Lambertini) added trade in drapery, with which they are still largely occupied.

Under Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagni, 1572–85) the Jews were forced to hear a sermon every week in the church, first of S. Benedetto alla Regola, then in S. Angelo in Pescheria; and on every Sabbath police-agents were sent into the Ghetto to drive men, women, and children into the church with scourges, and to lash them while there if they appeared to be inattentive.

'Now was come about Holy Cross Day, and now must my lord preach his first sermon to the Jews; as it was of old cared for in the merciful bowels of the Church, that, so to speak, a crumb at least from her conspicuous table here in Rome should be, though but once yearly, cast to the famishing dogs, under-trampled and bespitten-upon beneath the feet of the guests; and a moving sight in truth this, of so many of the besotted, blind, restive, and ready-to-perish Hebrews! now maternally brought—nay (for He saith, "Compel them to come in"), haled, as it were, by the head and hair, and against their obstinate hearts, to partake of the heavenly grace. . . .'—*Diary by the Bishop's Secretary*, 1600.

'Though what the Jews really said, on thus being driven to church, was rather to this effect:—

> 'Groan all together now, whee-hee-hee!
> It's a-work, it's a-work, ah, woe is me!
> It began, when a herd of us, picked and placed,
> Were spurred through the Corso, stripped to the waist;
> Jew-brutes with sweat and blood well spent
> To usher in worthily Christian Lent.
>
> It grew when the hangman entered our bounds,
> Yelled, pricked us out to his church like hounds.
> It got to a pitch when the hand indeed
> Which gutted my purse would throttle my creed.
> And it overflows when, to even the odd,
> Men I helped to their sins help me to their God.'
>
> —*R. Browning*, '*Holy Cross Day*.'

This custom of compelling Jews to listen to Christian sermons was renewed by Leo XII. (1823), and was only abolished in the early years of Pius IX.[1] The walls of the Ghetto also remained, and its gates were closed at night until the reign of the same Pope, who removed the limits of the Ghetto, and revoked all the oppressive laws against the Jews. The humane feeling with which he regarded this hitherto oppressed race is said to have been first evinced when, on the occasion of his placing a liberal alms in the hands of a beggar, one of his attendants interposed, saying, 'It is a Jew!' and the Pope replied, 'What does that matter? It is a man.' In later years, however, at the suggestion of the Jesuits, he renewed their vexations, and they duly threw stones at his funeral cortège.

Opposite the gate of the Ghetto, near the Ponte Quattro Capi, a converted (?) Jew erected a still existing church, with a painting of

[1] It was Michelangelo Caëtani, Duke of Sermoneta, who, in 1848, obtained from Pius IX. that the Jews should not be forced to hear sermons.

the Crucifixion on its outside wall (upon which every Jew must look as he came out of the Ghetto), and underneath an inscription in large letters of Hebrew and Latin from Isaiah lxv. 2: 'All day long I have stretched out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people.' The lower streets of the Ghetto, especially the Fiumara, which was nearest the bank of the Tiber, were annually overflowed during the spring rains and melting of the mountain snows, which was productive of great misery and distress. Yet in spite of this, and of the teeming population crowded into narrow alleys, the mortality was less here during the cholera and small-pox than in any other part of Rome—a freedom from disease which may perhaps be attributed to the Jewish custom of whitewashing their dwellings at every festival and cleansing their meat. There was no Jewish hospital, and if the Jews went to an ordinary hospital, they had to submit to a crucifix being hung over their beds. It is remarkable that the very centre of the Jewish settlement should have become the Porticus of Octavia, whence Vespasian and Titus started to celebrate their triumph after the fall of Jerusalem. Here and there in the narrow alleys the seven-branched candlestick may be seen carved on the house walls, a yet living symbol of their religion.

Everything might be obtained in the Ghetto: precious stones, lace, furniture of all kinds, rich embroidery from Algiers and Constantinople, striped stuffs from Spain—but all was concealed and under cover. 'Cosa cercate?' the Jew shopkeepers hissed at you as you threaded their narrow alleys, and tried to entice you in to bargain with them. The same article was often passed on by a mutual arrangement from shop to shop, and met you wherever you went. On Friday evening all shops were shut, and bread was baked for the Sabbath; all merchandise was removed, and the men went to the synagogue; and wished each other 'a good Sabbath' on their return.[1]

In the Piazza della Scuola are five schools under one roof—*gli scuoli degli ebrei*—the Scuola del Tempio, Catilana, Castigliana, Siciliana, and the Scuola Nuova, which show that the Roman Ghetto was divided into five districts or parishes, each of which represented a particular race, according to the prevailing nationality of the Jews, whose fathers have been either Roman-Jewish from ancient times, or have been drawn hither from Spain and Sicily; the Temple district was said to assert its descent from the Jews of Titus. In the same piazza is the chief synagogue, richly adorned with sculpture and gilding.[2] On the external frieze are represented in stucco the seven-branched candlestick, David's harp, and Miriam's timbrel. The interior is highly picturesque and quaint, and is hung with curious tapestries on festas. The frieze which surrounds it represents the temple of Solomon with all its sacred vessels. A

[1] See Dr. Philip's article on *The Jews in Rome*, also Ettore Natali, *Il Ghetto di Roma*, 1887.

[2] A new and far more spacious synagogue has (1903) lately been erected nearly in front of the Porticus of Octavia.

round window in the north wall, divided into twelve panes of coloured glass, is symbolical of the twelve tribes of Israel. 'To the west is the round choir, a wooden desk for singers and precentors. Opposite, in the eastern wall, is the Holy of Holies, with projecting staves (as if for the carrying of the ark) resting on Corinthian columns. It is covered by a curtain, on which texts and various devices of roses and tasteful arabesques in the style of Solomon's temple are embroidered in gold. The seven-branched candlestick crowns the whole. In this Holy of Holies lies the sealed Pentateuch, a large parchment roll. This is borne in procession through the hall and exhibited from the desk towards all the points of the compass, whereat the Jews raise their arms and utter a cry.'

'On entering the Ghetto, we see Israel before its tents, in full restless labour and activity. The people sit in their doorways, or outside in the streets, which receive hardly more light than the damp and gloomy chambers, and grub amid their old trumpery, or patch and sew diligently. It is inexpressible what a chaos of shreds and patches (called *cenci* in Italian) is here accumulated. The whole world seems to be lying about in countless rags and scraps, as Jewish plunder. The fragments lie in heaps before the doors, they are of every kind and colour—gold fringes, scraps of silk brocade, bits of velvet, red patches, blue patches, orange, yellow, black and white, torn, old, slashed and tattered pieces, large and small. I never saw such varied rubbish. The Jews might mend up all creation with it, and patch the whole world as gaily as harlequin's coat. There they sit and grub in their sea of rags, as though seeking for treasures, at least for a lost gold brocade. For they are as good antiquarians as any of those in Rome who grovel amongst the ruins to bring to light the stump of a column, a fragment of relief, an ancient inscription, a coin, or such matters. Each Hebrew Winckelmann in the Ghetto lays out his rags for sale with a certain pride, as does the dealer in marble fragments. The latter boasts a piece of giallo-antico—the Jew can match it with an excellent fragment of yellow silk; porphyry here is represented by a piece of dark red damask, verde-antico by a handsome patch of ancient green velvet. And there is neither jasper, nor alabaster, black marble or white, or parti-coloured, which the Ghetto antiquarian is not able to match. The history of every fashion from Herod the Great to the invention of paletots, and of every mode of the highest as well as of the lower classes may be collected from these fragments, some of which are really historical, and may once have adorned the persons of Romulus, Scipio, Africanus, Hannibal, Cornelia, Augustus, Charlemagne, Pericles, Cleopatra, Barbarossa, Gregory VII., Columbus, and so forth.

'Here sit the daughters of Zion on these heaps, and sew all that is capable of being sewn. Great is their boasted skill in all works of mending, darning, and fine-drawing, and it is said that even the most formidable rent in any old drapery or garment whatsoever becomes invisible under the hands of these Arachnes. It is chiefly in the Fiumara, the street lying lowest and nearest to the river, and in the street corners (one of which is called Argumille, *i.e.*, of unleavened bread), that this business is carried on. I have often seen with a feeling of pain the pale, stooping, starving figures, laboriously plying the needle—men as well as women, girls and children. Misery stares forth from the tangled hair, and complains silently in the yellow-brown faces, and no beauty of feature recalls the countenance of Rachel, Leah, or Miriam—only sometimes a glance from a deep-sunk, piercing black eye, that looks up from its needle and rags, and seems to say—"From the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed—she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary! She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks; among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her: all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies. Judah is gone into captivity, because of

affliction, and because of great servitude; she dwelleth among the heathen, she findeth no rest: all her persecutors overtook her between the straits. How hath the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud in His anger!"'—*Gregorovius, 'Wanderjahre.'*[1]

Opposite what was the northern entrance of the Ghetto is the church of **S. Maria del Pianto**, formerly S. Salvatore in Cacaberis (S. Saviour amongst the kettle-makers), which changed its name when an image of the Virgin on an adjoining wall shed tears on beholding a terrible murder committed at its feet.

The narrow street, which was a continuation of the Pescheria, emerges upon the small square called **Piazza Giudea.** In the houses on the right may be seen some columns and part of an architrave, being the only visible remains of the **Theatre of Balbus**, erected by G. Cornelius Balbus (B.C. 12), a general who triumphed in the time of Augustus, with the spoils taken from the Garamantes, a people of Africa. It was opened in the same year as the Theatre of Marcellus, and though very much smaller, was capable of containing as many as 7700 spectators. The rough statues of Castor and Pollux, at the head of the Capitol steps, were found here in 1556. Beneath the theatre were **Crypta**, or underground porticoes or colonnades, the remains of which were found in 1888. Velleius says that a Tiber flood compelled those who were invited to witness the original opening of the theatre, to arrive in boats. The marble for the fountain in the piazza was plundered from the Temple of the Sun.

To the left, still on the site of the ancient theatre, and extending along one side of the Piazza delle Scuole, is the gloomy **Palazzo Cenci**, the ancient residence of the Cenci family (now represented by Count Cenci Bolognetti), and the scene of many terrible crimes and tragedies which stain its annals. It has recently undergone rehabilitation, but some of the painted timber ceilings have been preserved. Notice the grim Medusa's head above the entrance.

'The Cenci Palace is of great extent; and, though in part modernised, there yet remains a vast and gloomy pile of feudal architecture in the same state as during the dreadful scenes which it once witnessed. The palace is situated in an obscure corner of Rome, near the quarter of the Jews, and from the upper windows you see the immense ruins of Mount Palatine, half hidden under the profuse undergrowth of trees. There is a court in one part of the palace supported by columns, and adorned with antique friezes of fine workmanship, and built up, after the Italian fashion, with balcony over balcony of open work. One of the gates of the palace, formed of immense stones, and leading through a passage dark and lofty, and opening into gloomy subterranean chambers, struck me particularly.'—*Shelley's Preface to 'The Cenci.'*

Opposite the entrance of the Palace is the tiny abandoned church of **S. Tommaso dei Cenci**, formerly (when Rienzi lived near it) S. Tommaso in Capite Molarum. It was founded in 1113 by Cencio, Bishop of Sabina; granted by Julius II. to Rocco Cenci;—and rebuilt in 1575 by the wicked Count, whose story and that of his

[1] The description of the half-destroyed Ghetto has been left in this volume, as giving an interest to the still unused site.

unhappy family have been the subject of a thousand romances. Only very recent discoveries have stripped the terrible facts of the veil in which fiction and poetry had shrouded them.[1]

In 1556 a certain Monsignor Cristoforo Cenci became treasurer-general of the Apostolic Chamber. He was not a priest, but a clerk (*chierico*), that is, he was not able to say mass nor bound to celibacy, though he possessed those inferior Orders without which no one could aspire to a lucrative office at the Apostolic Court. He held the benefice of S. Tommaso, near the Cenci palace, where he lived in concubinage with a married woman named Beatrice Arias, by whom, during the lifetime of her husband, he had become the father of a son—Francesco. After the death of Beatrice's husband, Monsignor Cenci legitimatised his son and died in 1562, having married Beatrice on his death-bed, providing her with a handsome income, begging her to live *honestè e castè*, and leaving Francesco heir of his great riches.

Francesco, born illegitimate in 1549, evinced the cruelty of his disposition from childhood. At eleven years old he was tried before a criminal court for having beaten 'usque ad sanguinem' one Quintilio de Vetralla. At fourteen, he was again in trouble about a child of which he had become the father. In 1563, he became the brutal and violent husband of Ersilia, daughter of Valerio di Santa Croce, who had a dowry of 5000 crowns from her uncle, Prospero di Santa Croce. During her wretched married life, which lasted twenty-one years, she gave birth to twelve children, of whom five died in infancy. Of her five unhappy sons, Giacomo died on a scaffold, Sept. 10, 1599; Cristoforo was murdered by one Paolo Buono Corso, his rival in a love affair; Rocco was killed in a duel in 1595 by an illegitimate son of Orsini, Count of Pitigliano; Bernardo, always delicate, died a natural death in 1627; Paolo, also always sickly from childhood, died, probably of consumption, in 1600. Of the two daughters, the elder, Antonina, born in 1573, was married, with a dowry of 20,000 crowns, to Lucio Savelli, of the great Roman family, and died early, without children.

The birth of the younger daughter, Beatrice, is recorded in the register of SS. Lorenzo e Damaso: 'On Feb. 12, 1577, Beatrice, daughter of Francesco Cenci and his wife Ersilia, of the parish of S. Tommaso dei Cenci.'[2] Accounts which still exist show that Beatrice kept her father's house till 1593, in which year Francesco Cenci married again with Lucrezia Petroni, widow of a man named Velli, by whom she had three daughters, to each of whom her second husband gave a dowry.

Still existing records prove that soon after his first marriage the crimes of Francesco Cenci were such that he was imprisoned permanently in his own house. From this imprisonment he was relieved in 1572, and was banished from the Papal States, under a penalty of 10,000 crowns if found within them. Yet in February of the following year Cardinal Caraffa obtained his pardon from the Pope, and he was permitted to return. In 1586 he made a will, providing for all his family except his eldest son, whom he disinherited. In 1590 his fortunes were attacked by the representatives of the public offices, whom his father, Monsignor Cenci, was proved to have defrauded; but, on payment of 25,000 crowns (in addition to 30,000 already paid with the same object), he was absolved from all further public debt, and he was legitimatised by the Pope, as if he had been born in lawful wedlock.

The domestic cruelties of Francesco Cenci seemed only to increase after the death of his wife Ersilia in 1584. His mistress, Maria Pelli of Spoleto—'La bella Spoletina'—brought an action against him in 1593 for his extreme cruelty. On April 10, 1593, his man-servant, Angelo Belloni, also appeared against him for his excessive violence in beating him and shutting him up naked for two days. On April 25, 1594, one Attilio Angelini appeared against Count Cenci for the injuries received by his brother-in-law, nearly killed by his violence. On March 9, 1594, also, Cenci was summoned before the criminal magistrate for cruelty and unnatural crimes. The accusations were of the utmost enormity, but in that venal age a pardon was secured for 100,000

[1] See *Francesco Cenci e la sua Famiglia*, by Bertolotti. Firenze, 1877.
[2] Therefore at the time of her death she was over twenty-one.

crowns—the accusers being put to the torture, but adhering to their story; the accused, being noble, escaping altogether.

Meantime the character of Francesco Cenci's sons did not stand much higher than that of the father. Whilst Count Cenci was in prison in 1594, his eldest son Giacomo married without his consent, and was accused of embezzling money which belonged to his father. Cristoforo, the second son, was constantly before the criminal courts. The third son, Rocco, was even worse, and after being fined 5000 crowns and exiled for his crimes, made his way back to rob his father's house of various valuables, for which he was tried on March 19, 1594. In this robbery Monsignore Mario Guerra (often described as a lover of Beatrice) was the accomplice of Rocco, and the two daughters of Count Cenci were examined as witnesses against him.

In the night of September 9, 1598, Count Francesco was murdered by two hired assassins in his desolate castle of Petrella, where he was in the habit of spending part of the autumn. One of the murderers held a nail over the eye of his victim, whilst the other hammered it into his head. The body was then thrown from a window upon the branches of a withered tree, in the hope that he might be supposed to have fallen and that his brain had been pierced by accident. The whole family immediately left Petrella, Giacomo, Bernardo, and Paolo returning to Rome and going into mourning for their father. Giacomo at this time offered a magnificent altar-cloth (as an expiatory offering?) to the church of S. Maria del Pianto near the Cenci palace. Meantime the Government put a price upon the heads of the assassins. One of these, Olympio Calvetti, was killed (May 17, 1599) at Cantilice, near Petrella, by Marco Tullio and Cesare Busone, acting, as documents prove, by the order of Monsignore Mario Guerra, already suspected of complicity in the murder, who hoped thus to destroy the evidence against himself. The other assassin, Marzio Catalano, was taken by the exertions of one Gaspare Guizza, and a curious petition (dated 1601) exists, by which Guizza claimed a reward from the Pope for this service, by which 'the other accomplices and their confessions were secured, and *so many thousands of crowns brought into the papal treasury*.' In fact, the confession of Catalano led to the arrest, on December 10, 1598, of Lucrezia, Giacomo, Bernardo, and Beatrice Cenci. The speech still exists by which Prospero Farinaccio, the advocate of Beatrice, allowing her complicity in the crime, set forward as her defence the terrible excuse which was given to her by the conduct of her father, already well known as a monster of lawless cruelty and profligacy. . . . The prisoners were allowed to make wills in prison, and the curious will of Beatrice can still be read, by which she bequeathed 100 crowns for her burial in S. Pietro in Montorio, 3000 crowns for building the wall which supports the road up to the church, and 1750 to other churches and for the saying of masses for her soul: she also left legacies to the three daughters of her step-mother, Lucrezia. The fearful story usually told of the tortures by which the last confession of Beatrice was extorted has, doubtless, been exaggerated; but sympathy will always follow one who sinned under the most terible of provocations, and whose cruel death was due to the avarice of Clement VIII. for the riches which the Church acquired by the confiscation of the Cenci property.

'He who cursed his sons and daughters, and laughed for joy when two of them were murdered, rebuilt the little church just opposite, as a burial-place for himself and them, but neither he nor they were laid there.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Retracing our steps to the Piazza Giudea, and turning left from Via Pescheria down a narrow alley, which is always noisy with Jewish traffic, we reach the **Piazza delle Tartarughe**, so called from the tortoises which form part of the adornments of its lovely little fountain—designed by Giacomo della Porta, the four figures of boys being by Taddeo Landini—a Florentine who died too young.

At this point we leave the site of the Ghetto, though we remain still on that of the spacious Porticus of Octavia.

Forming one side of the Piazza delle Tartarughe is the **Palazzo Costaguti** (1590: Carlo Lombardo), celebrated for its six splendid ceilings by great artists, viz. :—

1. *Albani.* Hercules wounding the Centaur Nessus.
2. *Domenichino.* Apollo in his car, Time discovering Truth, &c.—much injured.
3. *Guercino.* Rinaldo and Armida in a chariot drawn by dragons.
4. *Cav. d' Arpino.* Juno nursing Hercules, Venus and Cupids.
5. *Lanfranco.* Justice and Peace.
6. *Romanelli.* Arion saved by the Dolphin.

On the other side of the square is the entrance, marked by a shield within a wreath, of a neglected palace which possesses one of the most picturesque mediaeval courtyards in the city, with two tiers of arches.

On the same line, at the end of the street, is the gloomy but interesting **Palazzo Mattei**, built by Carlo Maderno (1615) for Duke Asdrubale Mattei, on the site of the Circus of Flaminius. The small courtyard of this palace is worth examining, and is one of the handsomest in Rome, being quite encrusted (as well as the staircase) with ancient bas-reliefs, busts, and other sculptures. It contained a gallery of pictures which have been dispersed. The rooms have frescoes by *Pomerancio, Lanfranco, Pietro da Cortona, Domenichino*, and *Albani.* The stucco decorations of the ball-room are of great beauty. A little terrace, laden with sculptures, where a fountain is overhung by arcades of banksia roses, is one of the loveliest spots in the city.

The posts and rings at the corners of the streets near the Mattei Palace are curious relics of the time when the powerful Mattei family had the right of drawing chains across the streets during the Papal Conclaves, and of occupying the bridges of San Sisto and Quattro Capi, with the intervening region of the Ghetto.

Behind Palazzo Mattei, facing the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, is the vast **Palazzo Caëtani**, built by Ammanati for Cardinal Alessandro Mattei, but, being forfeited to the Church after his death (for cardinals have only lately been allowed to make wills, on payment of a fine to the Propaganda), was afterwards sold, and became the property of the learned Don Michelangelo Caëtani (Duke of Sermoneta), whose family—one of the most distinguished in the mediaeval history of Rome—has given eight cardinals and two Popes to the Church, of whom the most celebrated was Boniface VIII.

'Lo principe de' nuovi farisei.'
—*Dante, Inferno*, xxvii.

The Caëtani claim descent from Anatolius, created Count of Caëta by Pope Gregory II. in 720. Among the historic relics preserved in the palace is the sword of Cesare Borgia.

Close opposite to the Palazzo Mattei is the **Church of S. Caterina dei Funari**, rebuilt by Giacomo della Porta in 1564, adjoining a convent of Augustinian nuns. The streets in this quarter are interesting as bearing witness in their names to the existence of

the Circus Flaminius (221 B.C.), the circus of the plebs, which once occupied all the ground near this. The **Via delle Botteghe Oscure** commemorates dark shops which in mediaeval times occupied one side of the circus, as they do now that of the Theatre of Marcellus: the **Via dei Funari** (the ropemakers' row), who took advantage for their work of the light and open space which the area of the ruined building afforded. Remains of the circus existed to the sixteenth century, until Lud. Mattei uprooted them to lay the foundations of Palazzo Paganica, on the other side of the Mattei palace.

'This district was so much given up to the lime burners who destroyed the ruins of ancient Rome in the sixteenth century that it obtained the name of the Lime-pit (calcarario). The extent of the area covered by this designation can be determined by the site of the churches of S. Nicola in Calcaria retro Cesarinos, now S. Nicola ai Cesarini, SS. Quaranta de Calcarario, now S. Francesco delle Stimmate, and S. Lucia de Calcarario, now S. Lucia dei Ginnasi: there was also a spring named Il Calcarario in the Piazza del Olmo.' —*Lanciani*, '*The Destruction of Rome*.'

Near this, turning up second street to left, we pass into the **Piazza di Campitelli**, containing the superb **Church of S. Maria in Campitelli**, built by Carlo Rinaldi for Alexander VII. in 1659, upon the site of an ancient oratory. This was erected by S. Galla in the time of John I. (523–6), in honour of the Virgin, who one day miraculously appeared imploring her charity, while in company with the twelve poor women to whom she was daily in the habit of giving alms. The oratory of S. Galla became called S. Maria in Portico, from the neighbouring porticus of Octavia, a name which is sometimes applied to the present church. A likeness of the mendicant Virgin, as she appeared to S. Galla, in gold outline on a sapphire, is now enshrined in gold and lapis-lazuli over the high altar, and is supposed to protect Rome from contagious diseases. The altar in 2nd chapel (L.) in 1759 was consecrated by Cardinal York. The 2nd chapel (R.) has a picture of the Descent of the Holy Ghost by *Luca Giordano*; in the first chapel (L.) is the tomb of Prince Altieri, inscribed 'Umbra,' and that of his wife, Donna Laura di Carpegna, inscribed 'Nihil'; they rest on lions of rosso-antico. In the S. transept is the fine tomb by *Pettrich* of Cardinal Pacca (1844), who lived in the Palazzo Pacca, on the opposite side of the square, and was the faithful friend of Pius VII. in his exile. The bas-relief on the tomb, of S. Peter delivered by the Angel, is in allusion to the deliverance from the French captivity. The much-venerated image of the Virgin, a mosaic of precious stones, was carried off from this church by Paul II., an indefatigable collector, to his private museum in the Palazzo Veneziano, which he had built with materials taken from the Coliseum. The name Campitelli is possibly derivable from Campus metelli.

In the street from the N. end of the Piazza, leading into the Via del Ara-Coeli, are the remains of the ancient **Palazzo Margana**, where Ignatius Loyola stayed when he came to Rome. Near it a richly sculptured gateway is made of the fragments of a third century cornice.

Opening from the upper end of the Piazza, on the left is the **Via**

Tor di Specchi, a name which possibly commemorates the legend of Virgil as a necromancer, and of his magic tower lined with mirrors, in which all the secrets of the city were reflected and brought to light. Plato is related similarly to have erected such a tower in Athens. The Virgil legend is closely connected also with the stone mask called Bocca della Verità in the porch of S. Maria in Cosmedin.

Here is the **Convent of the Tor di Specchi**, founded by S. Francesca Romana, and open to the public during the octave of the anniversary of her death (following the 9th March). At this time pavements are strewn with box, halls and galleries are bright with fresh flowers, and guards are posted at the different turnings to facilitate the circulation of visitors. It is a good specimen of a Roman convent. The first hall is painted with frescoes, representing scenes in the life of the saint. Here, on a table, is the large bowl in which S. Francesca prepared ointment for the poor. Other relics are her veil, shoes, &c. Passing a number of open cloisters, cheerful with flowers and orange-trees, we reach the chapel, where lectures are delivered at the Anniversary, upon the story of S. Francesca's life, and where her embalmed body may be seen beneath the altar. A staircase, seldom seen, but used especially by Francesca, is only ascended by the nuns upon their knees. It leads to her cell and a small chapel, black with age, and preserved as when she used them. The picturesque dress of the Oblate Sisters, who are everywhere visible, adds to the interest of the scene.

'It is no gloomy abode, the Convent of the Tor di Specchi, even in the eyes of those who cannot understand the happiness of a nun. It is such a place as one loves to see children in; where religion is combined with everything that pleases the eye and recreates the mind. The beautiful chapel; the garden with its magnificent orange trees; the open galleries, with their fanciful decorations and scenic recesses, where a holy picture or figure takes you by surprise, and meets you at every turn; the light airy rooms, where religious prints and ornaments, with flowers, birds, and ingenious toys, testify that innocent enjoyments are encouraged and smiled upon; while from every window may be caught a glimpse of the Eternal City, a spire, a ruined wall—something that speaks of Rome and its thousand charms.—*Lady Georgiana Fullerton's 'Life of S. Francesca Romana.'*

'S. Francesca Romana is represented in the dress of a Benedictine nun, a black robe and a white hood or veil; and her proper attribute is an angel, who holds in his hand the book of the Office of the Virgin, open at the words, "*Tenuisti manum dexteram meam, et in voluntate tua deduxisti me, et cum gloria suscepisti me*" (Ps. lxxiii. 23, 24); which attribute is derived from an incident thus narrated in the acts of her canonisation. Though unwearied in her devotions, yet if, during her prayers, she was called away by her husband on any domestic duty, she would close her book, saying that "a wife and a mother, when called upon, must quit her God at the altar, and find him in her household affairs." Now it happened once that, in reciting the Office of our Lady, she was called away four times just as she was beginning the same verse, and, returning the fifth time, she found that verse written upon the page in letters of golden light by the hand of her guardian angel.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* p. 151.

Under the house numbered 9 in this street were discovered in 1873 remains of a temple of Fortunae Equestris.

Almost opposite the convent is the **Via del Monte Tarpeio**, a

narrow alley, leading up to the Tarpeian Rock and the Palazzo Caffarelli. The neighbouring Piazza Montanara, already described, occupies the site of the **Forum Holitorium**, or vegetable market. Valadier recognised its pavement in 1808. Here stood the 'Columna Lactaria,' at the foot of which foundlings were left to their chances. It was surrounded by Porticoes, *i.e.* Frumentaria and Minucia; and, like the neighbouring areas of Philippus and Octavia, was adorned with more than one temple, one of which, near the Theatre of Marcellus, was dedicated to Janus. Part of the primitive fortress wall of the Capitol remains at the edge of the perpendicular rock. The rock as seen here is the best exposed remnant of the cliffs which were characteristic of the hills of ancient Rome, as they still are of Ardea, Veii, and many other ancient sites in her neighbourhood.

CHAPTER VI

THE PALATINE

Brief Story of the Hill—Orti Farnesiani—The Via Nova—Roma Quadrata—The houses of the kings—Palace of the Flavians—Crypto-Porticus—Temple of Jupiter-Propugnator—The Lupercal and the hut of Faustulus—Palace of Tiberius—Palace of Caligula—Clivus Victoriae—Earliest remains—Altar of the Genius Loci—House of Hortensius—Palace of Augustus—Stadium—Septizonium of Severus—Republican mansions.

THE Palatine may be visited daily, from 9 A.M. to sunset, admission 1 fr.; on Thursdays, after 10 A.M., free.

'The Palatine formed a trapezium of solid rock, two sides of which were about 300 yards in length, the others about 400: the area of its summit, to compare it with a familiar object, was nearly equal to the space between Pall Mall and Piccadilly in London.'[1]

On the north-west (or side by which we ascend it) it overlooks Velabrum, and across it to the Capitol; on the south-west it overlooks the Circus Maximus, and across to the Aventine; on the south-east the Via Triumphalis lies between it and the Coelian; and on the north-east, the Forum. On this small but advantageous platform near the **Rumon**[2] (later Tiber), settled a vigorous race of highland shepherds, probably driven from Alba Longa (Castel Gandolfo) by the latest recrudescence of volcanic forces on Monte Albano. Both Livy and Arval inscriptions remind us that the mountain could rain hot stones, even in historical times, and the lava streams of its prehistoric eruption travelled as far as the tomb of Cecilia Metella on the Appian Way. To these colonists the place became the Hill of Pales, a male or female divinity, the protectress of cattle and pasture lands. The festival called Palilia or Parilia, took place April 21, the traditional natal day of Rome, when among other curious ceremonies, men and women used to leap through smoke and flames of a bean-straw fire, while the Salii or dervishes of Mars, twelve in number, with shields, which they struck with clubs, sang and danced around the sacred hill. The height to which they leapt was held to indicate how tall Mars would let the corn grow in the coming summer. For Mars was first of all a god of vegetation, and later a god of war. To him the children of Silvia, a Vestal virgin (daughter of the Sylvii, kings of Alba), namely,

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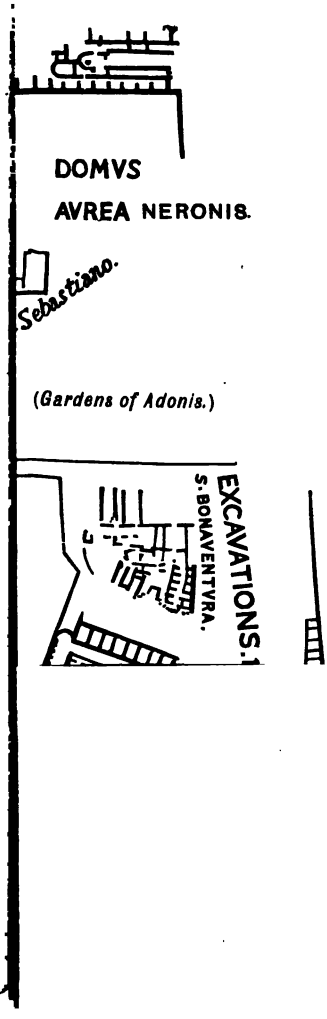
[1] Merivale, *Hist. of Romans under the Empire*, chap. xl.

[2] Roma signifies water—the river, as in Rummel, Rhone, Rhine. Porta Romanula was the water-gate of the early Palatine.


EXCAVATIONS.
S. BONAVENTVRA.
DOMVS
AVREA NERONIS.
Sebastiano.
(Gardens of Adonis.)

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Romulus and Remus, owed their patronage; and his emblem became the wolf, which, according to legend, performed the part of Pharaoh's daughter, and nourished the foundlings set adrift on the river, in a cave at the western angle of the hill. The earliest history of the Palatine will have consisted in the warlike struggles for the survival of the fittest by its inhabitants, the Ramnes, with the tribes (Tities and Luceres) occupying the Capitoline and the Quirinal. These struggles resulted in the absorption of these, followed by that of Latium, Etruria, Italy, and Sicily, the Mediterranean, and the known world, on the part of the descendants of Romulus, who, reflecting on their irresistible powers, might reasonably imagine their founder to have owned a Divine origin.

'The history of the Palatine is in some sort the history of the city of Rome. The settlement with its sacred inclosures was surrounded by Romulus with walls, he having caused a furrow to be traced round the foot of the hill with a plough drawn by a bull and a heifer, the furrow being carefully made to fall inwards, and the heifer yoked to the near side, to signify that strength and courage were required without, obedience and fertility within the city.[1] The locality thus enclosed was reserved for the temples of the gods and the residence of the ruling class, which predominated over the dependent commons, and only suffered them to crouch for security under the walls. The Palatine was never occupied by the plebs. In the last age of the republic, long after the removal of this partition, or of the civil distinction between the great classes of the state, here was still the chosen site of the mansions of the highest nobility.[2]

In the time of her early chiefs the city of Rome was represented by the Palatine only. It was divided by a depression into two parts, called Cermalus and Palatium. It had three gates, the Porta Romanula to the north, and the Porta Mugonia—so called from the lowing of the cattle—to the north-east, towards the Velia or ridge connecting it with the Esquiline, and a third gate at the Scali Caci towards the Aventine.

Augustus was born on the Palatine, where the Octavii had long owned mansions, and most of his life was spent on the same hill. After he became emperor he was presented with the house of Hortensius Catiline and erected a palace. On its destruction by fire, A.D. 3, the people of Rome flatteringly insisted upon rebuilding it. This was the first of 'the palaces of the Cæsars,' which in time overran the whole hill, and, under Nero, two of the neighbouring hills besides, and whose ruins are daily being disinterred and identified. After his death, his palace and its vast collections became as sacred a state monument as the 'Casa Romuli,' which likewise was carefully preserved (and rethatched) annually. The other palaces followed in this order: Domus Tiberii, extended by

[1] The boundary thus formed was called the *pomoerium*, from *post moerium*, 'beyond the wall.' This Pomoerium was repeatedly increased as the city grew.

[2] Merivale, chap. xl.

Caius Caligula and converted into his palace (A.D. 37–41); at the eastern angle, Nero's 'Golden House'; in the north-east central line (upon a number of earlier houses) Vespasian's and Domitian's public Mansion-house, called the Flavian Palace. This adjoined the original house of Augustus, eastward of which Domitian created the huge **Stadium** for foot-races. Beyond this Severus and Caracalla constructed the mightiest of all the palaces, and the last (A.D. 196–216). Theodoric (A.D. 500) restored much that had suffered there; and even in 663, the Emperor of the East, Constans, was crowned in the Flavian Palace, while Pope John VII. (A.D. 705) made that of Caligula his head-quarters. In the middle ages the Frangipani and Annibaldi fortified themselves here.

'The Palatine, proud Rome's imperial seat,
(An awful pile) stands venerably great:
Thither the kingdoms and the nations come
In supplicating crowds to learn their doom:
To Delphi less th' inquiring worlds repair,
Nor does a greater god inhabit there:
This sure the pompous mansion was design'd
To please the mighty rulers of mankind;
Inferior temples rise on either hand,
And on the borders of the palace stand,
While o'er the rest her head she proudly rears,
And lodg'd amidst her guardian gods appears.'
—*Addison's Translation of Claudian.*

After the middle of the sixteenth century a great part of the Palatine became the property of the Farnese family, latterly represented by the Neapolitan Bourbons, who sold the 'Orti Farnesiani,' in 1861, to the Emperor Napoleon III., for £10,000. It is curious that the possession of 'the palace of the Caesars' should have been the only relic of his empire remaining to Napoleon during his exile in England, when he sold it to the city of Rome. Until 1861 this part of the Palatine was a vast kitchen-garden, broken here and there by picturesque groups of ilex trees and fragments of mouldering wall. In one corner was a **casino** of the Farnese (still standing), designed by Raffaellino da Colle, and adorned in fresco by some of his pupils. This, and all the later buildings in the 'Orti,' are marked with the Farnese *fleur-de-lis*, and on the principal staircase of the garden facing the Forum is some distemper ornament of their time.

'The Farnese Gardens were, if not unique, certainly a very rare specimen of a cinquecento Roman villa and of the taste which prevailed at that period in laying out pleasure grounds, in which very little work was left to nature itself, and nearly everything to the mason and plasterer. Still the Farnese gardens were born with a heavy original sin—that of concealing, of disfiguring, and of cutting piecemeal the magnificent ruins of the imperial palace.'—*R. Lanciani*, 1882.

In visiting the Palaces of the Caesars, it will be asked how it is known that the different buildings are what they are described to be. In a great measure this has been ascertained from the descriptions of Tacitus, Plutarch, and other historians; but the greatest assistance of all has been obtained from the 'Tristia' of Ovid, who,

while in exile, consoles himself by recalling the different buildings of his native city, which he mentions in describing the route taken by his book, which he had persuaded a friend to convey to the imperial library. He supposes the book to enter the Palatine by the Clivus Victoriae, and then he follows its course, remarking the different objects it passed on the right or the left. Further sources of information have been the inscriptions preserved, and, above all, the Imperial and mediæval 'Itineraries' of the city.

After the palace of Augustus was built, a street called **Vicus Apollinis** led to the palace from the Clivus Palatinus. At the entrance an arch was erected bearing a chariot drawn by four horses, driven by Apollo and Diana, a masterpiece of Lysias. Some remains of this arch existed as late as 1575. Near to the Arch of Titus, a paved road has lately been laid bare, and is identified as part of the Clivus Palatinus, which led directly from the Summa Sacrae Viae to the Palatine, and which in the reign of Augustus was made to communicate also with the Vicus Apollinis above.

Here, owing to the excavations, we find ourselves in the original hollow between the two divisions of the hill. On our left is the Palatium, upon which, near the Porta Mugonia, the Sabine king, Ancus Martius, had his dwelling. The Porta Mugonia was probably the *veterem portam Palatii* of Livy (i. 12) through which the Romans are said to have fled when repulsed by the Sabines of the Capitol. No imperial edition of this gate has yet been discovered.

Above us, on its lofty platform, is the **Flavian Palace**, built in the hollow between the Palatium and Cermalus.

Vespasian and Titus, in A.D. 70, began to build the Palace, by using existing buildings as support for their own, cutting them down and filling in their lower chambers with concrete, so that they became solid foundations. The ruins which we visit are thus those of the Flavian Palace, and were its staterooms—Aedes Publicae—though from one of its halls (Peristylium) we can descend into rooms earlier than the time of Augustus.

The palace was entered by a superb arcaded **portico**. Lofty gilt-bronze doors opened from it into a spacious reception-hall, flanked on either side by fluted Corinthian columns of violet-veined Phrygian marble, now vanished (perhaps to San Lorenzo fuori le Mura), but which once led the eye to a richly decorative vaulting having a single span. Pavement and walls were lined with rare marbles; and at the further end, upon a dais, stood the imperial throne in the centre of the apse. From the niches of the wall recesses statues looked down on the aristocratic throng in varied costumes, which attended the Emperor's reception.

The **hall** opening to the left (east) is called the **Lararium**, by those who believe it to be the Chapel of the Palace, wherein Heliogabalus once gathered together the most sacred emblems of Rome—the Vestal Palladium, the Acus, or mysterious black stone of Cybele, &c. That opening to the right has been identified as the **Basilica** or **Imperial Tribunal**, wherein took place State-trials. This hall was distributed into nave and aisles (railed off with cancelli), an

apse with imperial throne, and an upper gallery reached by a staircase, and by a second and larger stair at the opposite (or north) end. This hall, dating from the close of the first century, exemplifies the Basilica-design, subsequently, but by no means immediately, or directly, adopted and adapted by the developed Christian Church, which more probably utilised small chambers of similar design in the well-to-do houses of the richer converts, also called Basilicae. The decorations, wherever we turn, were sumptuous, if somewhat monotonous, bearing in mind that ostentation with the Romans always outran feeling for beauty.

'The appeals from the provinces in civil causes were heard, not by the emperor himself, but by his delegates, who were persons of consular rank; Augustus had appointed one such delegate to hear appeals from each province respectively. But criminal appeals appear generally to have been heard by the emperor in person, assisted by his council of assessors. Tiberius and Claudius had usually sat for this purpose in the Forum; but Nero, after the example of Augustus, heard these causes in the imperial palace, whose ruins still crown the Palatine. Here, at one end of a splendid hall,[1] lined with the precious marbles of Egypt and of Libya, we must imagine Caesar seated in the midst of his assessors. These councillors, twenty in number, were men of the highest rank and greatest influence. Among them were the two consuls and selected representatives of each of the other great magistracies of Rome. The remainder consisted of senators chosen by lot. Over this distinguished bench of judges presided the representative of the most powerful monarchy which has ever existed—the absolute ruler of the whole civilised world.

'Before the tribunal of the blood-stained adulterer Nero, Paul was brought in fetters, under the custody of his military guard. The prosecutors and their witnesses were called forward to support their accusation; for, although the subject-matter for decision was contained in the written depositions forwarded from Judaea by Festus, yet the Roman law required the personal presence of the accusers and the witnesses, whenever it could be obtained. We already know the charges brought against the Apostle. He was accused of disturbing the Jews in the exercise of their worship, which was secured to them by law; of desecrating their Temple; and, above all, of violating the public peace of the empire by perpetual agitation, as the ringleader of a new and factious sect. This charge was the most serious in the view of a Roman statesman; for the crime alleged amounted to *majestas*, or treason against the commonwealth, and was punishable with death.

'These accusations were supported by the emissaries of the Sanhedrim, and probably by the testimony of witnesses from Judaea, Ephesus, Corinth, and the other scenes of Paul's activity. . . . When the parties on both sides had been heard, and the witnesses all examined, the judgment of the court was taken. Each of the assessors gave his opinion in writing to the emperor, who never discussed the judgment with his assessors, as had been the practice of better emperors, but after reading their opinion, gave sentence according to his own pleasure, without reference to the judgment of the majority. On this occasion it might have been expected that he would have pronounced the condemnation of the accused, for the influence of Poppaea had now reached its culminating point, and she was a Jewish proselyte. We can scarcely doubt that the emissaries from Palestine would have demanded her aid for the destruction of a traitor to the Jewish faith; nor would any scruples have prevented her listening to their request, backed as it probably was, according to Roman usage, by a bribe. However this may be, the

[1] Dion Cassius mentions that the ceilings of Halls of Justice in the Palatine were painted by Severus to represent the starry sky. The ancient Roman practice was for the magistrate to sit under the open sky, which probably suggested this kind of ceiling.

trial resulted in the acquittal of S. Paul. He was pronounced guiltless of the charges brought against him, his fetters were struck off, and he was liberated from his long captivity.'—*Conybeare and Howson.*

We next enter the **Peristyle**, a magnificent court open to the sky, once surrounded with arcades adorned with statues, where we may imagine that the Empresses amused themselves not always with only birds and flowers! Suetonius describes the tyrant Domitian as walking in the colonnades of this court (called **Sicilia**), thinking himself secure from danger, the walls of marble being so highly polished, that he could see reflected in them any one approaching from behind. The decorations were of *porta santa* and *marmor Numidicum*. Hence, by a narrow staircase, we can descend into rooms of earlier houses. When first discovered in 1726, the first room was discovered with exquisite arabesques on a gold ground. An original window remains, and it will be recollected, on looking at it, that when this was built it was not subterranean, but merely in the depression of the hill afterwards filled up.

We now reach the **Triclinium** or State dining-hall, gorgeously decorated with a dado of giallo, and called **Coenatio Jovis**. The apse has a beautiful *opus sectile*, pavement (lately re-set). Tacitus describes a scene in an imperial triclinium, in which the Emperor Tiberius is represented as reclining at dinner, having on one side his aged mother, the Empress Livia, and on the other his niece Agrippina, widow of Germanicus and grand-daughter of Augustus.[1] Here, in like manner, may have often sat Hadrian, Antoninus and Faustina, and Aurelius. In this hall the excellent Pertinax, who had spent his short reign of three months in trying to reform the State, resuscitate the finances, and to heal, as far as possible, 'the wounds inflicted by the hand of tyranny,' received news that the guard, impatient of his wise retrenchments, had risen against him, and going forth to meet his assassins, he fell, covered with wounds, in front of the palace, A.D. 194.

Vitruvius says that every well-arranged Roman house has a dining-room opening into a nymphaeum; and accordingly here, on the right, is a **Nymphaeum**, with a beautiful ovoidal fountain surrounded by miniature niches, once filled with statuettes. The pavement of this room was of oriental alabaster, of which fragments remain. Large windows opened from the Nymphaeum to the Triclinium, that the banqueters might be lulled by the splash of the fountain and cooled air. In the water lived beautiful aquatic plants, often the fragrant pink and white lotus-lilies (*nelumba*) of Egypt.

The magnificence of the **Palace of Domitian** (Imp. A.D. 81–96) is extolled in the inflated verses of Statius, who describes the imperial dwelling as exciting the jealousy of the abode of Jupiter—as losing itself amongst the stars by its height, and rising above the clouds, into the full splendour of the sunshine! Such was the extravagance

[1] *Ann.* iv. 54.

displayed by Domitian in these buildings, that Plutarch compares him to Midas, who wished everything to be made of gold. This probably was the scene of many of the vagaries of that cruel and superstitious tyrant.

'"Having once made a great feast for the citizens, he proposed," says Dion, "to follow it up with an entertainment to a select number of the highest nobility. He fitted up an apartment all in black. The ceiling was black, the walls were black, the pavement was black, and upon it were ranged rows of bare stone seats, black also. The guests were introduced at night without their attendants, and each might see at the head of his couch a column placed, like a tombstone, on which his own name was graven, with the cresset lamp above, such as is suspended in the tombs. Presently there entered a troop of naked boys, blackened, who danced around with horrid movements, and then stood still before them, offering them the fragments of food which are commonly presented to the dead. The guests were paralysed with terror, expecting at every moment to be put to death; and the more, as the others maintained a deep silence, as though they were dead themselves, and Domitian spake of things pertaining to the state of the departed only." But this funeral feast was not destined to end tragically. Caesar happened to be in a sportive mood, and when he had sufficiently enjoyed his jest, and had sent his visitors home expecting worse to follow, he bade each to be presented with the silver cup and platter on which his dismal supper had been served, and with the slave, now neatly washed and apparelled, who had waited upon him. Such, said the populace, was the way in which it pleased the emperor to solemnise the funeral banquet of the victims of his defeats in Dacia, and of his persecutions in the city.'—*Merivale*, ch. lxii.

It was in this palace that, in spite of every precaution, the murder of Domitian took place.

'Of the three great deities, the august assessors in the Capitol, Minerva was regarded by Domitian as his special patroness. Her image stood by his bedside; his customary oath was by her divinity. But now a dream apprised him that the guardian of his person was disarmed by the guardian of the empire, and that Jupiter had forbidden his daughter to protect her favourite any longer. Scared by these horrors, he lost all self-control, and petulantly cried, and the cry was itself a portent: "Now strike Jove whom he will!" From supernatural terrors, he reverted again and again to earthly fears and suspicions. Henceforward the tyrant allowed none to be admitted to his presence without being previously searched; and he caused the ends of the corridor in which he took exercise to be lined with polished marble, to reflect the image of any one behind him; and at the same time he inquired anxiously into the horoscope of every chief whom he might fear as a possible rival or successor.

'The victim of superstition had long since, it was said, ascertained too surely the year, the day, the hour which should prove fatal to him. He had learnt too that he was to die by the sword. . . . The omens were now closing about the victim, and his terrors became more importunate and overwhelming. "Something," he exclaimed, "is about to happen, which men shall talk of all the world over." Drawing a drop of blood from a pimple on his forehead, "May this be all," he added. His attendants, to reassure him, declared that the hour had passed. Embracing the flattering tale with alacrity, and rushing at once to the extreme of confidence, he announced that the danger was over, and that he would bathe and dress for the evening repast. But the danger was just then ripening within the walls of the palace. The mysteries there enacted, few, indeed, could penetrate, and the account of Domitian's fall has been coloured by invention and fancy. The story that a child, whom he suffered to attend in his private chamber, found by chance the tablets which he had placed under his pillow, and that the empress, on inspecting them, and finding herself, with his most familiar servants, designated for execution, contrived a plot for

his assassination, is one so often repeated as to cause great suspicion. But neither can we accept the version of Philostratus, who would have us believe that the murder of Domitian was the deed of a single traitor, a freedman of Clemens, named Stephanus, who, indignant at his patron's death, and urged to fury by the sentence on his patron's wife, Domitilla, rushed alone into the tyrant's chamber, diverted his attention with a frivolous pretext, and smote him with the sword he bore concealed in his sleeve. It is more likely that the design, however it originated, was common to several of the household, and that means were taken among them to disarm the victim and baffle his cries for assistance. Stephanus, who is said to have excelled in personal strength, may have been employed to deal the blow; for not more, perhaps, than one attendant would be admitted at once into the presence. Struck in the groin, but not mortally, Domitian snatched at his own weapon, but found the sword removed from its scabbard. He then clutched the assassin's dagger, cutting his own fingers to the bone; then desperately thrust the bloody talons into the eyes of his assailant, and beat his head with a golden goblet, shrieking all the time for help. Thereupon, in rushed Parthenius, Maximus, and others, and despatched him as he lay writhing on the pavement.'—*Merivale*, ch. lxii.

'Gibbon has described the hopeless condition of one who should attempt to fly from the wrath of the almost omnipresent imperator. But this dire impossibility of escape was in the end dreadfully retaliated upon that imperator: persecutors and traitors were found everywhere; and the vindictive or the ambitious subject found himself as omnipresent as the jealous or offended emperor. There was no escape open, says Gibbon, *from* Caesar; true; but neither was there any escape *for* Caesar. The crown of the Caesars was therefore a crown of thorns; and it must be admitted, that never in this world have rank and power been purchased at so awful a cost of tranquillity and peace of mind. The steps of Caesar's throne were absolutely saturated with the blood of those who had possessed it: and so inexorable was the murderous fate which overhung that gloomy existence, that at length it demanded the spirit of martyrdom in him who ventured to ascend it.'—*De Quincey*, '*The Caesars.*'

We now reach buildings which closed the palace on the southwest. Some Corinthian cipollino pillars have been re-erected where they were found. The remains here appear to be additions of the time of Hadrian. Hence we can look down upon some further substructures of republican times, formed of huge tufa blocks, which have been buried under the artificial platform of Domitian.

Passing a space of ground, called, without much authority, *Biblioteca*, we reach a small **Theatre** on the edge of the hill. Hence we may look down over the valley (Vallis Murcia) between the Palatine and Aventine, where the rape of the Sabines took place, and on the site of the vast Circus Maximus.

On our right is (restored) the terraced staircase leading to the platform once occupied by the **Temple of Jupiter Propugnator.** On the steps is a pedestal, which, however, does not belong thereto, with an inscription stating that it was erected by 'Cn. Domitius M. F. Calvinus, Pontifex'—who was a general under Julius Caesar at Pharsalia, and consul 53 B.C. and 40 B.C. Beneath the temple are extensive subterranean chambers used as cisterns for storing water, but which were originally quarries.

We may now make westward, and within a few steps find a broad flight of steps cut in the tufa rock, which descend to the valley,

and are identifiable with the **Scalae Caci** of Solinus.[1] A little rectangular chamber on the tufa wall which flanks the top of the stairs was probably a republican cistern for lustral water (?).

Close to this stood the **wild cornel** or cherry tree, supposed to have grown from the spear Romulus hurled from the Aventine, surrounded by a stone fence. Oracles were supposed to be whispered from it, as from the oak groves of the ancient Israelites. When the stair was widened by Caligula, he interfered with the roots of the cornel tree, and it died. He altered the steps that he might more easily reach his favourite jockeys in the Circus Maximus. This staircase formed the escape to the Aventine used by Caius Gracchus. Vitellius also fled by this way when the city was taken by the generals of Vespasian in December A.D. 69. Near the stairs fragments of early black pottery may be found. On the right of the descent, nearly at the top, are remains of a drain, a stone channel, with tufa slabs to cover it. A republican street, with shops, ran here.

A gutter surrounds the quadrangular foundations of a tufo building a little above this, which was possibly one of the Chapels of the **Argei**, of which there were twenty-four in Rome. Hither, on May 15, came a procession, with pontifices and augurs, and to the Vestal virgins were given twenty-four puppets made of reeds (*argei*), which they presently threw into the Tiber, from the Pons Sublicius, originally, perhaps, as an offering of propitiation to the River-god, for the bridge which had been built over it. Dionysius says that the custom, continued until his time, was instituted by Hercules to satisfy the scruples of the people when he abolished the human sacrifices to Saturn. Doubtless the lower classes regarded them as substitutes for men.

Cicero mentions **Baths** at this corner of the hill, and also that Sextus Roscius was murdered by his relatives here, whilst returning from them. This was the father (?) of the dandy Quintus Roscius, who used to follow Hortensius as he walked, that he might observe the graceful way in which he folded his toga: his nephew was a friend of Cicero.

The consul Messala wished to build a theatre at this spot for scenic representations in honour of the worship of Cybele, whose temple was close by, but his intention was frustrated by the senate for fear he might interfere with the sacred Lupercal.

Beyond this, as far as the angle (west) of the hill, we find remains of houses and baths belonging to early imperial times.

House of Romulus, and the **Sacred Fig-Tree.**[2]

'The old Roman legend ran as follows: Procas, king of Alba, left two sons. Numitor, the elder, being weak and spiritless, suffered Amulius to wrest the government from him, and reduce him to his father's private estates. In the enjoyment of these he lived rich, and, as he desired nothing more, secure; but the usurper dreaded the claims that might be

[1] i. 18.

[2] The fig-tree was always sacred, and is so still in India and South America.

set up by heirs of a different character. He had Numitor's son murdered, and appointed his daughter, Silvia, one of the Vestal virgins.

'Amulius had no children, or at least only one daughter: so that the race of Anchises and Aphrodite seemed on the point of expiring, when the love of a god prolonged it, in spite of the ordinances of man, and gave it a lustre worthy of its origin. Silvia had gone into the sacred grove to draw water from the spring for the service of the temple. The sun quenched its rays: the sight of a wolf made her fly into a cave: there Mars overpowered the timid virgin, and then consoled her with the promise of noble children, as Poseidon consoled Tyro, the daughter of Salmoneus. But he did not protect her from the tyrant, nor could the protestations of her innocence save her. Vesta herself seemed to demand the condemnation of the unfortunate priestess; for at the moment when she was delivered of twins, the image of the goddess hid its eyes, her altar trembled, and her fire died away. Amulius ordered that the mother and her babes should be drowned in the river. In the Anio Silvia exchanged her earthly life for that of a goddess. The river carried the bole or cradle, in which the children were lying, into the Tiber, which had overflowed its banks far and wide, even to the foot of the woody hills. At the root of a wild fig-tree, the *Ficus ruminalis*, which was preserved and held sacred for many centuries, at the foot of the Palatine, the cradle overturned. A she-wolf came to drink of the stream: she heard the whimpering of the children, carried them into her den hard by, made a bed for them, licked and suckled them.[1] When they wanted other food than milk, a woodpecker, a bird sacred to Mars, brought it to them. Other birds consecrated to auguries hovered over them, to drive away insects. This marvellous spectacle was seen by Faustulus, the shepherd of the royal flocks. The she-wolf drew back, and gave up the children to human nature. Acca Larentia, his wife, became their foster-mother. They grew up, along with her twelve sons, on the Palatine hill, in straw huts which they built for themselves: that of Romulus was preserved by continual repairs, as a sacred relic, down to the time of Nero. They were the stoutest of the shepherd lads, fought bravely against wild beasts and robbers, maintaining their right against every one by their might, and turning might into right. Their booty they shared with their comrades. The followers of Romulus were called Quinctilii, those of Remus Fabii: the seeds of discord were soon sown amongst them. Their wantonness engaged them in disputes with the shepherds of the wealthy Numitor, who fed their flocks on Mount Aventine: so that here, as in the story of Evander and Cacus, we find the quarrel between the Palatine and the Aventine in the tales of the remotest times. Remus was taken by the stratagem of these shepherds, and dragged to Alba as a robber. A secret foreboding, the remembrance of his grandsons, awakened by the story of the two brothers, kept Numitor from pronouncing a hasty sentence. The culprits' foster-father hastened with Romulus to the city, and told the old man and the youths of their kindred. They resolved to avenge their own wrong and that of their house. With their faithful comrades, whom the dangers of Remus had brought to the city, they slew the king, and the people of Alba again became subject to Numitor.

'But love for the home which fate had assigned them drew the youths back to the banks of the Tiber, to found a city there, and the shepherds, their old companions, were their first citizens. . . . This is the old tale, as it was written by Fabius, and sung in ancient lays down to the time of Dionysius.' —*Niebuhr's 'History of Rome.'*

In the cliff of the Palatine, below, for many centuries, flourished the **fig-tree** (*Ficus ruminalis*), beneath which anciently was shown the Lupercal grotto, sacred from the earliest times to Lupercus (?), perhaps a divinity who multiplied flocks. The wolf may have been the 'Totem' of the Alban tribesmen.

[1] There is nothing impossible in this story. Well-authenticated instances were collected by Major Sleeman, in India, of boys carried off by wolves and nurtured by them.

> 'Hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum
> Retulit, et gelidâ monstrat sub rupe Lupercal,
> Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.'
>
> —*Virgil, Aen.* viii. 342.

When M. Furius Camillus, 390 B.C., after the sack of Rome by the Gauls, appealed to the despairing Senate in an impassioned speech not to desert the sacred ancestral spots of Rome, there was especially mentioned—'*casa illa conditoris nostri.*' In the hut, which was thatched with reeds, were preserved several objects venerated as relics of Romulus.

About the summit of the Scalae Caci lie so many remains of very early structures of various sizes (now rapidly disintegrating through exposure), that we may safely conjecture this part of the Cermalus to have contained the Argean Chapel,[1] the Auguratorium, the Casa Romuli, and perhaps the Schola Saliorum—all of them small buildings intimately related to the early history, ritual and political, of the Palatine people. But all absolute identification continues to be as much out of the question to-day as when they were laid bare. From them, however, may be made interesting studies of local materials and methods of construction. Perhaps earlier than any of these, nevertheless, is the now open '**tholus**' situated nearer to the house of Germanicus, found in 1896, having a battering dome coated with two layers of fine white stucco, and measuring 2 m. 80 c. in diameter. This structure, which has been originally a sacred store, similar to the sacrarium of Ops (found in 1899 in the Regia), has evidently been deliberately bisected and so spoiled in order to lay the lower courses of the wall of another sacred early building. There may be noticed at the sides (external) remains of the peculiar chocolate-coloured clay brought from the lava-quarries of the Via Appia, which seems to have been poured around these 'tholi' in order to preclude any percolation from outside entering them.

Turning westward toward the terrace which overhangs Velabrum, we reach a long rectangular block of concrete, crowned with ilex trees, supposed to be the podium of the most famous of the **Temples of Cybele**—*aedes Magnae Deum matris.* The temple was identified (?) from the female figure found near it in 1872. Thirteen years before it was built, the 'Black Stone,' the form under which the 'Idaean Mother' was originally worshipped, had been brought from Pessinus in Phrygia, the land of Aeneas, because, according to the Sibylline books, the invader Hannibal could only be overcome by its being transported to Rome. It was given up to the Romans by their ally Attalus, king of Pergamus, and P. Cornelius Scipio—accounted the worthiest and most virtuous of the Romans—was sent to receive it. As the vessel bearing the holy stone came up the Tiber, it grounded at the foot of the Aventine, when the aruspices declared that only chaste hands would be able to move it. Then the Vestal Claudia drew the vessel up the river

[1] There were twenty-four Argean chapels in the Servian city: 'Loca sacris faciendis, quae Argeos Pontifices vocant.'—Liv. i. 24.

by a rope (204 B.C.). Hannibal departed from Italy in the following year!

In her temple, which is believed to have been round and surmounted by a cupola, Cybele was represented by a statue with its front to the east, and the stone, which ended in a point so sharp that Servius calls it *acus Matris Deum*, occupied the place of the head. The relic was stolen by Heliogabalus and placed in his private museum. It was perhaps found (as described by Mgr. Francesco Bianchini) in 1730, and then lost; but this ascription is extremely doubtful. The temple was adorned with a painting of Corybantes, and plays were acted in front of it.[1]

> 'Flecte vias qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei,
> Et Cybeles picto stat Corybante tholus.'
> —*Martial, Ep.* i. 70, 9.

The cult of this goddess was quite peculiar, and her priests were called 'Galli,' amongst whom no Roman could take office, although the chief or Archigallus was always a Roman. Her festival was called Megalesia, and it was held on April 10.

After its second destruction by fire, this temple was entirely rebuilt by Augustus in A.D. 2, a fact rather unfriendly to the attribution of these remains. Claudius Gothicus was crowned in it A.D. 268.

On this side of the hill fronting the Capitoline rose the **Palace of Tiberius**,[2] in which the emperor resided during the earlier part of his reign, when he was under the influence of his aged and imperious mother, Livia. Here he had to mourn for Drusus, his only son, who fell a victim (A.D. 23) to poison, administered to him by his wife Livilla and her lover, the favourite minister Sejanus. Here also, in A.D. 29, died Livia, widow of Augustus, at the age of eighty-six, 'a memorable example of successful artifice, having attained in succession, by craft if not by crime, every object she could desire in the career of female ambition.'[3] It was from the windows of the Domus Tiberiana that Tacitus describes Vitellius as watching the burning of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter, and the fight between his adherents and the partisans of Vespasian. In its libraries Marcus Aurelius studied. It perished in the fire of A.D. 192.

The row of cells remaining beneath the upper terrace to which we ascend in the palace of Tiberius are probably (but not originally) guardrooms. In the fourth arch is, or was, a curious *graffito* of a ship.

Except for these soldiers' quarters, the **Domus Tiberiana** remains unexcavated, and its site is covered with gardens. If we continue along our terraced garden toward the Forum, or north-east, we shall insensibly be upon the site of the ground-floor of that vast extension of the house of Tiberius which Caligula made after A.D. 37. But if, on the other hand, we turn back after having

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[1] Dyer's *Hist. of the City of Rome.*
[2] Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 77; Suet. *Vitell.* 15. [3] Merivale, ch. xlv.

realised our splendid point of vantage, and descend the flight of steps by the before-named cells, or guardrooms, we shall find ourselves threading eastward a little paved street or Vicus (Germanici ?) which will immediately bring us to an inclined passage, or vestibule, on our right, having an arched vault and stucco walls painted in panels. This takes us, with a sharp turn to left, directly down a paven passage into the atrium of the **House of Germanicus**, or his father, Drusus, a modest yet extensive dwelling of the Augustan age, discovered in 1869. Its form has, as usual, been rectangular, and while on the south side it was skirted by a street leading to the central region of the hill, it opened, as we have seen, on to a covered and probably strictly private way, or crypto-porticus. The **atrium**, with its simple early mosaic pavement, opens on our right into a vaulted chamber painted with red panels varied with birds, fruit, and animals. Over the door appears a glass bowl containing fruit, whence the room has been named the **Triclinium**, or dining-room. Near its entrance a narrow stairway conducts to the upper storey and rearwards. The atrium itself opens into **Tablinum** and **Alae** (left and right). That on the right is painted with an interesting frieze containing landscapes with figures and camels. Beneath are bold festoons of fruit and flowers.

The **Tablinum**, or central hall, has been painted with more important frescoes, of which that on the right wall is the best preserved. The subject represents Io, the nymph, of whom Juno was jealous, guarded by Argus. Mercury advances to release her. That on the east wall (quite ruined) exhibited Polyphemus following into the waves Galatea, who was escaping from his attentions on the back of a sea-horse. On the left wall have been fastened good specimens of leaden water-pipes found on the Palatine, stamped with the names of Julia Augusta (niece of Domitian), Eutychus, the superintendent of the Imperial water-works, and another, bearing the name of the freedman (plumber) Pescennius Eros—probably of the time of Severus (A.D. 200). The left *ala* (or wing) is so collapsed and restored as to afford no pleasure. All these rooms were vaulted, lit with skylights, probably of talc at first, and later, of glass, and were entered by small doors from the *Atrium*, which likewise was a covered one, without *Impluvium*. At the rear of these chambers a number of small bedrooms (*cubiculae*) open on to a *peristylium* (court). Baths and kitchen may be traced. The outer wall of the **Triclinium** being exposed to weather has been provided with flanged tiles, so as to secure air between the pictures on the interior surface and the outer face of the wall. The house is built with tufo-concrete faced with 'opus reticulatum.' The unevenness of the surface of the Palatine is easily demonstrated by the position of the entrance. The mosaics here exemplify neat and early work, decorated with geometrical designs; they resemble in character those seen in the remains of the **Domus Publica** (Caesar's House) in the Forum. Germanicus, favourite of soldiers and people (born B.C. 15), was the son of N. Claudius Drusus and the beautiful Antonia, daughter of Marcus Antonius, the famous triumvir. He was adopted

by his uncle Tiberius many years before the death and by the wish of Augustus, and married A.D. 5 (?) Agrippina, daughter of Vipsanius Agrippa, and Julia, the daughter of Augustus. He assisted Tiberius (A.D. 7–10) in the Pannonian campaign, and in A.D. 12 was consul in Rome. Next year the glories of a campaign against the Germans for the recovery of the lost 'Eagles' and vengeance for the lost legions of Varus, attracted him, and opened under his command. He was again in Rome in A.D. 17 when he was given command of the Eastern Provinces of the Empire. He died, it was believed, a victim to the wiles of Piso and Plancina, in Armenia, A.D. 19. By Agrippina he was father of nine children, including Caligula and Agrippina (2).

The northern angle of the Palatine is entirely occupied by the vast substructures of the **Palace of Caligula** — *Domus Gaiana*— artificially extended beyond and against the side of the hill above the **Clivus Victoriae**, and consisting of ranges of rooms and staircases communicating with open galleries. In this palace lived the half-mad Caius Caligula, sometimes dressed as a charioteer, sometimes as a warrior, sometimes—not at all; who delighted in fearfully amusing his courtiers by extraordinary pranks, or shocking them by trying to enforce a belief in his own divinity.[1]

Here 'one day at a public banquet, when the consuls were reclining by his side, Caligula burst suddenly into a fit of laughter; and when they courteously inquired the cause of his mirth, astounded them by coolly replying that he was thinking how by one word he could cause both their heads to roll on the floor. He amused himself with similar banter even with his wife Caesonia, for whom he seems to have had a stronger feeling than for any of his former consorts. While fondling her neck he is reported to have said, "Fair as it is, how easily I could sever it!"'—*Merivale*, ch. xlviii.

Fortunately his reign lasted but four years, but these were years of terror. After the murder of Caligula (Jan. 24, A.D. 41) by the tribunes Chaerea and Sabinus in the vaulted passage (crypto-porticus) which led from the palace to the Area Palatina, a singular chance which occurred in the palace led to the elevation of Claudius to the throne.

'In the confusion which ensued upon the death of Caius, several of the praetorian guards had flung themselves furiously into the palace and began to plunder its glittering chambers. None dared to offer them any opposition; the slaves or freedmen fled and concealed themselves. One of the inmates, half-hidden behind a curtain in an obscure corner, was dragged forth with brutal violence; and great was the intruders' surprise when they recognised him as Claudius, the long despised and neglected uncle of the murdered emperor.[2] He sank at their feet almost senseless with terror; but the soldiers in their wildest mood still respected the blood of the Caesars, and instead of slaying or maltreating the suppliant, the brother of Germanicus, they hailed him, more in jest perhaps than earnest, with the title of Imperator, and carried him off to their camp.'—*Merivale*, ch. xlix.

The palace long after was held to be haunted by the screaming ghost of Caligula. In this place Cladius was feasting when he was informed that his formerly idolised wife Messalina was dead, with-

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[1] Suet. *Cal.* 22.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 10. 'Prorepsit ad solarium proximum, interque praetexta foribus vela se abdidit.' The solarium was the external terraced portico, and this still remains.

out being told whether she died by her own hand or another's. He asked no questions, merely desiring a servant to pour him out some more wine, and went on eating his supper.[1] Here also he devoured his fatal repast of mushrooms, which his next loving wife (and niece), Agrippina, prepared for him, in order to make way to the throne for her son Nero.[2]

The **Clivus Victoriae** commemorates by its name the ancient **Altar of Victory**,[3] said to have been erected by the Sabine aborigines before the time of Romulus, and to have been the earliest temple at Rome of which there is any mention except that of Saturnus. This temple was built by the consul L. Postumius, 294 B.C., and often restored in imperial days. It probably overlooked the cliff.

Other temples on the Palatine, probably near this portion, were that of Juno Sospita :—

> 'Principio mensis, Phrygiae contermina Matri,
> Sospita delubris dicitur aucta novis.'
> —*Ovid*, *Fast.* ii. 55.

that of Minerva :—

> 'Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Minervae,
> Ingenio frueris qui propiore Dei.'
> —*Martial*, *Ep.* v. 5.

From the Torretta del Palatino (an interesting building of Farnese times destroyed in 1884), which stood near the Palace of Caligula, there was a magnificent view over the hills of Rome ;—the Palatine, Aventine, Capitoline, Coelian, Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline. Hence also we could see the ground we have traversed on the Palatine spread before us like a map.

If we descend the steep staircase in the Palace of Caligula, we find ourselves on the **Clivus Victoriae**. Above us, by a hanging bridge spanning the Temple of Augustus (supra templum divi Augusti ponte transmisso), and over the roof of the Basilica Julia, in the valley, the mad Caligula used to pass, that he might, as he said, the more easily hold intercourse on equal terms with his friend Jupiter upon the Capitol. The ancient **Porta Romanula** was probably destroyed before Caligula built his palace and extended it over the Clivus.

If we keep straight on **below** the Clivus Victoriae, and its portico of shops, we shall find built against the escarpment of the Palatine behind the little round church of S. Teodoro a concrete wall of imperial date, below which the tufa rock becomes visible. Near the western corner of the hill stands a portion of the earliest wall of the Palatine, usually known as the **Wall of Romulus**, built in irregular courses of headers and stretchers without cement.[4] The stone used was the brown tufo of the Palatine, which is studded

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[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 37, 38 ; Dion, lx. 31 ; Suet. *Claud.* 39.
[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 67 ; Suet. *Claud.* 47.
[3] Dionysius, i. 32 ; Livy, xxix. 14.
[4] The real wall of Romulus must have been little more than an earthwork.

with pieces of pumice-stone, not carbonised branches, as is often stated.

Behind the wall are remains of another early tholos, once reached by a circular shaft from the upper part of the hill, but now cut in two.

At the corner toward S. Anastasia are remains of houses, apparently of the time of Augustus and Tiberius, built against the cliff. The wall of Romulus can be again traced eastward among them. Most authorities consider that this was the locality called Lupercal, in remembrance of Romulus and Remus having been drifted ashore by the Tiber and suckled here by the wolf.

In front of these occur the remarkable travertine **altar** discovered in 1820. It is inscribed SEI DEO SEI DEIVAE SAC. C. SEXTIVS C.F. CALVINUS PR—DE SENATI SENTENTIA RESTITVIT. Mommsen supposes this to be the actual altar erected to the Genius Loci, in consequence of the mysterious warning in 310 B.C. of the Gallic invasion, and that it was originally called the altar of Aius Locutius, or wandering voice, placed on the Nova Via, but moved by Caligula, when he built his palace. It was restored by the individual above named *c.* 90 B.C.

In a niche on the **gardener's house**, under the cliff, is a bust of Monsignor Bianchini, who (*c.* 1720) held this part of the Palatine under a lease, which allowed him to mine for marbles, which he sold to workmen for lime. One day when walking here with two prelates to whom he was showing his spoils, he put his foot into a hole, broke his leg, and the ancient Goddess of Fever took vengeance on him. He left behind him two or three very dull folios.

Beyond this, toward the Palace of Severus, a number of chambers have been discovered between the Palatine and the Circus Maximus, belonging to the house of one Gelotius—Domus Gelotiana—bought and added to the imperial palace by Caligula. It was afterwards used as the **Paedagogium**, or school for court-pages. A number of *graffiti* have been found upon the walls. Some boys educated here had been previously at an elementary school called *paedogogium ad caput Africae* (on the Coelian), and testify their delight at being transferred from the rod of their master there to the palace, in such inscriptions as 'Corinthus exit de paedagogio;' 'Marianus Afer exit de paedagogio.' Another (now destroyed) allusion to the hardships of school-life was a sketch of an ass turning a cornmill, and the sensible superscription 'Labora aselle quomodo ego laboravi et proderit tibi' ('Work, little donkey, as I have worked, and it will profit thee'). The most interesting *graffito*, found (1857) in the fourth chamber, representing a **caricature of the Crucifixion**, has been removed to the Kircherian Museum. It is generally believed to have been executed during the reign of Alexander Severus, and to have been done in an idle moment by one of the guards occupying these rooms. It is perhaps the earliest existing pictorial allusion to the manner of the death of Christ. The figure on the cross has an ass's head, and near the worshipping figure is inscribed in Greek characters, *Alexamenos adores his God.*

'The lowest orders of the populace were as intelligently hostile to it [the worship of the Crucified] as were the philosophers. Witness that remarkable caricature of the adoration of our crucified Lord, which was discovered some ten years ago beneath the ruins of the Palatine palace. It is a rough sketch, traced, in all probability, by the hand of some pagan slave in one of the earliest years of the third century of our era. A human figure with an ass's head is represented as fixed to a cross, while another figure in a tunic stands on one side. This figure is addressing himself to the crucified monster, and is making a gesture which was the customary pagan expression of adoration. Underneath there runs a rude inscription—*Alexamenos adores his God.* Here we are face to face with a touching episode of the life of the Roman Church in the days of Severus or of Caracalla. As under Nero, so, a century and a half later, there were worshippers of Christ in the household of Caesar. But the paganism of the later date was more intelligently and bitterly hostile to the Church than the paganism which had shed the blood of the apostles. The Gnostic invective which attributed to the Jews the worship of an ass was applied by pagans indiscriminately to Jews and Christians. Tacitus attributes the custom to a legend respecting services rendered by wild asses to the Israelites in the desert; "and so, I suppose," observes Tertullian, "it was thence presumed that we, as bordering upon the Jewish religion, were taught to worship such a figure." Such a story, once current, was easily adapted to the purposes of a pagan caricaturist. Whether from ignorance of the forms of christian worship, or in order to make his parody of it more generally intelligible to its pagan admirers, the draughtsman has ascribed to Alexamenos the gestures of a heathen devotee. But the real object of his parody is too plain to be mistaken. Jesus Christ, we may be sure, had other confessors and worshippers in the imperial palace as well as Alexamenos. The moral pressure of the advancing Church was felt throughout all ranks of pagan society; ridicule was invoked to do the work of argument; and the moral persecution which crowned all true christian devotion was often only the prelude to a sterner test of that loyalty to a crucified Lord which was as insensible to the misrepresentations, as christian faith was superior to the logic of heathendom.'[1]—*Liddon, Bampton Lectures of* 1866, Lect. vii. p. 593.

These chambers acquire additional interest from the belief which many permit themselves to entertain that they are those once occupied by the Praetorian Guard, in which S. Paul was confined.

'The close of the Epistle to the Ephesians contains a remarkable example of the forcible imagery of S. Paul. Considered simply in itself, the description of the Christian's armour is one of the most striking passages in the sacred volume. But if we view it in connection with the circumstances with which the Apostle was surrounded, we find a new and living emphasis in the enumeration of all the parts of the heavenly panoply,—the belt of sincerity and truth, with which the loins are girded for the spiritual war,—the breastplate of that righteousness, the inseparable links whereof are faith and love, —the strong sandals, with which the feet of Christ's soldiers are made ready, not for such errands of death and despair as those on which the Praetorian soldiers were daily sent, but for the universal message of the gospel of peace,—the large shield of confident trust, wherewith the whole man is protected, and whereon the fiery arrows of the Wicked One fall harmless and dead,—the close-fitting helmet, with which the hope of salvation invests the head of the believer,—and finally, the sword of the Spirit, the Word of God, which, when wielded by the Great Captain of our Salvation, turned the tempter in the wilderness to flight, while in the hands of His chosen Apostle (with whose memory the sword seems inseparably associated), it became the means of establishing Christianity on the earth.

'All this imagery becomes doubly forcible if we remember that when S. Paul wrote the words he was chained to a soldier, and in the close neighbourhood of military sights and sounds. The appearance of the Praetorian

[1] Padre Garucci, S.J., has published an exhaustive monograph on this celebrated 'Graffito Blasfemo.' Roma, 1857.

guards was daily familiar to him; as his "chains," on the other hand (so he tells us in the succeeding Epistle), became well known throughout the whole *Praetorium* (Phil. i. 13). A difference of opinion has existed as to the precise meaning of the word in this passage. Some have identified it, as in the Authorised Version, with the house of Caesar on the Palatine: more commonly it has been supposed to mean that permanent camp of the Praetorian guards which Tiberius established on the north of the city, outside the walls. As regards the former opinion, it is true that the word came to be used, almost as we use the word "palace," for royal residences generally or for any residences of princely splendour. Yet we never find the word employed for the imperial house at Rome; and we believe the truer view to be that which has been recently advocated—namely, that it denotes here, not the place itself, but the quarters of that part of the imperial guards which was in immediate attendance upon the emperor. The emperor was *praetor* or commander-in-chief of the troops, and it was natural that his immediate guard should be in a *praetorium* near him. It might, indeed, be argued that this military establishment on the Palatine would cease to be necessary when the Praetorium camp was established; but the purpose of that establishment was to concentrate near the city those cohorts which had previously been dispersed in other parts of Italy: a local body-guard near the palace would not cease to be necessary; and Josephus, in his account of the imprisonment of Agrippa, speaks of a "camp" in connection with the "royal house." Such we conceive to have been the barrack immediately alluded to by S. Paul; though the connection of these smaller quarters with the general camp was such that he would naturally become known to "*all the rest*" of the guards, as well as those who might for the time be connected with the imperial household.

'S. Paul tells us (in the Epistle to the Philippians) that throughout the Praetorian quarter he was well known as a prisoner for the cause of Christ, and he sends special salutations to the Philippian Church from the Christians of the imperial household. These notices bring before us very vividly the moral contrasts by which the Apostle was surrounded. The soldier to whom he was chained to-day might have been in Nero's body-guard yesterday; his comrade who next relieved guard might have been one of the executioners of Octavia, and might have carried her head to Poppaea a few weeks before.

'History has few stronger contrasts than when it shows us Paul preaching Christ under the walls of Nero's palace. Thenceforward there were but two religions in the Roman world: the worship of the emperor, and the worship of the Saviour. The old superstitions had long been worn out; they had lost all hold on educated minds. . . . Over against the altars of Nero and Poppaea, the voice of a prisoner was daily heard, and daily woke in grovelling souls the consciousness of their divine destiny. Men listened, and knew that self-sacrifice was better than ease, humiliation more exalted than pride, to suffer nobler than to reign. They felt that the only religion which satisfied the needs of man was the religion of sorrow, the religion of self-devotion, the religion of the cross.'—*Conybeare and Howson.*

Above us, among ancient cypresses, stands a convent of Visitandine nuns, occupying a most beautiful but coveted position. The convent and its trees are as much beloved by the painter as their site is desired by the archaeologist. Here stood the House of Hortensius, an orator, who was second only to Cicero in eloquence, and who, in the early part at least of their lives, was his chief opponent. Cicero himself does justice to the extraordinary gifts of his rival, as well as the integrity with which he fulfilled the duties of quaestor. In the latter portion of his public career Hortensius was frequently engaged on the same side as Cicero, and once he recognised his superiority by allowing him to speak last. Hortensius died 50 B.C., to the grief of his rival. The splendid villas of Hortensius were celebrated. He was accustomed to water his trees

with wine at regular intervals, and had huge fishponds at Baiae, into which the salt-water fish came to feed from his hand, and he became so fond of them, that he wept for the death of a favourite muraena. But his house on the Palatine was considered comparatively simple, and it had no decorations but plain columns of Alban stone. This site became chosen for the residence of Augustus, and the House was voted him after the defeat of Pompey, B.C. 36.

The **Palace of Augustus** was begun soon after the battle of Actium. Part of the ground which it covers had previously been occupied by the villa of Catiline. Here Suetonius says that Augustus occupied the same bedroom for forty years. Here he had his various collections and his Greek and Latin libraries, and here his grandsons Caius and Lucius took their lessons in the atrium from Verrius Flaccus. Before the northern entrance of the palace it was ordained by the Senate, 26 B.C., that two bay-trees, as at the Regia, should be planted, in remembrance of Augustus having preserved the lives of certain citizens, while an oak wreath was placed above the gate in commemoration of his victories.

'Singula dum miror, video fulgentibus armis
Conspicuos postes, tectaque digna deo.
An Jovis haec, dixi, domus est? Quod ut esse putarem
Augurium menti querna corona dabat.
Cujus ut accepi dominum. Non fallimur, inquam:
Et magni verum est hanc Jovis esse domum.
Cur tamen apposita velatur janua lauro?
Cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores?'
—*Ovid, Trist.* iii. *El.* i. 33.

'State, Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
Stet domus; aeternos tres habet una deos.'
—*Fast.* iv. 953.

It was before the gate of this palace that Augustus upon one day in every year sat as a beggar, receiving alms from the passers-by, in obedience to a vision warning him thus to appease Nemesis.

Behind a gardener's house on the slope of the hill, the semicircular form (*pulvinar*) of the south-west front of the house of Augustus is visible, whence, as from a spacious loggia, the Emperors could look down upon the games in the Circus Maximus. At the point where we are now, if we ascend the staircase behind the gardener's house, we reach the cypress garden which till recently belonged to the convent, and we may thence descend a long staircase leading to the ground floor of the palace (partly excavated in 1792 by Rancoureuil), consisting of chambers and halls, splendid in proportion, once adorned by statues, but stripped of their precious marbles by antiquity vendors, who rented them for that purpose in the eighteenth century. These chambers are more easily reached to-day from the Stadium by a passage containing good traces of the staircase.

The Palace of Augustus (apparently rebuilt by Domitian and Hadrian) was strictly square, enclosing a square peristylium, upon which colonnade over colonnade opened. Adjoining it, as a sort of

atrium, the Emperor (on ground he had purchased before the Senate voted him the House of Hortensius) constructed his capo-lavoro, the Area Apollinis, a spacious rectangular porticus, enclosing the solid marble octo-style Temple of Apollo, a beautiful reading-room between a Greek and a Latin library, containing, besides art-treasures collected from the known world, a bronze statue of Augustus himself. The temple, the most sumptuous Rome had yet held, occupied (with a dependent circular temple of Vesta), the centre of the area, and was adorned with niches containing statues of the nine Muses; while within the cells were those of Apollo by Scopas, Diana by Timotheos, and Latona by Cephisodotos. On the apex of the pediment shone a gilded colossal group of Apollo driving the chariot and four horses of the Sun. The porticus encircling this wonderful temple was adorned with statues of the fifty daughters of Danaus, and equestrian ones of their ill-fated husbands, the sons of Ægyptus. In front of the temple stood an altar surrounded by four oxen in gilded bronze, by Myron, opposite which, at a little distance to the north-east (towards the Arch of Titus), stood the splendid Propylaea, or arched gate of entrance, also surmounted by a marble quadriga, guided by Apollo and Artemis, the masterpiece of Lysias, forming the beautiful frontispiece and introductory to the entire group of buildings. It was approached, as before related, by the **Vicus Apollinis** from the **Velia** (or ridge), up which Horace, wearing his laureate wreath, led the white-robed choir of youths and maidens chanting his Carmen Saeculare, at the beautiful festival held by Augustus at the revival of the Ludi Saeculares in June, 17 B.C.

'Nothing could exceed the magnificence of this temple, according to the accounts of ancient authors. Propertius, who was present at its dedication, has devoted a short elegy to the description of it, and Ovid describes it as a splendid structure of white marble.

"Tum medium claro surgebat marmore templum,
Et patria Phoebo carius Ortygia.
Auro Solis erat supra fastigia currus,
Et valvae, Libyci nobile dentis opus,
Altera dejectos Parnassi vertice Gallos,
Altera moerebat funera Tantalidos.
Deinde inter matrem Deus ipse, interque sororem,
Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat."
—*Propertius*, *El.* ii. 31.

"Inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis
Ducor ad intonsi candida templa Dei."
—*Ovid*, *Trist.* iii. *El.* 1. 59.

'From the epithet *aurea* porticus, it seems probable that the cornice of the portico which surrounded it was gilt. The columns were of African marble, or *giallo antico*, and must have been fifty-two in number, as between them were the statues of the fifty Danaids, and that of their father, brandishing a naked sword.

"Quaeris cur veniam tibi tardior? Aurea Phoebi
Porticus a magno Caesare aperta fuit.
Tota erat in speciem Poenis digesta columnis:
Inter quas Danai foemina turba senis."
—*Propert. El.* ii. 31.

"Signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis
Belides, et stricto barbarus ense pater."
—*Ovid*, *Trist.* iii. 1. 61.

'Here also was a statue of Apollo sounding the lyre, apparently a likeness of Augustus; whose beauty when a youth, to judge from his bust in the Vatican, might well entitle him to counterfeit the god. Around the altar were the images of four oxen, the work of Myron, so beautifully sculptured that they seemed alive. In the middle of the portico rose the temple, apparently of white marble. Over the pediment was the chariot of the sun. The gates were of ivory, one of them sculptured with the story of the giants hurled down from the heights of Parnassus, the other representing the destruction of the Niobids. Inside the temple was the statue of Apollo in a tunica talaris, or long garment, between his mother Latona and his sister Diana, the work of Scopas, Cephisodorus, and Timotheus. Under the base of Apollo's statue Augustus caused to be buried the Sibylline books, which he had selected and placed in gilt chests. Attached to the temple was a library called *Bibliotheca Graeca et Latina*, apparently, however, only one structure, containing the literature of both tongues. Only the choicest works were admitted to the honour of a place in it, as we may infer from Horace:—

"Tangere vitet
Scripta, Palatinus quaecunque recepit Apollo."
—*Ep.* i. 3. 16.

'The library appears to have contained a bronze statue of Apollo, fifty feet high; whence we must conclude that the roof of the hall exceeded that height. In this library, or more probably, perhaps, in an adjoining apartment, poets, orators, and philosophers recited their productions. The listless demeanour of the audience on such occasions seems, from the description of the younger Pliny, to have been, in general, not over-encouraging. Attendance seems to have been considered as a friendly duty.'—*Dyer's 'City of Rome.'*

The Temple of Apollo was built by Augustus to commemorate the battle of Actium, and dedicated to his favourite divinity. He appropriated to it part of the land covered with houses which he had purchased upon the Palatine;—another part he gave to the Vestals; the third he used for his own palace.

'Phoebus habet partem; Vestae pars altera cessit:
Quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.
. . . . . .
Stet domus; aeternos tres habet una deos.'
—*Ovid*, *Fast.* iv. 951.

Thus Apollo and Vesta became, as it were, the household gods of Augustus:—

'Vestaque Caesareos inter sacrata penates,
Et cum Caesarea tu, Phoebe domestice, Vesta.'
—*Ovid*, *Metam.* xv. 864.

Their temples here were burnt A.D. 363 and not rebuilt.

(The saracenic-seeming villa, which is now turned into a convent, possessed some frescoes painted by Giulio Romano from designs of Raffaelle, but these were removed in deference to the modesty of the present inhabitants, whose lives and customs are not oriental.)

Immediately adjoining, on the south-east, are the remains of a **Stadium** for foot-races, with a large semicircular exhedra (on E.), or loggia for viewing the sports. The Stadium was built by Domitian, restored by Severus, and transformed by King Theodoric. The exhedra is the work of Hadrian. On the walls of its lower chambers

may be noticed frescoes of the fourth century, in one of which is portrayed a terrestrial globe and an inkstand (?). A passage on the left communicated with the upper gallery. Some of the art treasures found here are preserved in the Palazzo Mattei and Villa Albani.

The statue of a Muse, now in the Museo delle Terme, was found here in 1868, and a beautiful Juno, also in the Museo, in 1878.

From the Stadium we pass to the grand ruins, occupying the southern angle of the Palatine, which constitute by far the most picturesque part of the palaces of the Caesars, and the only portion that was not embedded in soil before 1861. These ruins include remains of **Palace of Hadrian**, swallowed up in the later colossal buildings of Severus. Few compositions can be finer than those formed by the lofty masses of stately brick arcading, standing out against the delicate blue and pink shadows of the distant Campagna. Beneath the terrace is a range of lofty chambers framing lovely glimpses of the far-off Alban hills, the convents of the Pseudo-Aventine, and the pyramidal tomb of Cestius. This portion of the palace longest remained entire, and was inhabited by Heraclius in the seventh century. In the sixteenth this part of the Palatine was owned by Tommaso Inghirami of Volterra, surnamed Fedra.

The **Septizonium of Severus**, so called from its six storeys, and erected A.D. 198, was destroyed in 1588 by Sixtus V., who carried off its materials for the building of S. Peter's, for making the base of the obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo, and restoring other buildings. The Pope only paid 900 scudi for his purchase of materials. The Septizonium was erected, as a 'Frontispizio' to his palace, by Severus at its eastern flank, in order, it was suggested, to strike the eyes of his African compatriots[1] on their approach to Rome. It faced the Coelian.

The remaining ruins in this portion of the hill have not yet been historically identified. The arches seen in the hollow between the Palatine and Coelian belong to the aqueduct made by Domitian to carry the Aqua Claudia from the top of the Coelian to the Palatine.

'Is it illusion; or does there a spirit from perfecter ages,
Here, even yet, amid loss, change, and corruption, abide?
Does there a spirit we know not, though seek; though we find, comprehend not,
Hereto entice and confuse, tempt and evade us, abide?
Lives in the exquisite grace of the column disjointed and single,
Haunts the rude masses of bricks garlanded gaily with vine,
E'en in the turret fantastic surviving that springs from the ruin,
E'en in the people itself? is it illusion or not?'

—*Clough.*

In spite of these fascinating associations, this portion of the hill yields in historic interest to the opposite, or northern, angle. Above the Clivus Victoriae, on the area used by Caligula, is the locality once occupied by so many of the great patrician families, whose residence on the Palatine caused the name of *palace* to be

[1] Septimius Severus was born A.D. 146, near Leptis in Africa.

afterwards applied to all noble residences. Here at one time lived Caius Gracchus, who, to gratify the populace, gave up his house on the Palatine, and made his home in the gloomy Suburra. Here also lived his coadjutor in the consulship, Fulvius Flaccus, who shared his fate, and whose house was razed to the ground by the people after his murder. At this corner of the hill also was the house of Q. Lutatius Catulus, poet, historian, and builder of the Tabularium, who was consul 102 B.C., and together with Marius was conqueror of the Cimbri in a great battle near Vercelli. In memory of this he founded a temple of the 'Fortuna hujusce diei,' and decorated the portico of his house with Cimbrian trophies. Hence the Porticus Catuli. Varro mentions that his house had a domed roof. Here also the consul Octavius, murdered on the Janiculum by the partisans of Marius, had a house, which was rebuilt with great magnificence by Æmilius Scaurus, who adorned it with columns of marble thirty-eight feet high. These two last-named houses were bought by the wealthy Clodius, who gave 14,800,000 sesterces, or about £130,000, for that of Scaurus, and destroying the Porticus Catuli, included its site, and the house of Scaurus, in his own still more magnificent palace. Clodius was a member of the great clan of the Claudii, and was the lover of Pompeia, wife of Julius Caesar, by whose connivance, disguised as a female musician, he attempted to be present at the secret rites of the Bona Dea, which were celebrated in the house of the Pontifex Maximus or Domus Publica, in the Forum, and from which men were so carefully excluded that even a male mouse, says Juvenal, dared not show himself there. The position of his own dwelling, and that of the Pontifex, close to the Nova Via, afforded facility for this adventure, but he was discovered by his losing himself in the passages. A scandal was the result: Caesar divorced Pompeia, and the senate referred the matter to the pontifices, who declared Clodius guilty of sacrilege. Clodius attempted to prove an alibi, but Cicero's evidence showed that he was in Rome only three hours before he pretended to be at Interamna. Bribery and intimidation secured his acquittal by a majority of thirty-one to twenty-five, and from this time a deadly enmity ensued between him and Cicero.

The house of Clodius naturally is associated with that of Cicero, which was also situated near this corner of the Palatine, whence he could see the Forum, and go to and from his duties there. This house had been built for M. Livius Drusus, who, when his architect proposed a plan to prevent its being overlooked, answered, 'Rather build it so that all my fellow-citizens may behold everything I do.' In his acts Drusus seemed to imitate the Gracchi; but he sought popularity for its own sake, and after being the object of a series of conspiracies, was finally murdered in the presence of his mother. Cornelia, in his own hall, where the image of his father was sprinkled with his blood. When dying he turned to those around him, and asked, with Addisonian arrogance, based perhaps upon conscious honesty of purpose, 'When will the commonwealth have

a citizen like me again?' After the death of Drusus the house was inhabited by Lucius Crassus the orator, who lived here in great elegance and luxury. His house was called, from its beauty, 'The Venus of the Palatine,' and was remarkable for its size, the taste of its furniture, and the beauty of its grounds. It was adorned with columns of Hymettian marble, with expensive vases, and triclinia inlaid with bronze. His gardens were provided with fish-ponds, and some noble lotus-trees (*Diospyrus Lotus*) shaded his walks. Ahenobarbus, his colleague in the censorship, found fault with such luxurious manners, and estimated his house (according to Valerius Maximus) at six million sesterces. Crassus retorted by a public speech against his colleague, and by his powers of ridicule turned him into derision, jested upon his name; and to the accusation of weeping for a dead lamprey, he replied that it was more than Ahenobarbus had done for the loss of any of his three wives. Cicero purchased the house of Crassus a year or two after his Consulate for a sum equal to about £30,000, and removed thither from his house on the Carinae with his wife Terentia. His house was therefore perilously close to that of Clodius, but a little lower down the hill, which enabled him to threaten to increase the height, so as to shut out his neighbour's view of the city he had done so much to disfigure.[1] Upon his accession to the tribunate Clodius procured the disgrace of Cicero, and after his flight to Greece, obtained a decree of banishment against him. He then pillaged and destroyed his house upon the Palatine, as well as his villas at Tusculum and Formiae, and obliged Terentia to take refuge with the Vestals, whose Superior was her sister. But in the following year, a change of consuls and revulsion of the popular favour led to the recall of Cicero. He found part of his house appropriated by Clodius, who had erected a shrine to Libertas (with a statue which was that of a Greek courtesan carried from a tomb) on the site of the remainder, which he had razed to the ground.[2]

'Clodius had also destroyed the portico of Catulus; in fact, he appears to have been desirous of appropriating all this side of the Palatine. He wanted to buy the house of the aedile Seius. Seius having declared that so long as he lived Clodius should not have it, Clodius caused him to be poisoned, and then bought his house under a feigned name! He was thus enabled to erect a portico three hundred feet in length, in place of that of Catulus. The latter, however, was afterwards restored at the public expense.

'Cicero obtained public grants for the restoration of his house and of his Tusculan and Formian villas, but very far from enough to cover the losses he had suffered. The aristocratic part of the Senate appears to have envied and grudged the *novus homo* to whose abilities they looked for protection. He was advised not to rebuild his house on the Palatine, but to sell the ground. It was not in Cicero's temper to take such a course, but he was hampered ever after with debts. Clodius, who had been defeated but not beaten, still continued his persecutions. He organised a gang of street boys to call out under Cicero's windows, "Bread! Bread!" His band interrupted the dramatic performances on the Palatine, at the Megalesian

[1] 'Tollam altius tectum, non ut ego te despiciam, sed ne tu aspicias urbem eam, quam delere voluisti.'—*De Harusp. Res.* 15.

[2] Cic. *Pro Dom. ad Pont.*, 42.

games, by rushing upon the stage. On another occasion, Clodius, at the head of his myrmidons, besieged the Senate in the Temple of Concord. He attacked Cicero in the streets, to the danger of his life; and when he had begun to rebuild his house, drove away the masons, overthrew what part had been re-erected of Catulus's portico, and cast burning torches into the house of Quintus Cicero, which he had hired next to his brother's on the Palatine, and consumed a great part of it.'—*Dyer's 'City of Rome,'* p. 152.

The indemnity which Cicero received from the State in order to rebuild his house on the Palatine amounted to about £16,000. The house of Quintus Cicero was rebuilt close to his brother's at the same time by Cyros, a fashionable architect of the day.

Among other noble householders on this part of the Palatine had been Mark Antony, whose house was afterwards given by Augustus to Agrippa and Messala, soon after which it was burnt down.

Below the Clivus Victoriae rise the lofty remains of the **Temple of Augustus**—Templum Divi Augusti—begun by Livia and Tiberius, finished by Caligula, damaged by fire in A.D. 69, restored by Domitian, and entirely rebuilt from the foundation by Hadrian. It was utilised as a museum for precious works of art and curiosities collected by Augustus. This temple to the deified founder of the Empire was no doubt greatly expanded in its reconstruction by Hadrian. What have been called its inner halls (*i.e.*, those nearest to the roots of the Palatine) prove (owing to Commendatore G. Boni's excavations) to have been the spacious covered atrium and peristylium, with noble chambers (*i.e.*, Tablinum and Alae) of the house of the Curator Palatii, beside which (now completely restored) ascends the private imperial '**rampa**,' or winding inclined passage, to the Palace of Caligula. It is possible that the great Imperial Library of the Palatine was located here. But it was a damp corner to select for it. This mansion and fore-court became appropriated about A.D. 560, and converted into a christian church, in which was preserved an image of the Virgin, of Byzantine origin, which probably gave the church its name, **S. Maria Antiqua** (*q.v.*).

CHAPTER VII

THE COELIAN

S. Gregorio—SS. Giovanni e Paolo—Arch of Dolabella—S. Tommaso in Formis—Villa Mattei—S. Maria della Navicella—S. Stefano Rotondo—I Santi Quattro Incoronati—S. Clemente.

THE Coelian Hill extends from the Coliseum to S. John Lateran, and from the Convent of S. Gregorio to S. Stefano in Rotondo. Until 1871 it had been inhabited by monks of the Camaldolese, Passionist, and Redemptorist Orders, and by the Augustinian Nuns of the Quattro Incoronati; but few parts of Rome have been more cruelly dealt with than this interesting district. It formed a natural quarry for the Lateran restorers.

In the earliest times the name of this hill was Mons Querquetulanus, 'The Hill of Oaks,' and it was clothed with forest, part of which long survived as the sacred wood of the Camenae. It received its name (?) of Coelius from Coelius Vibenna, an Etruscan Lucumo of Ardea, who is said to have come to the assistance of Romulus in his war against the Sabine king Tatius, and to have afterwards established himself here. In the reign of Tullus Hostilius the Coelian assumed some importance, as that ruler is related to have fixed his residence here, and transported hither the Latin population of Alba.

As the Coelian figured less prominently in the early history of Rome than any of the other hills, it preserves few historical monuments of republican times. Many of these were destroyed by a fire which ravaged it in the reign of Tiberius, excepting the Temple of the Nymphs, which once stood in the grove of the Camenae, and which had been already burnt by Clodius, in order to destroy the records of his perjuries and debts which it contained. Considerable remains beneath the garden of the Passionist convent belong to the temple which Agrippina (2) raised to her husband the Emperor Claudius, and in S. Stefano Rotondo some antiquaries (erroneously) recognise the Macellum of Nero. There are no remains of the palace of the Emperor Tetricus, who lived here, 'between the two sacred groves,' in a magnificent captivity under Aurelian, A.D. 272, whom he received at a banquet, at which he exhibited an allegorical picture representing his reception of the empire of Gaul, and his subsequent resignation of it for the simple

insignia of a Roman senator.[1] On the other hand, Marcus Aurelius was born on the Coelian in the Domus Vectiliana, and partly educated in the Palace of Annius Verus, which was discovered 1885–7 on the site of the present Military Hospital.

To the christian visitor, however, the Coelian will always prove of the deepest interest; and the slight thread of connection which runs between all its principal objects, as well as their nearness to one another, brings them pleasantly within the limits of a single day's excursion. Many of those who are not mere passing visitors will probably find that their chief pleasure lies not amid the well-known basilicas and palaces, but in quiet sunny walks through the silent lanes and amid the decaying buildings of these more outlying hills. As many as possible of these have been obliterated, but a few yet remain.

'For myself, I must say that I know nothing to compare with a pilgrimage among the antique churches scattered over the Esquiline, the Coelian, and the Aventine Hills. They stand apart, each in its solitude, amid gardens and vineyards and heaps of nameless ruins;—here a group of cypresses, there a lofty pine or solitary palm; the tutelary saint, perhaps some Sant' Achilleo or Santa Bibiana, whom we never heard of before—an altar rich in precious marbles—columns of porphyry—the old frescoes dropping from the walls—the everlasting colossal mosaics looking down so solemn, so dim, so spectral; these grow upon us, until at each succeeding visit they themselves, and the associations by which they are surrounded, become a part of our daily life, and may be said to hallow that daily life when considered in a right spirit. True, what is most sacred, what is most poetical, is often desecrated to the fancy by the intrusion of those prosaic realities which easily strike prosaic minds; by disgust at the foolish fabrications which those who recite them do not believe, by lying inscriptions, by tawdry pictures, by tasteless and even profane restorations;—by much that saddens, much that offends, much that disappoints—but then so much remains! So much to awaken, to elevate, to touch the heart; so much that will not pass away from the memory; so much that makes a part of our after-life.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

The semi-deserted Coelian, however, has never recovered from the Norman-Saracenic invasion of 1084 in the time of Gregory VII.

We may pass under the Arch of Constantine,[2] or through the pleasant sunny enclosure known as the **Parco di San Gregorio**—planted by the French during their first occupation of Rome. Here is the **Magazino al Celio**, or **Museo Archeologico Urbano**, to which the less important objects recently discovered in the city have been brought. It is deeply interesting to students, but scarcely attractive to the casual visitor. The contents are still in a transitional state. We may notice:—

Room 1. Specimens of precious marbles. Stamped bricks and tiles.
Room 2. Fragments of sculpture.
Room 3. Objects from the Esquiline cemeteries. Remains of a water conduit.

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[1] Gibbon, v. 1.
[2] The road crosses a great cloaca, which enters the Tiber near the Cloaca Maxima, and is built of enormous blocks, well preserved.

Room 4. Ex votos in terra-cotta. Republican inscriptions on travertine and peperino.
Room 5. Several fine busts. That of Hephaestus has tracings of gilding and painting.
Room 6. Water-pipes of various kinds. The inscription to Caius Duilius from the Forum of Augustus.

(Open Mondays and Fridays from 1–5, and Wednesdays 9–1; admission 25 c. Ring.)

The southern gate of the Parco opens on a small triangular piazza, whence a broad flight of steps leads up to the **Church of S. Gregorio** (1725), to the English pilgrim one of the most interesting spots in Rome, for it was here that S. Augustine took his farewell of Gregory the Great, and, kneeling on the greensward, the first missionaries to Kent received their parting blessing from the great pontiff. As we enter the portico (built 1633 by Cardinal Scipione Borghese), we see, on either side, two world-famous inscriptions.

On the right:—

Adsta hospes
et lege.
Hic olim fuit M. Gregorii domus,
Ipse in monasterium convertit,
Ubi monasticen professus est
Et diu abbas praefuit.
Monachi primum Benedictini
Mox Graeci tenuere,
Dein Benedictini iterum
Post varios casus
Quum jamdiu
Esset commendatum
Et poene desertum.
Anno MDLXXIII
Camaldulenses inducti
Qui et industria sua
Et ope plurium
R. E. Cardinalium
Quorum hic monumenta exstant,
Favente etiam Clemente XI. P. M.
Templum et adjacentes aedes
In hanc quam cernis formam
Restituerunt.

On the left:—

Ex hoc monasterio
Prodierunt
S. Gregorius M. Fundator et Parens.
S. Eleutherius, AB. Hilarion, AB.
S. Augustinus, Anglor. Apostol.
S. Laurentius, Cantuar. Archiep.
S. Mellitus, Londinen. Ep. Mox
Archiep. Cantuar.
S. Justus, Ep. Roffensis.
S. Paulinus, Ep. Eborac.
S. Maximianus, Syracusan. Ep.
SS. Antonius, Merulus, et Joannes, Monachi
S. Petrus, AB. Cantuar.
Marinianus, Archiep. Raven.
Probus, Xenodochi Jerosolymit.
Curator. A. S. Gregorio Elect.
Sabinus Callipolit. Ep.

Gregorius, Diac. Card. S. Eustach.
Hic . Etiam . Diu . Vixit . M. Gregori
Mater . S. Silvia . Hoc . Maxime
Colenda . Quod . Tantum . Pietatis
Sapientiae . Et . Doctrinae . Lumen
Pepererit.

'Cette ville incomparable renferme peu de sites plus attrayants et plus dignes d'éternelle mémoire. Ce sanctuaire occupe l'angle occidental du mont Coelius. . . . Il est à égale distance du grand Cirque, des Thermes de Caracalla et du Colisée, tout proche de l'église des saints martyrs Jean et Paul. Le berceau du christianisme de l'Angleterre touche ainsi au sol trempé par le sang de tant de milliers de martyrs. En face s'élève le mont Palatin, berceau de Rome païenne, encore couvert des vastes débris du palais des Césars. . . . Où est donc l'Anglais digne de ce nom qui, en portant son regard du Palatin au Colisée, pourrait contempler sans émotion ce coin de terre d'où lui sont venus la foi, le nom chrétien et la Bible dont il est si fier. Voilà où les enfants esclaves de ses aïeux étaient recueillis et sauvés! Sur ces pierres s'agenouillaient ceux qui ont fait sa patrie chrètienne. Sous ces voûtes a été conçu par une âme sainte, confié à Dieu, béni par Dieu, accepté et accompli par d'humbles et généreux chrétiens, le grand dessein! Par ces degrés sont descendus les quarante moines qui ont porté à l'Angleterre la parole de Dieu, la lumière de l'Evangile, la succession apostolique et la règle de Saint Benoît!'—*Montalembert, 'Moines d'Occident.'*

Hard by (R.) on the **Clivus Scauri** stood the **house of S. Silvia,** mother of S. Gregory (A.D. 550–604), of which there may be remains, opposite to the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and in the little garden we may believe that he played as a child under her care. Close to his home he founded the monastery of S. Andrew, to which he retired from the world, taking nothing with him but his favourite cat. Here he dwelt for many years as a monk, engaged in writing homilies, and in the enjoyment of visionary conversation with the Virgin, whom he believed to answer him in person from her picture before which he knelt. To this monastery he is said to have presented his own portrait, with those of his father and mother, which were probably in existence long after his death; and this portrait of himself perhaps furnished that peculiar type of physiognomy which we trace in the best representations of him. During the life of penance and poverty led here, he sold all his goods for the benefit of the poor, retaining nothing but a silver basin given him by his mother. One day a poor shipwrecked sailor came several times to beg in the cell where he was writing, and, as he had no money, he gave him, instead, this one remaining treasure. A long time after S. Gregory saw the same shipwrecked sailor reappear in the form of his guardian angel, who told him that God had henceforth destined him to rule his Church, and become the successor of S. Peter, whose charity he had imitated.[1]

'Un moine (A.D. 590) va monter pour la première fois sur la chaire apostolique. Ce moine, le plus illustre de tous ceux qui sont compté parmi les souverains pontifes, y rayonnera d'un éclat qu'aucun de ses prédécesseurs n'a égalé et qui rejaillira, comme une sanction suprême, sur l'institut dont il est issu. Grégoire, le seul parmi les hommes avec le Pape Léon Ier qui ait reçu à la fois, du consentement universel, le double surnom de Saint et de Grand, sera l'eternel honneur de l'Ordre bénédictin comme de la papauté.

[1] Montalembert, *Moines d'Occident.*

Par son génie, mais surtout par le charme et l'ascendant de sa vertu, il organisera le domaine temporel des papes, il développera et régularisera leur souveraineté spirituelle, il fondera leur paternelle suprématie sur les royautés naissantes et les nations nouvelles qui vont devenir les grands peuples de l'avenir, et s'appeler la France, l'Espagne, l'Angleterre. À vrai dire, c'est lui qui inaugure le moyen âge, la société moderne et la civilisation chrétienne.'—*Montalembert.*

The church of **S. Gregorio** is approached by a cloistered court filled with monuments. On the left is that of Sir Edward Carne, one of the commissioners sent abroad to obtain the opinion of foreign universities respecting the divorce of Henry VIII. from Catherine of Aragon, ambassador to Charles V., and afterwards to the court of Rome. He was recalled when the embassy was suppressed by Elizabeth, but was kept at Rome by Paul IV., who had conceived a great affection for him, and he died here in 1561. Another monument of an exile for the Catholic faith is that of Robert Pecham, who died in 1567, inscribed:—

'Roberto Pecham Anglo, equiti aurato, Philippi et Mariae Angliae et Hispan. regibus olim a consiliis genere religione virtute praeclaro, qui, cum patriam suam a fide catholica deficientem adspicere sine summo dolore non posset, relictis omnibus quae in hac vita carissima esse solent, in voluntarium profectus exilium, post sex annos, pauperibus Christi heredibus testamento institutis, sanctissime e vita migravit.'

The **Church**, once one of the most interesting in Italy, was profanely rebuilt in 1734, under Francesco Ferrari. It has sixteen ancient granite columns and a cosmatesque pavement. Its complete restoration is in contemplation. Among its monuments we may observe that of Cardinal Zurla, a learned writer on geographical subjects, who was abbot of the adjoining convent. It was a curious characteristic of the laxity of morals in the time of Julius II. (1503–13), that her friends did not hesitate to bury the famous Aspasia of that age in this church, and to inscribe upon her tomb: 'Imperia, cortisana Romana, quae digna tanto nomine, rarae inter homines formae specimen dedit. Vixit annos xxvi. dies xii. obiit 1511, die 15 Augusti.' Bandello says that so luxurious were her apartments that the Spanish ambassador spat in the face of a servant for fear of spoiling the furniture. But this monument has now been removed, not, however, for moral reasons.

At the end of the right aisle is a picture by *Badalocchi*, commemorating a miracle on this spot, when, at the moment of Elevation, the Host is said to have bled in the hands of S. Gregory, so as to convince an unbeliever of the truth of Transubstantiation. It will be observed that in this and in most other representations of S. Gregory, a dove is perched upon his shoulder, and whispering into his ear. This is commemorative of the impression that every word and act of the saint was directly inspired by the Holy Ghost; a belief first engendered by the happy promptitude of Peter, his archdeacon, who invented the story to save the beloved library of his master, which was about to be destroyed after his death by the people, in a pitiful spirit of revenge, because they fancied that a famine which was decimating them had been brought about by the

extravagance, or the science, of Gregory. It is interesting to imagine the Pontiff's deplorable reception of the blood-stained Emperor Phocas as an act of inspiration! An altar beneath this picture is decorated with marble reliefs, by Mino da Fiesole, representing the same miracle, and also the story of the soul of the Emperor Trajan being freed from purgatory by the intercession of Gregory. The reredos belonging to this altar, moved from its original site, still remains in the north-east chapel.

A low door near this leads into the monastic cell of S. Gregory, containing his marble chair, and the spot where his bed lay, inscribed:—

> 'Nocte dieque vigil longo hic defessa labore
> Gregorius modica membra quiete levat.'

Here also an immense collection of minute relics of saints is exposed—to swell the tide of incredulity!

On the opposite side of the church is the **Salviati Chapel**, the burial-place of that noble family, modernised in 1690 by Carlo Maderno. Over the altar is a copy of Annibale Caracci's picture of S. Gregory, which once existed here, but is now in England. On the right is the picture of the Madonna 'which spoke to S. Gregory,' and which is said to have become suddenly impressed upon the wall after a vision in which she appeared to him. On the left is a beautiful marble dossale of the fifteenth century.

A sacristan will admit the visitor into the **Garden of S. Silvia**, whence there is a grand view across to the Palatine.

'To stand here, or on the summit of the flight of steps which leads to the portal, and look across to the ruined Palace of the Caesars, makes the mind giddy with the rush of thoughts. *There*, before us, the Palatine Hill—pagan Rome in the dust; *here*, the little cell, a few feet square, where slept in sackcloth the man who gave the last blow to the power of the Caesars, and first set his foot as sovereign on the cradle and capital of their greatness.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

Here are three chapels, restored by the historian Cardinal Baronius in the sixteenth century. The first, of **S. Silvia**, contains a fresco of the Almighty with a choir of angels, by *Guido;* and beneath it a beautiful statue of the venerable saint (especially invoked against Convulsions), by *Niccolo Cordieri*—one of the best statues of feminine saints in Rome. The second chapel, of **S. Andrew**, contains the two famous rival frescoes of *Guido* and *Domenichino.* Guido has represented S. Andrew kneeling in reverent thankfulness at first sight of the cross on which he was to suffer; Domenichino—a more painful subject—the flagellation of the saint. Of these paintings Annibale Caracci observed that 'Guido's was the painting of the master; but Domenichino's the painting of the scholar who knew more than the master.' The beautiful group of figures in the corner, where a terrified child is hiding its face in its mother's dress, is introduced in several other pictures of Domenichino. The foundations of this chapel lie over the Servian Wall.

'It is a well-known anecdote that a poor old woman stood for a long time before the story of Domenichino, pointing it out bit by bit and explaining it to a child who was with her; and that she then turned to the story told by

Guido, admired the landscape and went away. It is added that when Annibale Caracci heard of this, it seemed to him in itself a sufficient reason for giving the preference to the former work. It is also said that when Domenichino was painting one of the executioners, he worked himself up into a fury with threatening words and gestures, and that Annibale, surprising him in this condition, embraced him, saying, "Domenico, to-day you have taught me a lesson, which is that a painter, like an orator, must first feel himself that which he would represent to others."'—*Lanzi*, v. 82.

'In historical pictures Domenichino is often cold and studied, especially in the principal subject, while, on the other hand, the subordinate persons have much grace and a noble character of beauty. Thus, in the scourging of S. Andrew, a group of women thrust back by the executioners is of the highest beauty. Guido's fresco is of high merit: S. Andrew, on his way to execution, sees the cross before him in the distance, and falls upon his knees in adoration—the executioners and spectators regard him with astonishment.' —*Kugler*.

The 3rd chapel, of **S. Barbara**, contains an impressive realistic statue of S. Gregory, by *Niccolo Cordieri*[1] (where the whispering dove is again represented), and the table at which he daily fed twelve poor pilgrims after washing their feet. The Roman Breviary tells how on one occasion an angel appeared at the feast, as the thirteenth guest. This story, the sending forth of S. Augustine, and other events of S. Gregory's life, are represented in rough frescoes upon the walls by *Viviani*. The table is mentioned in the Mirabilia as an object of devotion in the middle of the twelfth century.

The adjoining **Convent** (modern) is of vast size, and is now occupied by Camaldolese monks, though in the time of S. Gregory it belonged to the Benedictines. In its situation it is quiet and beautiful, and must have been so even in the time of S. Gregory, who often regretted the seclusion he was compelled to quit.

'Un jour, plus accablé que jamais par le poids des affaires séculières, il s'était retiré dans un lieu secret pour s'y livrer dans un long silence à sa tristesse, et y fut rejoint par le diacre Pierre, son élève, son ami d'enfance et le compagnon de ses chères études. "Vous est-il donc arrivé quelque chagrin nouveau," lui dit le jeune homme, "pour que vous soyez ainsi plus triste qu'à l'ordinaire?" "Mon chagrin," lui répondit le pontife, "est celui de tous mes jours, toujours vieux par l'usage, et toujours nouveau par sa croissance quotidienne. Ma pauvre âme se rappelle ce qu'elle était autrefois, dans notre monastère, quand elle planait sur tout ce qui passe, sur tout ce qui change; quand elle ne songeait qu'au ciel; quand elle franchissait par la contemplation le cloître de ce corps qui l'enserre; quand elle aimait d'avance la mort comme l'entrée de la vie. Et maintenant il lui faut, à cause de ma charge pastorale, supporter les mille affaires des hommes du siècle et se souiller dans cette poussière. Et quand, après s'être ainsi répandue au dehors, elle veut retrouver sa retraite intérieure, elle n'y revient qu'amoindrie. Je médite sur tout ce que je souffre et sur tout ce que j'ai perdu. Me voici, battu par l'océan et tout brisé par la tempête; quand je pense à ma vie d'autrefois, il me semble regarder en arrière vers le rivage. Et ce qu'il y a de plus triste, c'est qu'ainsi ballotté par l'orage, je puis à peine entrevoir le port que j'ai quitté."'—*Montalembert*, '*Moines d'Occident*.'

Pope Gregory XVI. was for some years abbot of this convent, to which he was afterwards a generous benefactor—regretting always,

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[1] Rome possesses at least eight fine modern statues of saints: besides those of S. Silvia and S. Gregory, are the S. Agnese of Algardi, the S. Bibiana of Bernini, the S. Cecilia of Maderno, the S. Susanna of Quesnoy, the S. Martina of Menghino, and the S. Bruno of Houdon.

like his great predecessor, the vanished peace of his monastic life. His last words to his cardinals, who were imploring him, for political purposes, to conceal his danger, were singularly expressive of this: 'Per Dio, lasciatemi!—voglio morire da frate, non da sovrano.' The last great ceremony enacted at S. Gregorio was when Cardinal Wiseman consecrated the mitred abbot of English Cistercians—Dr. Manning, preaching at the same time on the prospects of English Catholicism. As Cardinal Manning he offered a sum of £2000 in 1890 for excavating the house of S. Gregory, which is known to exist under the church (as at S. Clemente, S. Martino, &c.), but permission to excavate was refused by the Government because he was a foreigner (and a Cardinal!), although titular of S. Gregorio.

Ascending the steep paved lane called Clivus Scauri, between S. Gregorio and the Parco, the picturesque church on the left with the arcaded apse and tall campanile (c. A.D. 1206), inlaid with coloured tiles, is that of **SS. Giovanni e Paolo**, two officers in the household of the christian princess Constantia, daughter of the Emperor Constantine, in whose time they had occupied a position of trust and influence, though, strange to say, the name of their family remains unknown. When Julian the Apostate came to the throne, his officials attempted to persuade them to sacrifice to the ancestral city gods; but they refused, saying, 'Our lives are at the disposal of the Emperor, but our souls and our faith belong to our God!' Then, fearing to bring them to public martyrdom, lest their popularity should cause a rebellion, and the example of their well-known fortitude should prove an encouragement to others, soldiers beheaded them privately in their own house.(?) Hence the inscription on the spot, 'Locus martyrii SS. Joannis et Pauli in aedibus propriis.' Whoever they were, they would seem to have fallen victims to a pagan reaction, perhaps to the crime of a fanatic! The campanile rests upon the remains of the Temple of Claudius. The church known as *Titulus Pammachii* was built by Pammachius, the friend of S. Jerome, on the site of the house of the Saints. It is entered by a portico adorned with eight ancient granite columns, interesting as having been erected by the English Pope Nicholas Breakspear (Adrian IV.), A.D. 1158. The **interior**, in the basilica form, displays sixteen ancient columns and a beautiful cosmatesque pavement. In the centre of the floor is a stone, railed off, upon which it is said that the saints were beheaded. Their remains are contained in a porphyry urn under the high altar. In early times these were the only bodies of saints preserved within the walls of Rome (the rest being in the catacombs). In the Sacramentary of S. Leo, in the Preface of SS. John and Paul, it is said, 'Of Thy merciful providence Thou hast vouchsafed to crown not only the circuit of the city with the glorious passion of the martyrs, but also to hide in the very heart of the city itself the victorious limbs of S. John and S. Paul.'[1]

The large and beautiful church of Pammachius was cruelly

[1] See *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 106.

modernised by Cardinal Camillo Paolucci and his architect Antonio Canevari, at the end of the seventeenth century, when the tomb of Luke, Cardinal of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the friend of S. Bernard, which stood in the portico, was broken up, and his sarcophagus used as a water-trough.

Above the **tribune** are frescoes by *Pomerancio*. Beneath the altar on the left of the tribune is preserved the embalmed body of S. Paul of the Cross (who died 1776, and whose festival is April 28), founder of the Order of Passionists, who inhabit the adjoining convent. The aged face bears a beautiful expression of repose; the body is dressed in the robe which clothed it when living.[1] In honour of this saint a splendid **chapel** has been erected on the right of the nave (1868–70), cased with precious alabaster and seme-santa marble; its two great alabaster pillars were the gift of Pius IX. Beneath the high altar of the church, the excavations of Padre Germano have brought to light several chambers evidently belonging to the house and somewhat earlier than the fourth century. The walls show remains of frescoes of peacocks, wild beasts, sea-horses, &c. Several of the pictures are of undoubted christian character: Moses before the Burning Bush (also seen in the catacomb of S. Calixtus); a woman, with a veil and a pearl necklace (an orante), praying, with her arms outstretched; and scenes from the Passion of Christ. These are the earliest instances of christian frescoes found outside the catacombs. The house contains more than fifteen rooms, and there are others still unexcavated. The amphorae remain in the cellar, and near this are the baths.

'The murder of the saints seems to have taken place in a narrow passage (*fauces*) not far from the *tablinum* or reception room. Here we see the *fenestella confessionis*, by means of which pilgrims were allowed to behold and touch the venerable grave. Two things strike the modern visitor: the variety of the fresco decorations of the house, which begin with pagan genii holding festoons, a tolerably good work of the third century, and end with stiff, uncanny representations of the Passion, of the ninth and tenth centuries; second, the fact that such an important monument should have been buried and forgotten.'—*Lanciani.*

The church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice was founded by emigrants from this convent. The memory of these saints was so much honoured up to the time of Pope Gregory the Great, that the eve of their festival was an obligatory fast. Their festa (June 26) is still kept with great solemnities on the Coelian, when the railing around the place of their deaths is wreathed and laden with flowers. When the 'station' is held at their church, the apse is illuminated.

Masculine visitors are admitted through the Convent to its large and beautiful **Garden**, which overhangs the steep side of the Coelian, toward the Coliseum, of which there is a fine view between

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[1] 'Domine Jesu Christe, qui ad mysterium crucis praedicandum Sanctum Paulum singulari caritate donasti, et per eum novam in ecclesia familiam florescere voluisti; ipsius nobis intercessione concede, ut passionem tuam jugiter recolentes in terris, ejusdem fructum consequi mereamur in coelis.'—*Collect of S. Paul of the Cross*, '*Roman Vesper-Book.*'

its ancient cypresses. This occupies the site of the temple and porticus of Claudius built by Agrippina, his third wife. Nero, who wished to efface the memory of his predecessor, pulled down this temple, on the pretext that it interfered with his Golden House, but it was rebuilt under Vespasian (A.D. 70–79). Near by was a **Vivarium**, where the wild beasts of the Coliseum were temporarily lodged before figuring in the games. The ruins in the part of the garden nearest to the Coliseum have been supposed to belong to the **Domus Vectiliana** of Commodus, which he frequented as a retreat beneficial to his insomnia, and where his mistress Marcia, finding her name one day on a tablet-list of those doomed to be executed, decided on and assisted at his murder, A.D. 192. But the neighbourhood of the Coliseum does not exactly suggest itself as a reasonable one for the desired remedy. Commodus fought, it is true, in the arena six hundred and thirty-five times, and lived on the Coelian. The sound of falling water was in those times the popular remedy for sleeplessness such as Galen (then living on the Sacra Via) would have prescribed, and Augustus had found it useful.

Continuing to follow the lane up the Coelian, we reach the richly tinted travertine **Arch of Dolabella**, erected A.D. 10, by the Consuls P. Cornelius Dolabella and Caius Julius Silanus. Domitian, building his aqueduct to the Palace of the Caesars, made use of this, and included it in his line of arches. It was probably so utilised by his predecessor, Nero.

Above the arch is a **Hermitage**, revered as that wherein S. Giovanni de Matha lived, and where he died in 1213. Before he came to reside here he had been miraculously brought from Tunis (whither he had gone on a mission) to Ostia, in a boat without helm or sail, in which he had knelt without ceasing before the crucifix throughout the whole of his voyage!

Passing beneath the gateway, we emerge upon the picturesque irregular Piazza of the Navicella, the central point of the Coelian, which is surrounded by a most interesting group of buildings, and which contains an isolated perishing fragment of the aqueduct of Nero, dear to artists for its colour. Behind this, under the trees, is the marble **Navicella**, the original of which is supposed to have been a votive offering of a sailor to Jupiter Redux, whose temple stood near this. Leo X. caused it to be copied and set it here as a christian emblem of the Church—the boat of S. Peter.

'The allegory of a ship is peculiarly dwelt upon by the ancient Fathers. A ship entering the port was a favourite heathen emblem of the close of life. But the christian idea, and its elevation from individual to universal or catholic humanity, is derived directly from the Bible—see, for instance, 1 Peter iii. 20, 21. "Without doubt," says S. Augustine, "the ark is the figure of the city of God pilgrimising in this world, in other words, of the Church, which is saved by the wood on which hung the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." The same interpretation was recognised in the Latin Church in the days of Tertullian and S. Cyprian, &c. The bark of S. Peter is similarly represented on a Greek gem, found in the Catacombs, as sailing on a fish, probably Leviathan or Satan, while doves, emblematical of the faithful, perch on the mast and stern—two Apostles row, a third lifts up his hands in prayer, and our Saviour, approaching the

vessel, supports Peter by the hand when about to sink. . . . But the allegory of the ship is carried out to its fullest extent in the fifty-seventh chapter of the second book of the "Apostolical Constitutions," supposed to have been compiled, in the name of the Apostles, in the fourth century.'—*Lord Lindsay's 'Christian Art,'* i. 18.

On the right is (first) the gateway of the deserted convent of Redemptorists, called **S. Tommaso in Formis**, which was founded by S. Giovanni de Matha, who, when celebrating his first mass at Paris, beheld in a vision an angel robed in white, with a red and blue cross upon his breast, and his hands resting in benediction upon the heads of two captives—a white and a black man. The Bishop of Paris sent him to Rome to seek explanation from Innocent III., who was celebrated as an interpreter of dreams—his foundation of the Franciscan Order, so it is said, having resulted from one which befell him. S. Giovanni was accompanied by another hermit, Felix de Valois. They found that Innocent had himself seen the same vision of the angel between the two captives while celebrating mass at the Lateran, and he interpreted it as inculcating the duty of charity toward christian slaves, for which purpose he founded the Trinitarians, since called Redemptorists. The story of the double vision is commemorated in a **Mosaic** erected above the door, A.D. 1260 (?), and bearing the name of the artist, Jacobus Cosmati. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, introduced the order into England at Knaresborough.

The next gate beyond the church is that of the **Villa Celimontana**, formerly belonging to the ducal family of Mattei di Giove, now to Baron Richard von Hoffman. (Visitors are admitted on Wednesdays after 2 P.M.—sometimes at the other entrance opposite SS. Giovanni e Paolo—upon writing down their names.) These grounds are well worth visiting—quite the ideal of a Roman garden, a wealth of large daisies, roses, and periwinkle spreading amid remains of statues and columns. A little avenue of ilexes, lined with ancient statues, leads to a terrace whence there is a beautiful view toward the aqueducts and the Alban Hills, having a noble sarcophagus and a quantity of fine aloes and prickly pears in the foreground. There is an obelisk, of which only the top is Egyptian. It, however, bears the cartouche of Rameses II., and came from Heliopolis. It was brought here in 1582 from the Capitol by Ciriaco Mattei. It is said that there is a man's hand underneath it. When the obelisk was lowered it fell suddenly, and one of the workmen had not time to take his hand away. In the lowest portion of the grounds, now enclosed in some ancient picturesque farm-buildings, is the crystal spring which has been identified as the real **Fountain of Egeria**, where the nymph held her mysterious interviews with Numa Pompilius. Near the gate of the villa was the **Statio** of the fifth battalion of the Roman vigiles, or police fire-brigade. Two marble pedestals have been found: one bearing the roll of the company; the other, a dedication to Caracalla from the officers and men of the battalion, with their names. They are now placed at the entrance of the little ilex avenue (Cohors Vigilum). The Prefectus Vigilum was

an important personage. The post was held by Laco, who arrested Sejanus. The Vigiles in numbers nearly rivalled the Pretorians.

Almost standing in the garden of the villa, and occupying the site of the house of S. Ciriaca, is the **Church of S. Maria in Domnica** or **della Navicella.** (If no one is there, the custodian at S. Stefano in Rotondo will open it.) The portico of three arches was designed by Raffaelle.[1] The damp interior (rebuilt by Leo X. from designs of Bramante) is solemn and striking. It is in the basilica form, the nave separated from the aisles by eighteen columns of granite and two (smaller, near the tribune) of porphyry. The frieze, in chiaroscuro, was painted by *Giulio Romano* and *Pierino del Vaga.* Beneath the confessional are the bones of S. Balbina, whose fortress-like church stands on the Pseudo-Aventine. In the tribune are curious mosaics, in which the figure of Pope Paschal I., A.D. 821, is introduced, the square nimbus round his head being an evidence of its portrait character, *i.e.* that it was done during his lifetime.[2] In late times the church has suffered, like Gloucester Cathedral, from never being left alone.

'Within the tribune are mosaics of the Virgin and Child seated on a throne, with angels ranged in regular rows on each side; and, at her feet, with unspeakable stiffness of limb, the kneeling figure of Pope Paschal I. Upon the walls of the tribune is the Saviour with a nimbus, surrounded with two angels and the twelve apostles, and farther below, on a much larger scale, two prophets, who appear to point towards Him. The most remarkable thing here is the rich foliage decoration. Besides the wreath of flowers (otherwise not a rare feature) which are growing out of two vessels on the edge of the dome, the floor beneath the figures is also decorated with flowers —a graceful species of ornament seldom aimed at in the moroseness of Byzantine art. From this point, the decline into utter barbarism is rapid.'—*Kugler.*

'The Olivetan monks inhabited the church and cloisters of S. Maria in Domenica, commonly called in Navicella, from the rudely sculptured marble monument that stands on the grass before its portal, a remnant of bygone days, to which neither history nor tradition has given a name, but which has itself given one to the picturesque old church which stands on the brow of the Coelian Hill.'—*Lady Georgiana Fullerton.*

A tradition of the Church narrates that S. Lorenzo, deacon and martyr, daily distributed alms to the poor in front of this church —then the house of S. Ciriaca—with whom he had taken refuge.

Opposite, is the round **Church of S. Stefano Rotondo,** dedicated by S. Simplicius in 467, but completed only by Felix IV. (526–39). It is seldom used for service, except on S. Stephen's Day (December 26); but visitors are admitted through a little cloister, in which stands a well of beautiful proportions, of temp. Leo X.—attributed to Michelangelo. The interior is exceedingly curious architecturally. It measures one hundred and thirty-three feet in diameter, containing a double circle of granite columns, thirty-six in the outer and twenty in the inner series, enclosing two tall corinthian columns, with two pilasters supporting a cross wall. It thus some-

[1] His sketch is in the collection at Windsor Castle.

[2] A square nimbus indicates that a portrait was executed *before*, a round *after*, the death of the person represented.

what recalls the Rotunda at Epidaurus. From the former circle subtend four transepts or arms of the cross. In the centre is a miserable tabernacle in which are relics of S. Stephen (whose body is said to be at S. Lorenzo). In the entrance of the church is an ancient marble seat from which S. Gregory is said to have read his fourth homily.

The outer walls are lined with contemptible and brutalising frescoes by *Pomerancio* and *Tempesta*. They begin with the Crucifixion, but as the Holy Innocents really suffered before our Saviour, one of them is represented lying on each side of the Cross. Next follows the stoning of S. Stephen, and the frescoes continue to portray every phase of human agony in the most revolting detail, but are interesting as showing an historical series of what the Roman Church considers the best authenticated martyrdoms, viz.:—

Under Nero . . .	S. Peter, crucified. S. Paul, beheaded. S. Vitale, buried alive. S. Thecla, tossed by a bull. S. Gervase, beaten to death.
Under Nero . . .	SS. Protasius, Processus, and Martinianus, beheaded. S. Faustus and others, clothed in skins of beasts and torn to pieces by dogs.
Under Domitian .	S. John, boiled in oil (which he survived) at the Porta Latina. S. Anacletus, Pope, beheaded. S. Denis, beheaded (and carrying his head). S. Domitilla, roasted alive. SS. Nereus and Achilles, beheaded.
Under Trajan . .	S. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, eaten by lions in the Coliseum. S. Clement, Pope, tied to an anchor and thrown into the sea. S. Simon, Bishop of Jerusalem, crucified.
Under Hadrian . .	S. Eustachio, his wife Theophista, and his children Agapita and Theophista, burnt in a brazen bull before the Coliseum. S. Alexander, Pope, beheaded. S. Sinforosa, drowned, and her seven sons martyred in various ways. S. Pius, Pope, beheaded.
Under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius . . .	S. Felicitas and her seven sons, martyred in various ways. S. Justus, beheaded. S. Margaret, stretched on a rack, and torn to pieces with iron forks.
Under Antoninus and Verus . . .	S. Blandina, tossed by a bull, in a net. S. Attalus, roasted on a red-hot chair. S. Pothinus and others, burnt alive.
Under Septimius Severus and Caracalla	SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, torn to pieces by lions in the Coliseum. SS. Victor and Zephyrinus, Leonida and Basil, beheaded. S. Alexandrina, covered with boiling pitch.
Under Alexander Severus	S. Calixtus, Pope, thrown into a well with a stone round his neck. S. Calepodius, dragged through Rome with wild horses, and thrown into the Tiber.

Under Alexander Severus	S. Martina, torn with iron forks. S. Cecilia, how, failing to be suffocated with hot water, was stabbed in the throat. S. Urban the Pope, Tibertius, Valerianus, and Maximus, beheaded.
Under Valerianus and Gallienus .	S. Pontianus, Pope, beheaded in Sardinia. S. Agatha, mutilated. SS. Fabian and Cornelius, Popes, and S. Cyprian of Carthage, beheaded. S. Tryphon, burnt. SS. Abdon and Sennen, torn by lions. S. Apollonia, burnt, after all her teeth were pulled out. S. Stephen, Pope, burnt in his episcopal chair. S. Cōintha, torn to pieces. S. Sixtus, Pope, killed with the sword. S. Venantius, thrown from a wall. S. Laurence the deacon, roasted on a gridiron. S. Hippolytus, torn by wild horses. SS. Rufina and Semula, drowned in the Tiber. SS. Protus and Hiacinthus, beheaded.
Under Claudius II.	Three hundred Christians, burnt in a furnace. S. Tertullian, burnt with hot irons. S. Nemesius, beheaded. SS. Sempronius, Olympius, and Theodulus, burnt. S. Marius, hung, with a huge weight tied to his feet. S. Martha and her children, martyred in different ways. SS. Cyprian and Justinian, boiled. S. Valentine, killed with the sword.
Under Aurelian and Numerianus . .	S. Agapitus (aged 15) hung head downwards over a pan of burning charcoal. Inscribed above are these words from Wisdom: 'Properavit ut educeret illum a seductionibus et iniquitatibus gentis suae.' S. Cristina, transfixed through the heart. S. Columba, burnt. SS. Crysanthus and Daria, buried alive.
Under Diocletian and Maximianus.	S. Agnes, bound to a stake, afterwards beheaded. S. Caius, Pope, beheaded. S. Emerantia, stoned to death. Nearly the whole population of Nicomedia martyred in different ways. S. Erasmus, laid in a coffin into which boiling lead was poured. S. Blaise, bound to a column and torn to pieces. S. Barbara, burnt with hot irons. S. Eustathius and his companions, martyred in different ways. S. Vincent, burnt on a gridiron. SS. Primus and Felicianus, torn by lions. S. Anastasia, thrown from a rock (?). SS. Quattro Incoronati, martyred in various ways. SS. Peter and Marcellinus, beheaded. S. Boniface, placed in a dungeon full of boiling pitch. S. Lucia, shut up in a well full of serpents. S. Euphemia, run through with a sword. SS. Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentius, boiled alive. S. Sebastian, shot with arrows (which he survived). SS. Cosmo and Damian, Pantaleon, Saturninus, Susanna, Gornius, Adrian, and others, in different ways.
Under Maxentius .	S. Catherine of Alexandria, and others, broken on the wheel. SS. Faustina and Porfirius, burnt with a company of soldiers. S. Marcellus, Pope, died worn out by persecution.

Under Maximinus and Licinius . .	S. Simon and 1600 citizens, cut into fragments. S. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, and forty soldiers, left to die, up to their waists in a frozen lake.
Under Julian the Apostate . . .	SS. John and Paul, beheaded. S. Artemius, crushed between two stones. S. Pigmenius, drowned in the Tiber. S. Bibiana, flogged to death, and thrown for food to dogs in the Forum.

The last picture represents the reunion of eminent martyrs (in which the Roman Church rightly includes English sufferers under Elizabeth), and above is inscribed this verse from Isaiah xxv.: 'Laudabit populus fortis, civitas gentium robustarum.'

'Les païens avaient divinisé la vie, les chrétiens divinisèrent la mort.'—*Madame de Staël.*

'S. Stefano Rotondo exhibits, in a series of pictures all round the church, the martyrdoms of the Christians in the so-called persecutions, with a general picture of the most eminent masters since the triumph of Christianity. No doubt many of the particular stories thus painted will bear no critical examination; it is likely enough, too, that Gibbon has truly accused the general statements of exaggeration. But this is a thankless labour, such as Lingard and others have undertaken with regard to the S. Bartholomew massacre, and the Irish massacre of 1642. Divide the sum total of reported martyrs by twenty—by fifty, if you will—but after all you have a number of persons of all ages and sexes suffering cruel torments and death for conscience' sake and for Christ's, and by their sufferings manifestly, with God's blessing, ensuring the triumph of Christ's gospel. Neither do I think that we consider the excellence of this martyr-spirit half enough. I do not think pleasure is a sin: the Stoics of old, and the ascetic Christians since, who have said so (see the answers of that excellent man, Pope Gregory the Great, to Augustine's questions, as given at length by Bede), have, in saying so, outstepped the simplicity and wisdom of christian truth. But, though pleasure is not a sin, yet surely the contemplation of suffering for Christ's sake is a thing most needful to us in our days, from whom, in our daily life, suffering seems so far removed. And, as God's grace enabled rich and delicate persons, women, and even children, to endure all extremities of pain and reproach in times past, so there is the same grace no less mighty now, and if we do not close ourselves against it, it might in us be no less glorified in a time of trial. And that such times of trial will come, my children, in your times, if not in mine, I do believe fully, both from the teaching of man's wisdom and of God's. And therefore pictures of martyrdom are, I think, very wholesome—not to be sneered at, nor yet to be looked on as a mere excitement, but as a sober reminder to us of what Satan can do to hurt, and what God's grace can enable the weakest of His people to bear. Neither should we forget those who by their sufferings were more than conquerors, not for themselves only, but for us, in securing to us the safe and triumphant existence of Christ's blessed faith—in securing to us the possibility, nay, the actual enjoyment, had it not been for the Antichrist of the priesthood, of Christ's holy and glorious ἐκκλησία, the congregation and commonwealth of Christ's people.'—*Arnold's Letters.*

The first chapel on the left, dedicated to SS. Primus and Felicianus, contains some delicate small mosaics.

'The mosaics of the small altar of S. Stefano Rotondo are of A.D. 642–649. A brilliantly decorated cross is represented between two standing figures of S. Primus and S. Felicianus. On the upper end of the cross (very tastefully introduced) appears a small head of Christ with a nimbus, over which the hand of the Father is extended in benediction.'—*Kugler.*

In the next chapel is the beautiful tomb of Bernardino Capella, Canon of S. Peter's, who died 1524.

In a small house which formerly stood among the gardens in this neighbourhood, **Palestrina** lived and wrote his exquisite music.

'Sous le règne de Paul IV., Palestrina faisait partie de la chapelle papale; mais il fut obligé de la quitter, parce qu'il était marié. Il se retira alors dans une chaumière perdue au milieu des vignes du Mont Coelius, et là, seul, inconnu au monde, il se livra, durant de longs jours, à cette extase de la pensée qui agrandit, au-delà de toute mesure, la puissance créatrice de l'homme. Le désir des Pères du concile lui ayant été manifesté, il prit aussitôt une plume, écrivit en tête de son cahier, "Mon Dieu, éclairez-moi!" et se mit à lœuvre avec un saint enthousiasme. Ses premiers efforts ne répondirent pas à l'idéal que son génie s'était formé; mais peu à peu ses pensés s'éclaircirent, et les flots de poésie qui inondaient son âme se répandirent en mélodies touchantes. Chaque parole du texte retentissait clairement, allait chercher toutes les consciences, et les exaltait dans une émotion commune. La *messe du pape Marcel* trancha la question; et Pie IV., s'écria, après l'avoir entendue, qu'il avait cru assister aux concerts des anges.'—*Gournerie*, '*Rome Chrétienne*,' ii. 195.

'In the year 1575, the year of Jubilee, an incident occurred which must have made one of the brightest passages in the cloudy life of Palestrina. Fifteen hundred singers from his native town, belonging to the two Confraternities of the Crucifix and the Sacrament, came to Rome. They had divided themselves into three choruses. Priests, laymen, ladies, and boys went to form their companies; and they made a solemn entry into Rome, singing the music of their townsman, with its great composer conducting at their head.'—*G. Grove*, '*Dictionary of Music*.'

Palestrina's house must have stood on ground adjoining the *Villa Casali*, where a new military hospital covers the site of the villa of Annius Verus, grandfather of Marcus Aurelius. That emperor was born there A.D. 121. Annius Verus was father of M. Aurelius Antoninus, and his sister Faustina was the wife of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. She became the mother of the Empress Annia Faustina, the dissolute wife of her first cousin, M. Aurelius, and mother of Commodus. A new street on the Coelian is called Via Annia from the family.

Near this also stood the villa of the Valerii close to a church and monastery of S. Erasmo, famous in mediaeval times, but which have now disappeared. Another great Roman mansion, but lower down towards the Coliseum, near the Barracks, in this neighbourhood was that of the Symmachi, of whom Quintus Aurelius Avianius Symmachus was a statesman and orator of the fourth century. He contested with S. Ambrose in the fierce debates concerning the Altar of Victory, and its removal from the Curia. He was Consul in 391; but the Christian triumph in 394 probably cost him all.

Following the lane of S. Stefano Rotondo—skirted by broken fragments of **Nero's aqueduct**, much spoilt by hideous gasworks and other modern buildings—almost to its debouchement near S. John Lateran, and then turning to the left we reach the isolated fortress-like church and convent of the **Santi Quattro Incoronati**,[1] crowned by a stumpy campanile of 1112. The full title of the church is 'I Santi quattro Pittori Incoronati e i cinque Scultori

[1] Key on the right of the entrance court—50 c.

Martiri;' the names which the Church attributes to the painters being Severus, Severianus, Carpoforus, and Vittorinus; and those of the sculptors, Claudius, Nicostratus, Sinforianus, Castorius, and Simplicius—who all suffered for refusing to carve and paint idols for Diocletian. Their festa is kept on November 8th.

This church was founded on the site of a Sacellum Minervae by Honorius I., A.D. 622; rebuilt by Leo IV., A.D. 850; and again rebuilt in its present form after its destruction in the Norman invasion, by Paschal II., who consecrated it afresh in A.D. 1111. It is approached through a double court, in which are many ancient columns. The church itself was once larger, and the columns which now form its second court were once included in the nave. The interior is arranged on the Gothic plan with triforium and clerestory, the former being used by the nuns of the adjoining convent. The aisles are groined, but the nave has timbered vaulting. The pavement is a veritable 'Corpus Inscriptionum,' about two hundred inscribed stones having been used there in the rebuilding by Paschal II. Behind the tribune is a vaulted passage, partly subterranean. The tribune contains a marble throne, and is adorned with frescoes by *Giovanni di San-Giovanni*.[1] In the right aisle are preserved some of the verses of Pope Damasus. Another inscription tells of the restoration of the church in the fifteenth century, and describes the state of desolation into which it had fallen:—

> 'Haec quaecumque vides veteri prostrata ruina
> Obruta verbenis, ederis, dumisque jacebant.'

It was severely damaged by an earthquake in August 1899.

Opening out of the court in front of the church is the little **Chapel of S. Silvestro**, belonging to the sculptors and masons. It contains a series of crude and wooden frescoes, illustrating the apocryphal stories of that saint.

'Showing the influence of Byzantine upon Roman art the little chapel of S. Silvestro details the history of the conversion of Constantine with a naïveté which, with the exception of a certain dignity in some of the figures, constitutes their sole attraction. They are indeed little better than Chinese paintings; the last of the series, representing Constantine leading Pope Sylvester's horse by the bridle, walking beside him in his long flowing robe, with a chattah held over his head by an attendant, has quite an Asiatic character.'—*Lord Lindsay's 'Christian Art.'*

'Here, as in so many instances, legend is the genuine reflex, not of the external, but of the moral part of history. In this series of curious wall-paintings we see Constantine dismissing, consoled and laden with gifts, the mothers whose children were to be slaughtered to provide a bath of blood, the remedy prescribed—but which he humanely rejected—for his leprosy, his punishment for persecuting the Church while he yet lingered in the darkness of paganism; we see the vision of S. Peter and S. Paul, who appear to him in his dreams, and prescribe the infallible cure for both physical and moral disease through the waters of baptism; we see the mounted emissaries, sent by the emperor to seek S. Sylvester, finding that pontiff concealed in a cavern on Mount Soracte; we see that saint before the emperor, exhibiting to him the authentic portraits of the two apostles (said to be still preserved at S. Peter's), pictures in which Constantine at once recognises the forms seen in his vision, assuming them to be gods entitled to his worship; we see

[1] Best known by his comic pictures in the Uffizi at Florence.

the imperial baptism, with a background of fantastic architecture, the rite administered both by immersion (the neophyte standing in an ample font) and affusion; we see the pope on a throne, before which the emperor is kneeling, to offer him a tiara—no doubt the artist intended thus to imply the immediate bestowal of temporal sovereignty (very generally believed the act of Constantine in the first flush of his gratitude and neophyte zeal) upon the papacy; lastly, we see the pontiff riding into Rome in triumph, Constantine himself leading his horse, and other mitred bishops following on horseback. Another picture—evidently by the same hand—quaintly represents the finding of the true cross by S. Helena, and the miracle by which it was distinguished from the crosses of the two thieves—a subject here introduced because a portion of that revered relic was among treasures deposited in the chapel, as an old inscription on one side records. The largest composition on these walls, which complete the series, represents the Saviour enthroned amidst angels and apostles. This chapel is now only used for the devotions of a guild of marble-cutters, and open for mass on but one Sunday—the last—in every month.'—*Hemans*, '*Mediaeval Christian Art*.'

The castellated **Convent of the Santi Quattro** was built by Paschal II. at the same time as the church. Its predecessor had been used (896) as a papal palace while the Lateran was in ruins after an earthquake. King Charles of Anjou lodged here in 1265, when he was invested with the Senatorship, and was trying to borrow money wherewith to advance against Manfred. It is still inhabited by Augustinian nuns.

At the foot of the Coelian, beyond the Incoronati, and in the Via di S. Giovanni, leading from the Coliseum to the Lateran, stands the **Church of S. Clemente** (Dominicum Clementis), an early christian basilica, to which the discoveries of the late Irish abbot, Father Mullooly (who died June 1880), have given an extraordinary interest. This work (1857), by a foreigner, was undertaken when a general apathy for discoveries prevailed in Italy.

'In the two churches of S. Clemente, one above the other, we have evidence of how the level of the whole district was raised by the debris from the burnt edifices after the Norman-Saracenic invasion of 1084. The lower church shows the level of the city before, the upper that after, the fire. The reconstruction of S. Clemente was undertaken, after the withdrawal of Robert Guiscard, by Cardinal Anastasius, who died in 1126 or 1128, leaving the completion of the work to Cardinal Pietro Pisano. This information has lately (1901) been obtained from the epitaph of Cardinal Pisano, which was accidentally discovered in the foundations of a new house in the Via Ardentina.'—*Lanciani*, '*Destruction of Ancient Rome*.'

The upper church, in spite of modernisations under Clement XI. in the 18th century, retains more of the details belonging to primitive ecclesiastical architecture than any other building in Rome, with exception of S. Maria Antiqua.

'S. Clément, sous lequel il y a des siècles de croyances contraires stratifiés, un monument très ancien du temps de la république, un autre du temps de l'empire, dans lequel on a reconnu un temple de Mithra, enfin une basilique de la primitive foi.'—*Zola*, '*Rome*.'

It was consecrated in memory of Clement, the fellow-labourer of S. Paul and the third bishop of Rome, upon the site of his family house. It was already important in the time of Gregory the Great, who here read his thirty-third and thirty-eighth homilies. It was altered by Adrian I. in A.D. 772, and by John VIII. in A.D. 800, and

again restored in A.D. 1099 by Paschal II., who had been cardinal of the church, and was elected to the papacy within its walls. The greater part of the existing building is of the twelfth century.

At the west end a canopied porch, supported by two columns, leads into the *quadriporticus*, or atrium. From this is entered the nave of nine bays, separated from its aisles by columns evidently taken from pagan buildings. In the body of the nave, probably moved to the upper from the lower church, and protected by low marble screens, is the *schola cantorum*, preserving its mediaeval ambones, &c. Beyond, in the raised chancel, are the altar and an ancient episcopal throne.

'In S. Clemente, built on the site of his paternal mansion, and restored at the beginning of the twelfth century, an example is still to be seen, in perfect preservation, of the primitive church; everything remains *in statu quo* —the court, the portico, the cancellum, the ambones, paschal candlestick, crypt, and ciborium—virgin and intact; the wooden roof has unfortunately disappeared, and a small chapel, dedicated to S. Catherine, has been added, yet even this is atoned for by the lovely frescoes of Masaccio. I most especially recommend this relic of early Christianity to affectionate and tender admiration. Yet the beauty of S. Clemente is internal only, outwardly it is little more than a barn.'—*Lord Lindsay.*

Perhaps more beautiful than any other examples are the *transennae*, or perforated screens, removed from the lower church, where they stood in front of the relics of S. Clement and S. Ignatius. The ciborium on the right of the altar is of great beauty.

On the right of the side entrance from the street is the chapel of the Passion, with frescoes formerly attributed to Masaccio and now to his master Masolino, 1417–20. Though restored, they are very beautiful; over the altar is the Crucifixion; on the side walls the stories of S. Clement and S. Catherine.

'The celebrated series relating to S. Catherine is still more striking in the grace and refinement of its principal figures:—

'1. S. Catherine (cousin of the Emperor Constantine) refuses to worship idols.

'2. She converts the Empress of Maximin. She is seen through a window seated inside a prison, and the empress is seated outside the prison, opposite to her, in a graceful listening attitude.

'3. The empress is beheaded, and her soul is carried to heaven by an angel.

'4. Catherine disputes with the pagan philosophers. She is standing in the midst of a hall, the forefinger of one hand laid on the other, as in the act of demonstrating. She is represented fair and girlish, dressed with great simplicity in a tunic and girdle—no crown, nor any other attribute. The sages are ranged on each side, some lost in thought, others in astonishment; the tyrant (Maximin) is seen behind, as if watching the conference: while through an open window we behold the fire kindled for the converted philosophers, and the scene of their execution.

'5. Catherine is delivered from the wheels, which are broken by an angel.

'6. She is beheaded. In the background, three angels lay her in a sarcophagus on the summit of Mount Sinai.'—See *Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* p. 491.

'"Masaccio," says Vasari, "whose enthusiasm for art would not allow him to rest contentedly at Florence, resolved to go to Rome, that he might learn there to surpass every other painter." It was during this journey, which, in fact, added much to his renown, that he painted, in the Church of San Clemente, the chapel which now so usually disappoints the expectations of the traveller, on account of the successive restorations by which his work

has been disfigured. . . . The heavy brush which has passed over each compartment has spared neither the delicacy of the outline, the roundness of the forms, nor the play of light and shade: in a word, nothing which constitutes the peculiar merit of Masaccio.'—*Rio, 'Poetry of Christian Art.'*

At the end of the right aisle is the beautiful tomb of Cardinal Roverella, ob. 1476, with a relief sometimes attributed to Mino da Fiesole. Near it is the tomb of Cardinal Brusati. A statue of S. John the Baptist is by Simone, brother of Donatello, 1433. At the end of the left aisle is the fine tomb of Cardinal Ant. Veniero, 1479. Beneath the altar lie the relics of S. Clement, S. Ignatius of Antioch, martyred in the Coliseum, S. Cyril and S. Servulus.

The elaborate mosaics in the vault of the tribune are well worth examination, albeit they are late (A.D. 1112).

'There are few christian mosaics in which mystic meaning and poetic imagination are more felicitous than in those on the apse of S. Clemente, where the crucifix and a wide-spreading vine tree (allusive to His words who said "I am the True Vine") spring from the same stem; twelve doves, emblems of the apostles, being on the cross with the Divine Sufferer; the Mother and S. John beside it, the usual hand stretched out in glory above, with a crown; the four doctors of the Church, also other small figures, men and birds, introduced amidst the mazy vine foliage; and at the basement, the four mystic rivers, with stags and peacocks drinking at their streams. The figure of S. Dominic is a modern addition. It seems evident, from characteristics of style, that the other mosaics here, above the apsidal arch, and at the spandrels, are more ancient, perhaps by about a century: these latter representing the Saviour in benediction, the four Evangelic emblems, S. Peter and S. Clement, S. Paul and S. Laurence seated; the two apostles designated by their names, with the Greek "hagios" in Latin letters. The latter art-work was ordered (see the Latin inscription below), in 1299, by a cardinal titular of S. Clemente, nephew to Boniface VIII.; the same who also bestowed the beautiful gothic tabernacle for the holy oils, with a relief representing the donor presented by S. Dominic to the Virgin and Child—set against the wall near the tribune, an admirable, though but an accessorial, object of mediaeval art.'—*Hemans, 'Mediaeval Art.'*

From the sacristy a staircase (adorned with many ancient fragments, including a curious and beautiful statuette of S. Peter as the Good Shepherd) leads to the **Lower Church**, occasionally illuminated for the public, first discovered in 1857, and unearthed by the indefatigable energy of Father Mullooly. Here there are many pillars of the rarest marbles in perfect preservation, and a very curious series of frescoes of the eighth and tenth centuries, parts of which are still clear and almost uninjured. These include: the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and S. John standing by the cross; the Ascension, sometimes called 'the Assumption of the Virgin,' because the figure of the Virgin is elevated above the other apostles, though she is evidently intent on watching the retreating figure of her Divine Son. In this fresco the figure of a Pope is introduced (with the square nimbus), and the inscription, 'Sanctissimus dominus, Leo Papa Romanus,' probably refers to Leo IV.; the Maries at the Sepulchre; the descent into Hades; the marriage of Cana; the Funeral of S. Cyril, with Pope Nicholas I. (858-67) walking in the procession; and, the most interesting of all—probably of later date—the story of S. Clemente, and that of S. Alexis. The paintings bear the names of their donor, Beno de Rapiza, his wife (?) Maria

Macellaria, and his children Clemente and Attilia. Beneath this crypt, approached by a staircase and a narrow passage of great interest, is still a third structure, discovered 1867—possibly part of the house of S. Clement—sometimes supposed to be the 'cavern near S. Clemente' to which the Emperor Otho III., who died at the age of twenty-two, retired in A.D. 999 with his confessor, and spent fourteen days in penitential retreat. An altar and other relics found here show that this ancient christian church was used as a temple of Mithras in the second century. This third church is unfortunately often under water, and unhealthy.

According to the Acts of the Martyrs, the Prefect Mamertinus ordered the arrest of Pope Clement, and intended to put him to death, but was deterred by a tumult of the people, who cried with one voice, 'What evil has he done, or rather what good has he not done?' Clement was then condemned to exile in the Chersonese, and Mamertinus, touched by his submission and courage, dismissed him with the words, 'May the God you worship bring you relief in the place of your banishment.'

In his exile Clement received into the Church more than two hundred Christians who had been waiting for baptism, and miraculously discovered water for their support in a barren rock, to which he was directed by a lamb, in whose form he recognised the guidance of the Son of God. The enthusiasm which these marvels excited led Trajan (?) to send executioners to Cherson (now Inkerman), by whom Clement was tied to an anchor and thrown into the sea. But his disciples, kneeling on the shore, prayed that his relics might be given up to them, upon which the waves retired, and disclosed a marble chapel, built by unearthly hand, over the tomb of the saint. From the Chersonese the remains of S. Clement were brought back to Rome by S. Cyril, the Apostle of the Slavonians, who, dying here himself, was buried by his side.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AVENTINE

Jewish Burial-ground—S. Sabina—S. Alessio—The Priorato—S. Prisca—The Vigna dei Gesuiti—S. Sabba—S. Balbina.

THE Aventine, which is perhaps the highest (140 feet above sea-level), and now, from its coronet of convents, the most picturesque of all the Roman hills, is of irregular form, and is divided into two portions by a valley: one side, the higher, is crowned by the churches of S. Sabina, S. Alessio, and the Priorato, which together form 'the Capitol of the Aventine'; the other, known as the Pseudo-Aventine, is marked by the churches of S. Sabba and S. Balbina. It was included in the thirteenth Region of Augustus. But previously, although inclosed by the Servian Wall, it did not count as a 'Regio.'

Virgil and Ovid allude repeatedly to the thick woods which once clothed the craggy Aventine.[1] Dionysius speaks of the laurel, an indigenous tree, which grew there in abundance. Only one side of the hill, that toward the Tiber, now shows any of the natural cliff, but it was once remarkable for its rocks, and the Pseudo-Aventine obtained the name of Saxum from the huge solitary mass of stone which capped it—

> 'Est moles nativa, loco res nomina fecit,
> Appellant Saxum, pars bona montis ea est.
> *Hinc* Remus institerat frustra, quo tempore fratri
> Prima Palatinae regna dedistis aves.'[2]

The hill is of volcanic formation, isolated by erosion, and it is surmised that the legend of Cacus vomiting forth flames from his cave on the side of the Aventine had its origin in volcanic vapours emitted by the soil.

Some derive the name from Aventinus Silvius, king of Alba, who was buried here; others from Avens, a Sabine river (*cf.* our Avon); while others say that the name simply means 'the hill of birds' (*avis*), and connect it with the story of the foundation of the city. For when it became necessary to decide whether Romulus or Remus was to rule over the newly-built Rome, Romulus seated himself upon the Palatine to watch the heavens, but Remus upon the rock

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[1] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 104, 108, 216; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 551.
[2] Ovid, *Fast.* v. 149.

of the Pseudo-Aventine. Here Remus saw only six vultures, while Romulus saw twelve, but each interpreted the augury in his own favour, and Remus leapt across the boundary of the Palatine, whether in derision or war, and was slain by his brother, or by Celer, one of his followers. He was brought back and buried on the Aventine, and the stone whence he had watched the vultures was thenceforth called the Sacred Rock. Ancient tradition, however, places the tomb of Remus on the Pseudo-Aventine. In the Middle Ages the tomb of Caius Cestius was believed—even by Petrarch—to be the monument of Remus. This early fraternal difference became typical of the civic and political detachment of the Aventine from the rest of Rome throughout the Republic. Its inhabitants observed closer religious bonds with Latian than with Roman communities. Hither Numa came to visit the forest-gods Faunus and Picus at their sacred fountain—

> 'Lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra,
> Quo posses viso dicere, Numen inest.
> In medio gramen, muscoque adoperta virenti
> Manabat saxo vena perennis aquae.
> Inde fere soli Faunus Picusque bibeant.'[1]

By mingling wine and honey with the waters of their spring, Numa snared the gods and compelled them to tell him how he might learn from Jupiter the knowledge of his will, and to reveal to him a charm against thunder and lightning.[2]

The Sabine King Tatius, the other rival of Romulus, was also buried on the Aventine 'in a great grove of laurels,' and near his tomb, it was the custom every year (19th October) to hold a feast (*armilustrium*) for the purification of arms, accompanied by martial dances. The smoke of burning laurel was the principal agent.

Although not reckoned, probably owing to lack of inhabitants, in early times as a Servian Region, it was, for reasons of defence, included within the Kingly Wall. Nevertheless, the population of the Aventine is referred back to Ancus Marcius, fourth king of Rome, who is related to have transferred and settled thereon the prisoners taken in his wars with Latian towns. Dionysius says he saw preserved in the Temple of Diana the venerable 'Lex Templi,' or ordinance for the worship in common in that shrine of Romans and Latins. The dedication of the temple (13th August) was ascribed to Servius Tullius, while the goddess was certainly to be identified with the extremely popular Latian Divinity worshipped at Ariccian *Nemi*. The temple became especially notorious as the sanctuary of runaway slaves, as well as of Plebeians. In 457 B.C. a plebiscitum was passed (*de Aventino Publicando*) by L. Icilius, Tribune of the Plebs, assigning the hill to it. After this began its distribution into building-sites among the non-patrician burgesses.

Very little remains of the numerous temples which once adorned the hill, nor are their sites precisely ascertained. We still ascend

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[1] Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 295.
[2] 'Onions, hair, and sardines.' See Plutarch's *Life of Numa*.

the Aventine by the ancient Clivus Publicius, originally paved by two brothers Publicii, who were aediles at the same time, and had embezzled a sum of Plebeian money, which they were compelled to expend thus—

> 'Parte locant clivum, qui tunc erat ardua rupes:
> Utile nunc iter est, Publiciumque vocant.'[1]

It was up this road that (121 B.C.) Caius Gracchus and Marcus Flaccus, a few hours before their deaths, fled to take refuge in the Temple of Diana, where, kneeling before the statue of the goddess, Gracchus implored that the people who had betrayed him might never be free. Close by, singularly enough, rose the Temple of Jupiter Libertas, which his grandfather Sempronius Gracchus had built. Adjoining this temple was a hall where the archives of the Censors were kept, and where they transacted business; this was rebuilt by Asinius Pollio, who added to it the first public library established in Rome—

> 'Nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis
> Atria, Libertas tangere passa sua est.'[2]

In the same group stood the famous sanctuary of Juno Regina, ruined by the Goths in A.D. 414, which had been vowed by Camillus during the siege of Veii, and to which the Juno of the captured city was removed after she had given a verbal consent when asked if she wished to go to Rome and inhabit a new temple. The Temples of Liberty and Juno were both sumptuously rebuilt under Augustus; some imagine that they were under a common roof. Some beautiful columns in the church of S. Sabina, built A.D. 425, are all that remain of the Temple of Juno,[3] though Livy thought that her reign here would be eternal—

> '. . . in Aventinum, aeternam sedem suam.'[4]

Also belonging to this group was a Temple of Minerva—

> 'Sol abit e Geminis, et Cancri signa rubescunt:
> Coepit Aventina Pallas in arce coli.'[5]

We thus see that the Aventine had its Trinity, like the Capitol.

Here the dramatist Livius Andronicus, who lived upon the Aventine, 208 B.C., was honoured after his death by a company of scribes and actors. Another poet who lived upon the Aventine was Ennius, who is described as inhabiting a humble dwelling, and being attended by a single female slave. The elegiac poet Gallus also lived here, the friend of Asinius Pollio, Ovid, and Virgil.

> 'Totis, Galle, jubes tibi me servire diebus,
> Et per Aventinum ter quater ire tuum!'[6]

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[1] Ovid, *Fast.* v. 293. [2] Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 1. 71.

[3] In existing archives the part of the Aventine where the Temple of Juno stood is mentioned as 'Lo Monte de lo Serpenta,' in allusion to the serpent which was the symbol of the Juno of Lanuvium.

[4] Livy, v. 22. [5] Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 27. [6] Mart, *Ep.* x. 56.

On the north side of the Aventine, above the Circus Maximus, on (?) the site now occupied by the convent of S. Prisca, was a more important Temple of Diana, built in imitation of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. Propertius writes—

> 'Phyllis Aventinae quaedam est Dianae;[1]

and Martial—

> 'Quique videt propius magni certamina Circi
> Laudat Aventinae vicinus Sura Dianae.'[2]

In front of it were suspended the horns of a cow, her favourite victim. Here, till the time of Dionysius, was preserved the pillar of brass on which was engraved the law of Icilius.

Near this were the gardens of Servilia, where that lady received the devotion of Julius Caesar, and in which her son Junius Brutus is said to have conspired his murder, and to have been interrogated by his own wife Portia as to the mystery, which he refused to reveal to her. Close by, where the so-called house of Constantine (restaurant) stands, was the house, with baths, of Lucinius Sura, consul A.D. 107, to whom Pliny addressed two letters, and whom Trajan intimately honoured (Vigna Cavalletti).

The Aventine continued to be inhabited, and even populous, until the sixth century, from which period its prosperity began to decline. In the eleventh century it was occupied by the camp of Henry IV. of Germany, when he warred against Gregory VII. In the thirteenth century Honorius III. (1216–27) made a final effort to re-establish its popularity. The walls of the **Savelli fortress** still stand near S. Sabina. But with each succeeding generation it became more and more deserted, until its sole inhabitants seemed to be monks and ague-stricken contadini who looked after the monastic vineyards. Now, however, it has become more populous. In wandering along its lanes, hemmed in by hedges of elder, or by walls covered with parasitical plants, it is difficult to realise the time when it was so thickly populated; and, except in the quantities of coloured marbles with which its fields and vineyards are strewn, there is nothing to remind one of the aediculae, baths, granaries, fountains, 130 large houses and 2487 of the poorer houses, which occupied this hill of the Federal Diana. In the Vigna Torlonia can be seen the subterranean remains of the Baths of Decius.

The present interest of the hill is ecclesiastical, and centres around the story of **S. Dominic**, and the legends of the saints, apostles, and martyrs, connected with its different churches.

The usual approach to the Aventine is from behind the Church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, where the **Via S. Sabina** (Clivus Publicius) (available for carriages) turns up the hill. But it can also be reached from the Viale P. San Paolo.

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[1] Propert. *El.* iv. [2] Mart. *Ep.* vi. 64.

A lane on the left leads to the **Jewish Burial-Ground**, used as a place of sepulture for the Ghetto for many centuries. A curious instance of the cupidity attributed to the Jewish race may be seen in the fact that they have, for a remuneration of four baiocchi, habitually given leave to their neighbours to discharge the contents of a rubbish-cart into their cemetery, a permission of which the Romans have so abundantly availed themselves, that the level of the soil has been raised by many yards, and whole sets of older monuments have been completely swallowed up, and new ones erected over their heads. This is now discontinued.

After we turn the corner at the hill-top, with its view across to the Palatine, and pass the trench of fortification formed by General Lamoriciere during the fear of a Garibaldian invasion in 1867, we skirt what appears to be part of a city wall.[1] This is in fact the wall of the Honorian château, built by Pope Honorius III. 1216–27 (Savelli), whose idea was to render the Aventine once more the populous and favourite portion of the city, and who began great works for this purpose. Before his arrangements were completed S. Dominic arrived in Rome, lodged first at the Church of S. Sisto until he was appointed master of the papal household and abbot of the convent of S. Sabina, where his ministrations and popularity soon formed so great an attraction, that the pope abandoned his design of founding a new centre which would commemorate himself, and left the field to S. Dominic, to whom he made over the land on this side of the hill. Henceforward the convent of S. Sabina and its surroundings have become, more than any other spot, saturated with the history of the Dominican Order — there many of its great saints have received their first inspiration, have resided, or are buried; there S. Dominic himself received in a beatific vision the Institution of the Rosary; there he was ordered to plant the famous orange-tree, which, being a tree then unknown in Rome, he brought from his native Spain as the only present which it was suitable for the gratitude of a poor monk to offer to his patron, who was himself one of the botanists of his time. The orange-tree described by John Evelyn in 1664 still lives, and is firmly believed to flourish or fail with the fortunes of the Dominican Order, so that it has been greatly the worse for the suppression of convents; though the brief residence of Père Lacordaire at S. Sabina is said to have proved exceedingly beneficial to it, and his visit even caused a new sucker to sprout. It is greatly to be regretted that the authorities have seen fit (1901) to take this cloister from the church and give it to the adjoining hospital. It occupies the site of the house of Cosmus, a minister of M. Aurelius.

The **Church of S. Sabina** was built, A.D. 425, by Peter, a priest from Illyria, rich for the poor, and poor for himself' (*pauperibus locuples, sibi pauper*), as we read in the mosaic inscription inside over the principal entrance. S. Gregory the Great, during a fearful pestilence (590), composed his Sevenfold Litany, and established here

[1] The lane along the outside of the wall leads down to join the Via della Salara near the little chapel of S. Anna.

the first station of Lent. The church was rebuilt in 824, and reconsecrated by Gregory IX. in 1238. Much of its interest—ancient pavements, mosaics, &c.—was destroyed in 1587 by Sixtus V., who took the credit of discovering the relics of the martyrs who are buried beneath the altar.

On the west is a covered **corridor** containing several ancient inscriptions, and fragments of the ninth-century church. It is supported on one side by ancient spiral columns of pavonazetto; on the other these have been substituted by granite ones. Hence, through a window, ladies were allowed to gaze upon the celebrated orange-tree in its cloisters, reputed 670 years old; a rude figure of S. Dominic is sculptured upon the low wall which surrounds it. The original tree must have perished some three hundred years ago.

'J'ai vu un arbre planté par le bienheureux S. Dominique à Rome; chacun le va voir et chérit pour l'amour du planteur: c'est pourquoi ayant vu en vous l'arbre du désir de sainteté que notre Seigneur a planté en votre âme, je le chéris tendrement, et prends plaisir à le considérer . . . je vous exhorte d'en faire de même, et de dire avec moi: Dieu vous croisse, o bel arbre planté! divine semence céleste, Dieu vous veuille faire produire votre fruit à maturité.'—*S. François de Sales à S. Jeanne François de Chantal.*

The **west door**, of the twelfth century, in a richly sculptured frame, is of cypress wood, and being attributed to the fifth century in its oldest portions, it may fairly be considered the oldest wooden door in the world. Its panels are covered with carvings from the Old and New Testament, some being referred by Mamachi to the seventh, by Agincourt to the thirteenth century. Some of the subjects have been destroyed; among those which remain are the Annunciation, the Angels appearing to the Shepherds, the Angel and Zacharias in the Temple, the Magi, Moses turning the Rods into Serpents, the Ascent of Elijah, Christ before Pilate, the Denial of Peter, and the Ascension. The Crucifixion (in the left corner at the top), probably one of the earliest representations of the subject, has the figures on the crosses fully draped. Within the entrance are the only remains of the magnificent **mosaic**, erected in A.D. 431, under Celestine I. (which entirely covered the west wall till the time of Sixtus V.), consisting of an inscription in large letters, with a female figure on either side, that on the left bearing the name 'Ecclesia cum circumcisione,' that on the right, 'Ecclesia ex gentibus.' Among the parts destroyed were the four beasts typical of the Evangelists, and S. Peter and S. Paul. The church was thus gorgeously decorated, by reason that, in the time of the Savelli Popes, it became what the Sistine is now, the Chiesa Apostolica.

In the **nave** are twenty-four corinthian columns of Parian marble, relics of the Temple of Juno Regina, which stood near here. Above is an inlaid frieze of pietra-dura, of A.D. 431, which once extended up to the windows, but was destroyed by Sixtus V., 1590, who at the same time built up the clerestory. In the middle of the pavement near the altar is a curious mosaic figure over the grave of **Munoz de Zamora**, a general of the Dominican Order, who died in 1300 during the first Jubilee. Nearer the west door are interesting incised slabs representing a German bishop and a lady,

benefactors of this church, and (on the left) a slab with arms in mosaic, to a lady of the Savelli family. In the **left aisle** is another monument 1312, commemorating a warrior of the imperial house of Germany. The **high altar** covers the remains of Sabina and Seraphia, Alexander the Pope, Eventius and Theodolus, all martyrs. In the chapel beneath, S. Dominic is said to have flagellated himself three times nightly, 'perchè un colpo solo non abbastava per mortificare il carne.'

At the end of the **R. aisle** is the Chapel of the Rosary, where *Sassoferrato's* masterpiece, called 'La Madonna del Rosario,' commemorates the vision of S. Dominic on that spot, in which he received the rosary from the hands of the Virgin.

'S. Catherine of Siena kneels with S. Dominic before the throne of the Madonna; the lily at her feet. The infant Saviour is turned towards her, and with one hand He crowns her with thorns, with the other He presents the rosary. This is the masterpiece of the painter, with all his usual elegance, without his usual insipidity.'—*Jameson's 'Monastic Orders.'*

Few Roman practices have excited more animadversion than the adoration of the Rosary. The Père Lacordaire (a Dominican) defended it, saying—

'Le rationaliste sourit en voyant passer de logues fils de gens qui redisent une même parole. Celui qui est éclairé d'une meilleure lumière comprend que l'amour n'a qu'un mot, et qu'en le disant toujours, il ne répète jamais.'

The picture was stolen July 22, 1901 (the principal thief being the porter of a princely house), but recovered 1902. It has suffered seriously.

Grouped around this chapel are three beautiful tombs—a cardinal, a bishop, and a priest, of the end of the fifteenth century. That of the cardinal (which is of the well-known Roman type of the time) is inscribed, 'Ut moriens viveret, vixit ut moriturus;' the others are incised slabs. At the other end of this aisle is a marble slab, on which S. Dominic is said to have been wont to lie prostrate in prayer. One day while he was lying thus, the devil in his rage is said to have hurled a huge stone (a round black marble, *pietra di paragone*) at him, which missed the saint, who left the attack entirely unnoticed. The devil was frantic with disappointment, and the stone, remaining as a relic, is preserved on a low pillar in the nave. Numbers of similar ancient weights of black marble are found in Roman churches, and are often associated with martyrdoms. A gothic **ciborium**, richly inlaid with mosaic, remains on the left of the tribune. Notice the recovered fragments of ninth century chancel-screens.

It was in this church, in 1218, that the Polish cousins Hyacinthus and Celsus Odrowaz, struck by the preaching of S. Dominic, and by the recollection of the barbarism, heathenism, and ignorance which prevailed in many parts of their native land of Silesia, offered themselves as missionaries, and took the vows of the Order, becoming the apostles of Hungary and Bohemia. Hither fled to the monastic life S. Thomas Aquinas, pursued to the very door of the convent by the tears and outcries of his mother, who vainly

implored him to return to her. One evening, a pilgrim, worn out with travel and fatigue, arrived at the door of this convent, mounted upon a wretched mule, and begged admittance. The prior in mockery asked, 'What are you come for, my father? are you come to see if the college of cardinals is disposed to elect you as pope?' 'I come to Rome,' replied Michele Ghislieri, 'because the interests of the Church require it, and I shall leave as soon as my task is accomplished; meanwhile I implore you to give me a brief hospitality and a little hay for my mule.' Sixteen years afterwards (1566) Ghislieri mounted the Papal throne as Pius V., and proved, during a troubled reign, the most rigid follower and masterful defender of the institutions of S. Dominic. One day, as Ghislieri was about to kiss his crucifix in the eagerness of prayer, the image of Christ, says the legend, retired of its own accord from his touch, for it had been poisoned by an enemy, and a kiss would have been death. The crucifix is kept as a precious relic in the convent, where the cells both of S. Dominic and of Pius V. are preserved; though, like most historical chambers of Roman saints, their interest is lessened by their having been beautified and transformed into chapels. In the cell of S. Dominic part of the ancient timber ceiling remains. Here is a beautiful portrait of the saint by *Bazzani*, founded on records of his personal appearance; the lily lies by his side—the glory hovers over his head—he is, as the chronicler describes him, 'of amazing beauty.' In this cell he is said frequently to have passed the night in prayer with his rival S. Francis of Assisi. The refectory is connected with another story of S. Dominic:—

'It happened that when he was residing with thirty of his friars in the convent of S. Sabina at Rome, the brothers who had been sent to beg provisions had returned with a very small quantity of bread, and they knew not what they should do, for night was at hand, and they had not eaten all day. Then S. Dominic ordered that they should seat themselves in the refectory, and, taking his place at the head of the table, he pronounced the usual blessing; and behold! two beautiful youths clad in white and shining garments appeared amongst them—one carried a basket of bread, and the other a pitcher of wine, which they distributed to the brethren; then they disappeared, and no one knew how they had come in, nor how they had gone out. And the brethren sat in amazement; but S. Dominic stretched forth his hand, and said calmly, "My children, eat what God has sent you;" and it was truly celestial food, such as they never tasted before nor since.'—*Jameson's 'Monastic Orders,'* p. 369.

Other saints who sojourned for a time in this convent were S. Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensians (ob. 1134), and S. Raymond de Penaforte (ob. 1275), who left his labours in Barcelona for a time in 1230 to act as chaplain to Gregory IX.

In 1285 a conclave was held at S. Sabina for the election of a successor to Pope Martin IV., but was broken up by the malaria, six cardinals dying within the convent, and the rest taking flight, except Cardinal Savelli, who would not desert his paternal home, and survived by keeping large fires constantly burning in his chamber. Ten months afterwards his perseverance was rewarded by his own election to the throne as Honorius IV.

In the garden of the convent are some remains of the palace of the Savelli Popes, Honorius III. and IV. This became the headquarters of the Emperor Henry VII. (A.D. 1313) during his wretched sojourn in Rome at the moment of his coronation, and in this church lie the bodies of his slain German lords. Here, on the declivity of the Aventine, many important excavations were made in 1856–57 by the French Prior Besson, a person of great intelligence, who was rewarded by the discovery of some fine portions of the wall of Servius Tullius, formed of squared blocks of peperino, an ancient Roman house, with chambers paved with black and white mosaic. In the chambers, which were found decorated in stucco with remnants of painting in figures and arabesque ornaments, 'one little group represented a sacrifice before the statue of a god, in an aedicula. Some rudely scratched Latin lines on this surface led to the inference that this chamber, after becoming subterranean and otherwise uninhabitable, had served for a prison; one unfortunate inmate having inscribed curses against those who caused his loss of liberty; and another, more devout, left record of his vow to sacrifice to Bacchus in case of recovering that blessing.'[1]

A nympheum, a well, and several subterranean passages are still visible on the hillside. Some ruins exist of the houses of Cosmus, Minister of Finance under Marcus Aurelius, and of Marcella[2] and Principia, the friends of S. Jerome, destroyed by fire early in the fifty century.

Just beyond S. Sabina is the Hieronymite **Church and Convent of S. Alessio**, the only monastery of Hieronymites in Italy where meat was allowed to be eaten—in consideration of the malaria. The first church erected here was built in A.D. 305 in honour of S. Boniface, martyr, by Aglae, a noble Roman lady, whose servant (and lover) he had been. It was reconsecrated in A.D. 401 by Innocent I. in honour of S. Alexis, whose paternal mansion occupied this site. This saint, young and beautiful, took a vow of celibacy, and being forced by his parents into marriage, fled on the same evening from his home, and was given up as lost. Worn out and utterly changed, he returned many years afterwards to be near those who were dear to him, and remained, unrecognised, as a poor beggar, under the stairs which led to his father's house. Seventeen years passed away, when a mysterious voice suddenly resounded through the Roman churches, crying, 'Seek ye out the man of God, that he may pray for Rome.' The crowd was stricken with amazement, when the same voice continued, 'Seek in the house of Euphemianus.' Then the Pope, emperor, and senators hastened together to the Aventine, where they found the despised beggar dying beneath the doorstep, his countenance beaming with celestial light, a crucifix in one hand and a sealed paper in the other. The people vainly strove to draw the paper from the fingers which were closing in the gripe of death; but when Innocent I. bade the dying man

[1] Hemans, *Monuments in Rome.*

[2] Addressed by S. Jerome in one of his letters 'the pride of Romans.' She was tortured, and her Aventine house pillaged by the Goths.

in God's name to give it up, they opened. Then the Pope read aloud to the astonished multitude the secret of Alexis, and his father Euphemianus and his widowed bride regained in death the son and the husband they had lost.

> "Then, lest some secular use might mar the place
> Made sacred by his pain, upon the ground
> Where stood that stately house they reared the church
> Of S. Alexis, and the marble stairs
> Which sheltered him they left as when he died.
> And there a sculptor carved him, in mean garb,
> Reclining, by his side his pilgrim's staff,
> And in his hand the story of his life,
> Of virgin pureness and humility.'—*Lewis Morris.*

S. Alessio is entered through a courtyard.

'The courtyards in front of S. Alessio, S. Cecilia, S. Gregorio, and other churches, are like the vestibula of the ancient Roman houses, on the site of which they were probably built. This style of building, says Tacitus, was generally introduced by Nero. Beyond opened the *prothyra*, or inner entrance, with the *cellae* for the porter and dog, *both* chained, on either side.'

In the **portico** of the church is a statue of Benedict XIII. (Pietro Orsini, 1724). The west door has a rich border of mosaic. The church has been so shamelessly modernised by Tommaso de Marchis, in 1750, as to retain no appearance of antiquity. The fine *opus-alexandrinum* pavement is preserved. In the floor is the incised gothic monument of Lupo di Olmeto, general of the Hieronymites (ob. 1433). Left of the entrance is a **shrine of L. Alessio**, with his figure sleeping under the staircase—part of the wooden stair being enclosed in a glass case over his head. Not far from this is the ancient well of his father's house. In a chapel which opens out of a passage leading to a sacristy is the fine tomb of Cardinal Guido del Bagno of the time of Leo X. He is represented sitting, with one hand resting on the ground—the delicate execution of his lace in marble is much admired. The mosaic roof of this chapel was torn by a cannon-ball during the French bombardment of 1849, but the figure was uninjured. The **baldacchino** is remarkable for its proportions. Behind, in the tribune, are the inlaid mosaic pillars of a gothic tabernacle by Jacobus Cosmati. No one should omit to descend into the **Crypt of S. Alessio**, which is an early church, supported on stunted pillars, containing a marble episcopal chair, green with age. Here tradition asserts that the Pope used to meet the early conclaves of the Church in times of persecution. The pillar under the altar is shown as that to which S. Sebastian was bound when he was shot with the arrows.

The convent is now appropriated as a blind asylum. The **cloister** blooms with orange and lemon trees. At one time the building was purchased by the ex-King Ferdinand of Spain, who intended turning it into a villa for himself. The famous Crescenzio, son of Theodora, the murderer of Popes John XII. and Benedict VI., died peacefully in the monastery of S. Alessio in 984. His tomb remains in the cloisters, inscribed, 'Here lies the body of Crescentius, the illustrious, the honourable citizen of Rome, the great leader, the great

descendant of a great family . . . Christ, the Saviour of our souls, made him infirm and an invalid, so that, abandoning any further hope of worldly success, he entered this monastery, and spent his last years in prayer and retirement.' S. Adalbert was a monk here at that period.

A short distance beyond S. Alessio is a sort of little square, adorned with trophied memorials of the Knights of Malta, and occupying the site of a sacred laurel grove which contained the tomb of King Tatius. (?) Here, at the entrance of the Priorato garden, is the famous **view of S. Peter's through the keyhole**, admired by crowds of people on Ash-Wednesday, when the 'stazione' is held at the neighbouring churches. Entering the garden (which belongs to the Knights, and to which visitors are now only admitted on Wednesdays and Saturdays) we find ourselves in a beautiful avenue of old bay-trees framing the distant Dome. A terrace overhanging the Tiber commands an enchanting view over river and town. In the garden is an old pepper-tree, and in a little court a picturesque palm-tree and well. From hence we can enter the church, sometimes called **S. Basilio**, sometimes **S. Maria Aventina**, an ancient building, transformed from his own palace by Alberico II., Count of Tusculum, A.D. 939, modernised by Cardinal Rezzonico in 1756, from the unworthy designs of the archaeologist Piranesi, to whose memory a statue has been erected here. The church contains an interesting collection of tombs, most of them belonging to the Knights of Malta; that of Bishop Spinelli is an ancient marble sarcophagus, with a relief of Minerva and the Muses; that of Bartolommeo Caraffa—a knight in armour—chamberlain to Innocent VII., is by the rare fifteenth-century sculptor *Paolo Romano*. A richly sculptured ancient altar contains relics of saints found beneath the pavement of the church. In an upper hall, heads from the full-length portraits at Malta of the seventy-four Grand Masters have recently been arranged.

The Priorato garden, so beautiful and attractive in itself, has an additional interest as that in which the famous Hildebrand (Gregory VII., 1073–80) was brought as a boy, under the care of his uncle, who was abbot of the adjoining monastery. Some buried houses were discovered and some precious vases brought to light when Urban VIII. restored the stately buttress walls which now retain the hillside beyond the Priorato.

The cliff below these convents is sometimes claimed as the site of the cave of the giant Cacus, described by Virgil:—

> 'At specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
> Regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae:
> Non secus, ac si quâ penitus vi terra dehiscens
> Infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat
> Pallida, dis invisa; superque immane barathrum
> Cernatur, trepidentque immisso lumine manes.'
>
> —*Aeneid*, viii. 241.

Hercules brought the oxen of Geryon to pasture in the valley between the Aventine and Palatine. Cacus, issuing from his cave

while their owner was asleep, carried off four of the bulls, dragging them up the steep side of the hill by their tails, that Hercules might be deceived by their reversed footprints. Then he concealed them in his cavern and barred the entrance with a rock. Hercules sought the stolen oxen everywhere, and when he could not find them he was going away with the remainder. But as he drove them along the valley near the Tiber, one of his oxen lowed, and when the stolen oxen in the cave heard that, they answered; and Hercules, after rushing three times round the Aventine boiling with fury, shattered the stone which guarded the entrance of the cave with a mass of rock, and, though the giant vomited forth smoke and flames, he strangled him in his arms.

Beyond the Priorato a handsome modern **Benedictine Convent** has arisen, 1892–96, under the care of Leo XIII., intended as a head-centre for the Order. At the angle of the hill is the fine bastion erected for defence of the hill by Antonio da Sangallo.

We must now retrace our steps as far as the summit towards the Palatine, and presently turn to the right in order to reach the ugly, forlorn-looking **Church of S. Prisca**—Titulus Priscae—founded by Pope Eutychianus in A.D. 280 (?) close to the site of the house of Aquila and Priscilla, Jews, and tent-makers, with whom S. Peter traditionally lodged when he was at Rome. It was entirely modernised by Cardinal Giustiniani from designs of Carlo Lombardi, 1600, who encased its granite columns in miserable stucco pilasters. It is first alluded to in 499. Over the high altar is a picture by *Passignani* of the baptism of the saint, which is said to have taken place in the picturesque crypt beneath the church, where an inverted corinthian capital—a relic of the temple of Diana (?) which once occupied this site—is shown as the font in which S. Prisca was baptized by S. Peter. The oratory—*ecclesia domestica*—which Aquila and Priscilla made in their house, one of the first opened for worship in Rome, was found in 1776 close to the church, and may perhaps exist still underground. A tablet found in 1776 shows that in 222 the reputed house of Aquila and Priscilla belonged to the senator Gaius Marius Pudens Cornelianus, revealing that the connection formed between the two families in the time of the Apostles was still continued. (Cf. *Giornal. Arcad.*, cxxv. 182.)

Opening from the right aisle was a kind of terraced loggia, now fallen into ruin, with a peculiar and beautiful view. In the adjoining vineyard are three arches of an aqueduct.

'The altar-piece of the church represents the baptism of S. Prisca, whose remains being afterwards placed in the church, it has since borne her name. According to the legend, she was a Roman virgin of illustrious birth, who, at the age of thirteen, was exposed in the amphitheatre. A fierce lion was let loose upon her, but her youth and innocence disarmed the fury of the savage beast, which, instead of tearing her to pieces, humbly licked her feet, to the great consolation of Christians and the confusion of idolaters. Being led back to prison, she was there beheaded. Sometimes she is represented with a lion, sometimes with an eagle, because it is related that an eagle watched by her body till it was laid in the grave; for thus, says the story,

was virgin innocence honoured by kingly bird as well as by kingly beast.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

'Aquila and Priscilla are known through the New Testament. "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus; who have for my life laid down their own necks, unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles. Likewise greet the church that is in your house." So writes Paul, in the sixteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans; and this greeting is already enough to give us exalted ideas of the devotion of this couple to the faith. But our respect for them is further increased when we recollect what Luke tells us in the Acts of the Apostles: that Apollos—one of the most learned and eloquent amongst the first heralds of Christianity, and the probable author of the Epistle to the Hebrews—sat on the disciples' bench in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, and from them, but especially from the mother of the house, received deeper instruction in the way of salvation: "They expounded to him the way of God more perfectly," says the Acts of the Apostles.

'We know further of Aquila and Priscilla that they were working-people—that in their house on the Aventine they followed the trade of tent-making, the same by which the Apostle Paul also earned his bread. When the Emperor Claudius drove the Jews out of Rome, they too had to leave the city, for Aquila was a Jew, born in Pontus. They then removed to Corinth, where Paul became their guest, and where, as in Rome, they held assemblies at their house. They afterwards established their dwelling at Ephesus, and remained there till they obtained leave to return to Rome and their house on the Aventine.

'If the tradition—for which a Latin inscription in the very ancient church is responsible—if the tradition be right, the house of Aquila and Priscilla was in its turn built on the remains of a temple of Diana, and that again upon the site of an altar to Hercules, which the Arcadian king, Evander, had built, hundreds of years before the time of Romulus. What a train of memories, which carries us, though with uncertain steps, back into the very night of antiquity! And as the sun sinks and the wall of S. Prisca casts a lengthening shadow, let us linger a moment, and dream in silence and solitude of what the stories and memories may be with which coming ages shall lengthen out the chain of those which the past has already linked to this deserted and melancholy spot.'—*Rydberg's 'Roman Days.'*

'We know from the Acts and the Epistles, that, in consequence of the decree of banishment, which was issued against the Jews by the Emperor Claudius, Aquila and Priscilla were compelled to leave Rome for a while, and that on their return they were able to open a small oratory—*ecclesiam domesticam*—in their house. This oratory, one of the first opened to divine worship in Rome—these walls, which in all probability have echoed with the sound of S. Peter's voice, were discovered in 1776 close to the modern church of S. Prisca; but no attention was paid to the discovery, in spite of its unrivalled importance. The only memorandum of it is a scrap of paper in Codex 9697 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in which a man named Carrara speaks of having found a subterranean chapel near S. Prisca, decorated with paintings of the fourth century, representing the apostles. A copy of the frescoes seems to have been made at the time, but no trace of it has been found.

'In the same excavations of 1776 was found a bronze tablet, which had been offered to Gaius Marius Pudens Cornelianus by the people of Clunia (near Palencia, Spain), as a token of gratitude for the services which he had rendered them during his governorship of the province of Tarragona. This tablet, dated April 9, A.D. 227, proves that the house owned by Aquila and Priscilla in apostolic times had subsequently passed into the hands of a Cornelius Pudens; in other words, that the relations formed between the two families during the sojourn of the apostles in Rome had been faithfully maintained by their descendants. Their intimate connection is also proved by the fact that Pudens, Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Prisca were all buried in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria.'—*Lanciani.*

'It is worth noting that Aquila, an eagle, the German *Adler*, was always a Jewish name.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Opposite the door of this church is the entrance of the **Vigna Torlonia**, formerly **Vigna dei Gesuiti**, a wild and beautiful vineyard occupying the greater part of this deserted hill. Several farm buildings are scattered amongst the vines and fruit trees. The principal farm-house marks the site of the Thermae Decianae, named from the family of the Decii Albini, whose house was near this. They can be inspected with a candle. There are beautiful views towards the Alban mountains, and to the Pseudo-Aventine with its fortress-like convents of S. Balbina. The ground is littered with marbles and alabaster, which lie unheeded among the vegetables, relics of edifices which once existed there. The spot until recently was very beautiful, overgrown by a luxuriance of wild mignonette and other flowers. Below, where the road (Viale di Porta S. Paolo) cuts the vineyards, are to be seen the finest existing remains of the **Walls of Servius Tullius**, 50 feet high, and 11 feet 6 inches thick; formed of twenty-five courses of large quadrilateral blocks of tufa, laid alternately long and cross-ways, as in the Etruscan buildings. A semicircular open arch and part of another remain.

'Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.'
—*Virgil, Georg.* ii. 535.

Descending the road east of S. Prisca, we presently cross the new road which leads from the Via Appia to the Porta S. Paolo.

On the opposite side, on the Pseudo or smaller Aventine, is the **Church of S. Sabba**, which marks the site of the Porta Ruduscula of the walls of Servius Tullius. Its position is very striking, and its portico, built in A.D. 1205, with a loggia of 11 arches, is picturesque. It is approached by a steep green lane leading to its porch, which is carried on Ionic caps and columns. (Ring.) S. Sabba now belongs to the German College, and is open on Thursday afternoons. Its restoration is not finished for lack of funds (1904).

The building—one of the most picturesque in the outlying districts of Rome—dates from the time of Innocent III., when it was designed by Magister Jacobus, son of Magister Laurentius, the founder of the so-called dynasty of the Cosmati. But this church was built over another smaller one, 'De Cella Nova,' which existed in the time of Gregory the Great, when S. Sabba was one of the fourteen privileged abbacies of Rome, and which was covered with eighth-century frescoes of great interest. It was burnt under Robert Guiscard, A.D. 1084. Under the Portico stands a grand third-century sarcophagus with figures and baccellature mouldings, and at the sides horned griffons. The patron was an oriental medical saint.

'The record of the artist Jacobus dei Cosmati, dated the 7th year of Innocent III. (1205), on the lintel of the mosaic-inlaid doorway, justifies us in classing this church among monuments of the thirteenth century. From its origin a Greek monastery, it was assigned by Lucius II., in 1141, to the Benedictines of the Cluny rule. An epigraph near the sacristy mentions a rebuilding either of the cloisters or church in 1325 by an abbot Joannes;

and in 1465 the roof was renewed in woodwork by a cardinal, the nephew of Pius II.

'In 1512 the Cistercians of Clairvaux were located here by Julius II.; and some years later these buildings were given to the Germanic-Hungarian College. Amidst gardens and vineyards, approached by a solitary lane between hedgerows, this now deserted sanctuary has a certain affecting character in its forlornness. Save on Thursdays, when the German students are brought hither by their Jesuit professors to enliven the solitude by their sports and converse, we might never succeed in finding entrance to this quiet retreat of the monks of old.

'Within the arched porch, through which we pass into an outer court, we read an inscription telling that here stood the house and oratory (called the *cella nova*) of S. Sylvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, whence the pious matron used daily to send a porridge of legumes to her son while he inhabited his monastery on the Clivus Scauri, or northern ascent of the Coelian. Within that court formerly stood the cloistral buildings, of which little now remains. The façade is remarkable for its atrium in two storeys: the upper with a pillared arcade, probably of the fifteenth century; the lower formerly supported by six porphyry columns, removed by Pius VI. to adorn the Vatican library, where they still stand. The porphyry statuettes of two emperors embracing, supposed either an emblem of the concord between the East and West, or the intended portraits of the co-reigning Constantine II. and Constans—a curious example of sculpture in its deep decline, and probably imported by Greek monks from Constantinople—project from two of those ancient columns.'[1]—*Hemans*, '*Mediaeval Art*.'

The interior of S. Sabba is in the basilica form with nine bays of circular arches. It retains some fragments of inlaid pavements, some handsome inlaid panels on either side of the high altar, and several ancient sarcophagi. Jacobus used in his high altar (temporarily removed) a marble pedestal dedicated, A.D. 204, to Caracalla. The tribune has rude paintings of the fourteenth century, bearing the name of the donor, one Saba—the Saviour between S. Andrew and S. Sabbas the Abbot; and below, the Crucifixion, the Madonna, and the twelve Apostles. Beneath the tribune is a crypt, and over its altar a beautifully ornamented disk with a Greek cross in the centre. The cloister is of brick construction with coupled arches without columns. In it are two caps of green porphyry.

Behind S. Sabba is another delightful vineyard. Here Flaminius Vacca describes the discovery of a mysterious chamber without door or window, whose pavement was of agate and cornelian, and whose walls were plated with gilt copper; but of this nothing remains.[2]

The quarters of the 4th cohort of the Vigiles (fire-brigade) occupied the site. A pedestal of A.D. 205 has been found here, with an inscription authorising Junius Rufinus, prefect of the Vigiles, to punish with a rod or cat-of-nine-tails (*fustibus vel flagellis*) the janitor or any of the inhabitants of a house in their district in which a fire had broken out through neglect. The results of the excavation so far have consisted in the discovery of the earlier and shorter

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[1] Similar figures exist near one of the corners of the Ducal Palace at Venice.

[2] Hemans, *Story of Monuments in Rome*, ii. 228.

church of the tenth century, with remains of its frescoes together with tombs of many of its ecclesiastics.

To reach the remaining church of the Aventine, we have to descend again to the Via Porta S. Paolo, turn to the left, and then follow the lane which leads up the hillside near the Baths of Caracalla to **S. Balbina**, whose picturesque red-brick tower, as seen against the long soft lines of the Campagna, forms a conspicuous feature in so many Roman views. Latterly, however, the effect of this attractive building—a unique mediaeval fortified monastery—has been injured by a square white edifice erected near it. The church stands on the site of the Domus Cilonis, given by Septimius Severus in 204 to his intimate friend Lucius Fabius Cilo, consul and prefect of the city. Some reticulated work, used for foundations of the monastery, belonged to the villa. The Servian Wall, which crosses the site, can also be seen in the garden and refectory. It descended direct from here to the Porta Capena of the Via Appia. The church was erected in the sixth or seventh century in memory of S. Balbina, a virgin martyr (buried in S. Maria in Domnica), daughter of the prefect Quirinus, who suffered under Hadrian, A.D. 132. It contains the remains of an altar erected by Cardinal Barbo (1489) in the old basilica of St. Peter's, a splendid ancient throne of marble inlaid with mosaic, and a tomb, by Giovanni degli Cosmati, of the papal chamberlain, Stefano Sordi (1300), supporting a recumbent figure, also decorated with mosaics.

Here the *Mirabilia* says that Constantine and Sylvester 'kissed and parted one from the other' after the interview in which that Emperor was falsely made out to have surrendered Rome and the supremacy of the Western Empire to the Holy See.

Adjoining this church, Monsignor de Mérode, in the time of Pius IX., established a house of correction for youthful offenders, to avert the moral result of exposing them to communication with other prisoners. It is now a House of Refuge for Women.

CHAPTER IX

THE VIA APPIA

The Porta Capena—Baths of Caracalla—SS. Nereo ed Achilleo—SS. Sisto e Domenico—S. Cesareo—S. Giovanni in Oleo—S. Giovanni in Porta Latina—Columbarium of the Freedmen of Octavia—Tomb of the Scipios—Columbarium of the Vigna Codini—Arch of Drusus—Porta S. Sebastiano—Tombs of Geta and Priscilla—Church of Domine Quo Vadis (Vigna Marancia)—Catacombs of S. Calixtus, of S. Pretextatus, of the Jews, and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo—(Temple of Bacchus, *i.e.* S. Urbano—Grotto of Egeria—Temple of Divus Rediculus)—Basilica and Catacombs of S. Sebastiano—Circus of Maxentius—Temple of Romulus, son of Maxentius—Tomb of Cecilia Metella—Castle of Caëtani—Tombs of the Via Appia—S. Maria Nuova—Roma Vecchia—Casale Rotondo—Tor di Selce, &c.

THE **Via Appia**, called Regina Viarum by Statius, was begun 312 B.C. by the Censor Appius Claudius the Blind, 'a member of the great Sabine Gens; of whom he was the most remarkable representative.' It was paved throughout, and during the first part of its course served as a kind of patrician cemetery, being bordered by a magnificent avenue of family tombs. It began at the Porta Capena of the Servian Wall (itself crossed by the Appian aqueduct, which was due to the same great benefactor—

'Substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam'—)

and was carried by Claudius across the Pontine Marshes as far as Capua, but afterwards extended to Brundusium. Up to 442 A.U.C. the drain-polluted waters of the Tiber had been drunk by the whole population.

The site of the **Porta Capena**, so important as marking the ancient commencement of the Appian Way, was long a disputed subject. The Roman antiquaries maintained that it was outside the present or Aurelian Walls, basing their opinion on the statement of S. Gregory, that the river Almo was in that direction, and considering the Almo to be identical with a small stream which is crossed in the hollow about half a mile beyond the Porta S. Sebastiano, and which passes through the Valle Caffarelle, and falls into the Tiber near S. Paolo. This stream, however, which rises at the foot of the Alban Hills below the lake, divides into two parts about six miles from Rome, and its smaller division, after flowing close to the Porta San Giovanni, recedes again into the country, enters Rome near the Porta Metronia, a little behind the Church of S. Sisto, and passing through the Circus Maximus, falls into the Tiber at the

Pulchrum Litus, below the Round Temple of Dea Matuta. Close to the point where this, the smaller branch of the Almo, crosses the Via San Sebastiano, and to the rear of S. Gregorio, Mr. J. Parker, in 1867–69, excavating in accordance with his measurements, discovered remains, along the original line of walls, which he happily identified as those of the **Porta Capena**. Pius IX. came to see the discoveries, and exclaiming, 'the heretic's right,' complained bitterly that his own archaeologists, whom he paid very highly, should have failed to find what was discovered by a stranger. So that the Appia left Rome close to San Gregorio until A.D. 272, when Aurelian built the present walls.

Close to the Porta Capena stood a large group of historical buildings of which no trace aboveground remains. Additional topographical importance attached to the finding of this gate, inasmuch as Augustus, in portioning out Rome into twelve regiones, used it as a cardinal point in his fundamental line; and the first and twelfth regiones met here. On the right, outside of the gate, stood the **Temple of Mars**:—

> 'Lux eadem Marti festa est: quem prospicit extra
> Appositum tectae porta Capena viae.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 191.

It is probably in allusion to this temple that Propertius says:—

> 'Armaque quum tulero portae votiva Capenae,
> Subscribam, salvo grata puella viro.'
> —*Prop.* iv. *Eleg.* 3.

Martial alludes to a little **temple of Hercules** near this:—

> 'Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta
> Phrygiumque matris Almo qua lavat ferrum,
> Horatiorum qua viret sacer campus,
> Et qua pusilli fervet Herculis fanum
> Faustine.' —*Mart. Ep.* iii. 47.

Beyond the gate also rose the tomb of the murdered sister of the Horatii,[1] with the temples of **Honor and Virtus**, vowed by Marcellus after the capture of Syracuse, and dedicated by his son, 208 B.C., and a fountain dedicated to Mercury:—

> 'Est aqua Mercurii portae vicina Capenae;
> Si juvat expertis credere, numen habet.
> Huc venit incinctus tunica mercator, et urna
> Purus suffita, quam ferat, haurit aquam.
> Uda fit hinc laurus: lauro sparguntur ab uda
> Omnia, quae dominos sunt habitura novos.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* v. 673.

It was by the Porta Capena that the survivor of the Horatii met his sister.

'Horatius went home at the head of the army, bearing his triple spoils. But as they were drawing near to the Capenian gate, his sister came out to meet him. Now she had been betrothed in marriage to one of the Curiatii, and his cloak, which she had wrought with her own hands, was borne on the shoulders of her brother; and she knew it, and cried aloud, and wept for him

[1] Livy, i. 10.

she had loved. At the sight of her tears Horatius was so wroth that he drew his sword and stabbed his sister to the heart, and he said, "So perish the Roman maiden who shall weep for her country's enemy!"'—*Arnold's 'Hist. of Rome,'* i. 16.

Among the many other historical scenes with which the Porta Capena is connected, we may remember that it was here that Cicero was received in triumph by the senate and people of Rome upon his return from banishment, Sept., 57 B.C.

Two roads lead to the Via S. Sebastiano—one the **Via S. Gregorio**, which comes from the Coliseum beneath the Arch of Constantine; the other, the **Via dei Cerchi**, which comes from the river, and passes through the Circus Maximus, between the Palatine and Aventine.

The first gate on the left after the junction of these roads is that of the vineyard of the monks of S. Gregorio, in which the site of the Porta Capena was found. The remains discovered were re-buried, owing to the indifference of the Papal Government; but the vineyard is worth entering on account of the picturesque view it commands of the Palace of the Caesars.

On the right is a rope-walk, with remains of a pretty little renaissance villa. Thence a lane leads up the Pseudo-Aventine to the Church of S. Balbina, described Chap. VIII. and called after it.

On the left, where the Via Appia crosses the brook of the Almo, now called La Marrana, the Via di San Sisto Vecchio leads up to the top of the Coelian behind S. Stefano Rotondo. Here also, in the grounds of the Villa Celimontana (Hofmann), is the sacred spring which archaeology has decided to be the real **Fountain of Egeria**, where Numa Pompilius is described as having had his mysterious meetings with the nymph Egeria. The locality of this fountain was verified when that of the Porta Capena was ascertained, since it was in the immediate neighbourhood of that gate. A passage in the 3rd Satire of Juvenal describes that when he was waiting at the Porta Capena with Umbritius while the waggon was loading for the latter's departure to Cumae, they rambled into the valley of Egeria, and Umbritius, after speaking of his motives for leaving Rome, said, 'I could add other reasons to these, but my beasts summon me to move on, and the sun is setting. I must be going, for the muleteer has long been summoning me by the cracking of his whip.'

To this valley the oppressed Jews were confined by Domitian, their furniture consisting of a basket and a wisp of hay:—

> 'Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
> Judaeis, quorum cophinus foenumque supellex.'
> —*Juvenal, Sat.* iii. 13.

In his fanatical policy of purifying the state religion Domitian persecuted Jew and Christian and the Vestal cult, alike.

On the right are the **Baths of Caracalla**—*Thermae Antoninianae*

—(admission 1 fr., Sundays free), the largest mass of ruins in Rome; except the Coliseum; consisting for the most part of huge walls of red and orange-coloured brickwork, framing vast strips of blue sky above, and ruined mosaic pavement below. The ruins, formerly most beautiful, from the variety and luxuriance of shrubs and flowers which adorned them, have been denuded since 1879; but roses and fragrant shrubs are now replanted there. These baths, which could accommodate 1600 bathers at once, were begun in A.D. 212, by Caracalla, continued by Heliogabalus, and finished under his cousin, Alexander Severus. Theodoric, in the sixth century, partially restored them. They covered a space so enormous that their size made Ammianus Marcellinus say that the Roman baths resembled Provinces. They were supplied with water by the Antonine Aqueduct, which branched hither for that purpose from the Claudian, over the misnamed Arch of Drusus, seen further along the road near the gate.

'Imagine every entertainment for mind and body; enumerate all the gymnastic games our fathers invented; repeat all the books Italy and Greece have produced; suppose places for all these games, admirers for all these works; add to this, baths of the vastest size, the most complicated combination; intersperse the whole with gardens, with theatres, with porticoes, with schools; suppose, in one word, a city of the gods, composed but of palaces and public edifices, and you may form some faint idea of the glories of the great baths of Rome.'—*Bulwer Lytton.*

The baths built in part on the gardens of Asinius Pallio, the 'Horti Asinarii' of Frontinus, faced the Appian Way. Antiquaries have amused themselves by identifying the various chambers, to which, with no little uncertainty, the names of Calidarium, Laconicum, Tepidarium, Frigidarium, &c., have been affixed. 'In contemplating antiquities,' says Livy naively, 'the mind itself becomes antique.'

The habits of luxury and inertia which were accentuated by the magnificent baths of the Emperors were among the causes of the decline of Rome, and the vices which were encouraged in the Baths found one reaction in the impression of the early Christians that uncleanliness was a virtue, an impression which is retained by certain Monastic Orders to the present day. They were Cyclopean clubs. Thousands of the Roman youth frittered away their lives in these magnificent halls, which were provided with everything which could gratify the senses. Poets were wont to recite their verses to, and artists to sketch, those who were enjoying the baths.

'In medio qui
Scripta foro recitent, sunt multi, quique lavantes:
Suave locus voci resonat conclusus.'
—*Horace, Sat.* i. iv. 74.

'These *Thermae* of Caracalla, which were one mile in circumference, and open at stated hours for the indiscriminate service of the senators and the people, contained above sixteen hundred seats of marble. The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious mosaics that imitated the art of the pencil in elegance of design and in the variety of their colours. The Egyptian granite was beautifully encrusted with the precious green marble of Numidia. The perpetual stream of hot water was poured into the capa-

cious basins through so many wide mouths of bright and massy silver; and the meanest Roman could purchase, with a small copper coin, the daily enjoyment of a scene of pomp and luxury which might excite the envy of the kings of Asia. From these stately palaces issued forth a swarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without shoes and without mantle; who loitered away whole days in the street or forum, to hear news and to hold disputes; who dissipated, in extravagant gaming, the miserable pittance of their wives and children, and spent the hours of the night in the indulgence of gross and vulgar sensuality.'—*Gibbon.*

'Let us follow one of the elegant youths of Rome into one of the great thermae. He is welcomed at his entrance by the *ostiarius*, or porter, a tall majestic fellow with a sword at his side, and by the *capsarius*, or wardrobe-keeper, who takes charge of his wraps. Then follows a general salutation and kissing of friends, exchange of the last topics and scandals of the day; reading of the newspapers, or *acta diurna.* The visitor then selects the kind of bath which may suit his particular case—cold, tepid, warm, shower, or perspiration bath. The bath over, the real business begins, as, for example, taking a constitutional up and down the beautiful grounds, indulging in athletic sports or simple gymnastics to restore circulation, and to prepare himself for the delights of the table.

'The luxurious meal finished, the gigantic club-house could supply him with every kind of amusement: libraries, concerts, literary entertainments, reading of the latest poems or novels, popular or Barnum-like shows, conversation with the noblest and most beautiful women. Very often a second bath was taken to prepare for the evening meal. All this could be done by three or four thousand persons at one and the same time, without confusion or delay, because of the great number of servants and slaves attached to the establishment.'—*Lanciani, 'Ancient Rome.'*

The service of the baths was entirely carried on by means of underground and overhead passages (*cryptae*), which enabled the slaves to move about, and appear when wanted, without interfering with the bathers.

In the first great hall was found, in 1824, the immense, but very coarse mosaic pavement of the Pugilists, now in the Lateran Museum. Endless works of art have been discovered here from time to time, among them the best of the Farnese collection of statues—the Bull, the torso of the Hercules,[1] and the Flora—which were dug up in 1534, when Paul III. carried off the still remaining marble decorations of the Baths to use for the Farnese Palace. These are now at Naples. The last of the columns to be removed from hence is that which supports the statue of Justice in the Piazza S. Trinità at Florence.

A winding stair leads to the top of the walls, which were once well worth ascending, both for the idea which you there receive of the vast size of the ruins, and for the lovely views of the Campagna, which were obtained between the bushes of lentiscus and phillyrea with which till 1880 they abounded. It was seated on these walls, now so bare and hideous, that Shelley wrote his marvellous 'Prometheus Unbound.'

'This poem was chiefly written upon the mountainous ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, among the flowery glades and thickets of odoriferous blossoming

[1] It is often cited as an instance of the singular dispersion of ancient fragments at Rome, that the head of this statue was found at the bottom of a well in the Trastevere, and the legs on a farm ten miles from the city; but the story is more than doubtful.

trees which are extended in ever-winding labyrinths upon its immense platforms and dizzy arches suspended in the air. The bright blue sky of Rome, and the effect of the vigorous awakening spring in the divinest climate, and the new life with which it drenches the spirits even to intoxication, were the inspiration of the drama.'—*Preface to the 'Prometheus.'*

These baths may be considered almost as a detached portion of the enormous palace of Severus which they kept in sight; and both buildings together, as a sop to the people whom his military tyranny had, perhaps not undeservedly, enslaved. With this intention was cunningly combined the notion of flattering his African kinsfolk and subjects, by surpassing in grandeur in his edifices those of all previous emperors, and placing them so as to greet their astonished eyes as they entered Rome, first, and foremost of all. Legacy-duty in Rome rose under Caracalla from four per cent. to ten!

The name of the lane which leads to the baths (*Via all' Antoniniana*) recalls the fact that, 'with a vanity which seems like mockery, Caracalla dared to adopt the name of Antoninus,' always so dear to the Roman people. He also emulated Alexander the Great.

Some interesting ruins, which may be entered at No. 29 Via Porta S. Sebastiano, probably belong to the **House of the Asinii**—rooms, with traces of fresco-paintings, open on three sides of a peristyle, with representations of sea-nymphs in tolerable preservation.

From this point to the Gate, Rome remains more like what it was before the changes than in any other quarter, and there is a charm even in the old vigna-walls overgrown with pellitory and stone-crop. We now pass under the wall of the **Government Garden** for raising shrubs for the public walks. On the right we reach **SS. Nereo ed Achilleo**, a most interesting little church, in front of which, in a piazzetta, stands a granite column with a capital of winged lions. (Festival, May 1.) One tradition runs that S. Peter, escaping from prison, let drop here one of the bandages of his sores, and that the spot was marked by the early Christians with an oratory, which bore the name of Fasciola. Nereus and Achilles, eunuchs in the service of Flavius Clemens and Flavia Domitilla (members of the imperial family exiled to Pontia under Domitian), having suffered martyrdom at Terracina, their bodies were transported here in 524 by John I., when the oratory was enlarged into a church, which was restored under Leo III., in 795. The church was rebuilt in 1596 by Cardinal Baronius, who took his title from hence. In his work he desired that the ancient basilican character should be carefully carried out, and all the ancient ornaments of the church preserved and re-erected. His anxiety that his successors should not meddle with or injure these objects of antiquity is shown by the inscription on a marble slab in the tribune:—

'Presbyter Card. Successor quisquis fueris, rogo te, per gloriam Dei, et per merita horum martyrum, nihil demito, nihil minuito, nec mutato; restitutam antiquitatem pie servato; sic Deus martyrum suorum precibus semper adjuvet!'

The chancel is raised and surrounded by an inlaid marble screen. Instead of ambones there are two plain marble reading-desks for the Epistle and Gospel. The candelabrum (fifteenth century) is of the most exquisite and delicate beauty. The altar is inlaid, and has a marble grating, through which the tomb of the saints Nereus and Achilleus may be seen, and through which the faithful can pass their handkerchiefs to touch it. Behind, in the semicircular choir, is an episcopal throne, supported by lions, and ending in a gothic gable. Upon it part of the twenty-eighth homily of S. Gregory was engraved by Baronius, under the impression that it was delivered thence—though it was really first read in the catacomb, whence the bodies of the saints were not yet removed. All these decorations are of the restoration under Leo III., in the eighth century. Of the same period are the mosaics on the arch of the tribune (partly painted over in later times), representing, in the centre, the Transfiguration (the earliest instance of the subject being treated in art), with the Annunciation on one side and the Madonna and Child, attended by angels, on the other.

It is worth while remarking that when the relics of Flavia Domitilla (who was niece of Vespasian) and of Nereus and Achilleus were brought hither from the catacomb on the Via Ardeatina, which bears her name, they were escorted in triumph to the Capitol, and made to pass under the imperial arches which bore as inscriptions: 'The senate and the Roman people to S. Flavia Domitilla, for having brought more honour to Rome by her death than her illustrious relations by their works.' . . . 'To S. Flavia Domitilla, and to the Saints Nereus and Achilleus, the excellent citizens who gained peace for the christian republic at the price of their blood.'

Across the road, on the left, is a courtyard leading to the **Church of S. Sisto** (once known as Titulus Tigridae), with its celebrated convent, long deserted on account of malaria.

It was here that S. Dominic first resided on arrival in Rome, and collected one hundred monks about him, before he was removed to S. Sabina by Honorius III. After he went to the Aventine, it was decided to utilise this convent by gathering here the various Dominican nuns, who had been living hitherto under lax discipline, being allowed to leave their convents and reside with their own families. The nuns of S. Maria in Trastevere resisted the Order, and only consented to remove on condition of bringing with them a 'Madonna' attributed to S. Luke, hoping that the Trasteverini would refuse to part with their most cherished treasure. S. Dominic obviated the difficulty by going to fetch the picture himself at night, attended by two cardinals and a bare-footed, torch-bearing multitude.

'On Ash-Wednesday 1218, the abbess and some of her nuns went to take possession of their new monastery, and being in the chapter-house with S. Dominic and Cardinal Stefano di Fossa Nuova, suddenly there came in one tearing his hair, and making great outories, for the young Lord Napoleone Orisini, nephew of the cardinal, had been thrown from his horse and killed on the spot. The cardinal fell speechless into the arms of Dominic, and the women and others who were present were filled with grief and horror.. They

brought the body of the youth into the chapter-house, and laid it before the altar; and Dominic, having prayed, turned to it, saying, "O adolescens Napoleo, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi tibi dico surge," and thereupon he arose sound and whole, to the unspeakable wonder of all present.' —*Jameson's 'Monastic Orders.'*

After being convinced by this miracle of the divine mission of S. Dominic, forty nuns settled at S. Sisto, promising never more to cross the threshold.[1]

There is little remaining of the ancient S. Sisto, except the restored campanile. But the vaulted **Chapter-House**, now dedicated to S. Dominic, is well worth visiting. It has recently been covered with frescoes by Padre Besson—himself a Dominican monk—who received his commission from Father Mulloly, Prior of S. Clemente, the Irish Dominican convent to which S. Sisto is now affiliated. The three principal frescoes represent three miracles of S. Dominic—in each case of raising from the dead. One depicts the resuscitation of a mason of the new monastery who had fallen from a scaffold; another, that of a child in a wild and beautiful Italian landscape; the third, the restoration of Napoleone Orsini on this spot—the mesmeric upspringing of the lifeless youth being powerfully represented. The whole chapel is highly picturesque, and effective in colour. Of two inscriptions, one commemorates the raising of Orsini; the other, a prophecy of S. Dominic as to the evil end of two monks who deserted their convent.

Just beyond S. Sisto, where the Via della Ferratella branches off on the left to the Lateran, stands a small aedicula, or **Shrine**, with brick niches for statues.

Farther on the right, at the junction of the two roads, stands the **Church of S. Cesareo,**[2] which already existed in the time of S. Gregory the Great, but was modernised under Clement VIII. (1592) (Festival, March 26). Its interior retains many of its ancient features. The pulpit is one of the most exquisite specimens of church decoration in Rome, and is covered with delicate sculpture, interspersed with mosaic; the emblems of the Evangelists are introduced in the carving of the panels. The high-altar is richly encrusted with mosaics; tiny owls form part of the decorations of the capitals of its pillars. Beneath is a 'confession,' where two angels are drawing curtains over the tomb of S. Domitilla, who was buried here by S. Cesareo. The chancel has an inlaid marble screen. In the tribune is an ancient episcopal throne, once richly ornamented with mosaics.

In this church S. Sergius was elected to the papal throne in 687; and here, also, an Abbot of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio was elected, in 1145, as Eugenius III., and was immediately afterwards forced by the hostile senate to fly to Monticelli, and thence to the Abbey of Farfa, where his consecration took place.

In this neighbourhood, but behind us and between the Baths of Caracalla and the Porta Capena, was the **Piscina Publica**, which

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[1] Hemans, *Mediaeval Sacred Art.*

[2] Seldom open except in the mornings of Sundays and festas.

gave a name to the twelfth Region of the Augustan city. It was used for learning to swim, but all trace of it had disappeared before the time of Festus, whose date is uncertain, but who lived in the third century.

> 'In thermas fugio; sonas ad aurem;
> Piscinam peto: non licet natare.'
> —*Mart. Ep.* iii. 44, 13.

Here a road turns on the left towards the ancient **Porta Latina**, of the time of Honorius (through which the Via Latina led to Capua), now closed, but well preserved.

On the left is the **Church of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina**, rebuilt in 1190 by Celestine III. The view from the roof is magnificent.

In spite of many modernisations, the last by Cardinal Rasponi in 1686, this building retains externally more of its ancient character than most Roman churches, in its thirteenth-century campanile and old brick walls of nave and apse, decorated with terra-cotta friezes. The portico (half-bricked in) is entered by a narrow arch resting on two granite columns. The entrance-door and the altar have a mosaic ribbon decoration by the Cosmati of 1190. The frescoes are modern; in the **tribune** are the deluge and the baptism of Christ—the type and antitype. Of the ten columns, eight are simple and of granite, two are fluted and of phrygian, not made for the church but removed from some pagan building—possibly from the Temple of Ceres. In the Garden is a picturesque marble *Well*, like those so common at Venice and Padua, decorated with a braided pattern (ninth century). In front of the altar-steps is a tomb of the Sperelli of Assisi, a well-known fourteenth-century family.

In front of the gate is a little chapel, of the sixteenth century, called **S. Giovanni in Oleo**, decorated with indifferent frescoes, on the spot where S. John is said to have been thrown into a cauldron of burning oil (under Domitian), from which 'he came forth as from a refreshing bath,' and retired to Patmos. The *Mirabilia* mentions the vessel in which S. John was set as 'being shown in the twelfth century.' It is the suffering in the burning oil which gave S. John the palm of a martyr, with which he is often represented in art. The festival of 'S. John ante Port. Lat.' (May 6th) is preserved in the English Church Calendar.

In the opposite vineyard (Sassi), behind the chapel of the Oleo, very picturesquely situated under the Aurelian Wall, is the **Columbarium of the Freedmen of Octavia.** (No. 8 Via Latina opposite. Call through the open gate if any one is seen to be at work.) A columbarium was a mausoleum containing a number of cinerary urns in niches like pigeon-holes, whence the name. Many columbaria were held in common by a number of persons, or burial societies, and the niches could be obtained by purchase or inheritance; in other cases great Houses possessed whole columbaria for their families and their slaves. In the present instance the columbarium is more than usually decorated, and, though much smaller, it is far more worth seeing than certain of the columbaria which it is the custom to visit on the Appian Way. One of the cippi, above the

staircase, is beautifully decorated with shells and mosaic. Below is a chamber, whose vault is delicately painted with vines and Amorini gathering in the vintage. Round the walls are arranged the urns, some of them in the form of temples, and very beautifully designed, others merely pots sunk into the wall, with conical lids, like pipkins let into a kitchen-range. A vase of lapis-lazuli found here has been transferred to the Vatican. The wall here takes an angular turn off, thus bounding the garden.

Entering by No. 8 Via di Porta Latina, or proceeding along the Via Appia, on the left, Vigna Sassi, by a tall cypress (No. 12; entrance, 25 c.), is the entrance to the **Hypogæum** or **Tomb of the Scipios**, or **Gens Cornelia**, a small catacomb in the tufa rock, discovered in 1780. From it the famous sarcophagus of L. Scipio Barbatus, and a bust of the poet Ennius,[1] were removed to the Vatican by Pius VII. The skeletons of several of the Cornelii were found in perfect preservation. Pius VI. gave a gold and cornelian signet-ring which one wore to the antiquary Dutens, from whom it passed to Lord Beverley, and it is now at Alnwick Castle.

> 'The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes[2] now;
> The very sepulchres lie tenantless
> Of their heroic dwellers.'
>
> —'*Childe Harold.*'

The contadino at the neighbouring farmhouse provides lights, with which one can visit a labyrinth of steep narrow passages, some of them still retaining inscribed sepulchral slabs of peperino. Among the Scipios whose tombs have been discovered here were Lucius Scipio Barbatus and his son, the conqueror of Corsica; Aula Cornelia, wife of Cneus Scipio Hispallus; a son of Scipio Africanus; Lucius Cornelius, son of Scipio Asiaticus; Cornelius Scipio Hispallus and his son Lucius Cornelius. At the farther end of these passages, and now, like them, subterranean, may be seen the pediment and arched entrance of the tomb towards the Via Latina. 'It is uncertain whether Scipio Africanus was buried at Liternum or in the family tomb. In the time of Livy monuments to him were extant in both places.' The Cornelian gens retained the custom of burying instead of burning their dead.

There is a beautiful view towards Rome from the vineyard above the tomb. At the other end of the Vigna, towards the Porta Latina (custode at the tomb of the Scipios), are the **Columbaria of Pomponius Hylas**, discovered 1831. Under the farmhouse of the next vigna (Pallavicini) a crypt was found in 1875, dedicated to Gabriel

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[1] This bust has been supposed to represent the poet Ennius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, because his last request was that he might be buried by his side. Even in the time of Cicero, Ennius was believed to be buried in the tomb of the Scipios. 'Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius; itaque etiam in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus e marmore.' —*Cic. Orat. pro Arch. Poeta.*

[2] Not really 'ashes,' for the Scipios did not practise cremation, which they perhaps thought incompatible with their ancient lineage.

the Archangel and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, with frescoes of the eleventh century.

A little farther on, left (No. 14), is the entrance of the **Vigna Codini** (a private garden with an extortionate custode), containing four interesting **Columbaria.** An avenue of cypresses is in this portion. Three of these are large square vaults, supported by a central pier, which, as well as the walls, is perforated by niches for urns. The fourth has three vaulted passages. Some of the more important persons have miniature sarcophagi. Amongst other inscriptions a lady's-maid ('ornatrix'), a barber attached to the imperial household, the dumb buffoon of Tiberius ('T. Caesaris lusor'), and even a favourite lapdog, 'the delight of its mistress,' are commemorated. In 1840, a cubiculum (now lost) was discovered here with christian paintings of the third century.

The Arches of Drusus, Trajan, and Verus, which crossed the road within the walls, have been destroyed, but just within the gate still stands the so-called **Arch of Drusus**, merely a decorated arch of the aqueduct of the Aqua Marcia. On its summit are remains of the specus by which Caracalla carried water to supply his baths.

The original Arch of Drusus was decreed by the senate in honour of the second son of the Empress Livia by her first husband, Tiberius Nero. He was father of Germanicus and the Emperor Claudius, and brother of Tiberius. He died during a campaign on the Rhine, 9 B.C., and was brought back by his stepfather Augustus to be buried in his mausoleum. His virtues are attested in a poem ascribed to Pedo Albinovanus.

This pseudo Arch of Drusus was sometimes called 'arcus stillae,' from the dripping of the aqueduct over it. Pope S. Stephen, A.D. 257, was imprisoned and held a synod 'in carcere ad arcum stillae.'

The **Porta San Sebastiano**, the late imperial Porta Appia, has two fine semicircular towers of the Aurelian Wall, resting on a basement of marble blocks, probably plundered from the tombs on the Via Appia. Ruined by the Goths, it was rebuilt by Narses. Under the arch is a gothic inscription relating to the repulse of an invading army (that of King Robert of Naples) in 1327, 'by the people of Rome, led by Jacopo de' Ponziani.'[1]

It was here that the senate and people of Rome received in state the last triumphant procession which has entered the city by the Via Appia, that of Marc Antonio Colonna, after the victory of Lepanto in 1571. As in the processions of the old Roman generals, the children of the conquered prince were forced to adorn the triumph of the victor, who rode into Rome attended by all the Roman nobles, 'in abito di grande formalità,'[2] preceded by the standard of the fleet.

On the right of the Porta is one of the (walled-up) posterns, only

[1] In the Einsiedeln MS. an anonymous pilgrim, who visited Rome in the ninth century, describes the walls with their fourteen (still existing) gates and 383 towers.

[2] Coppi, *Memorie Colonnesi*, p. 342.

used in Jubilee years, and beyond the tenth tower a door of the second century, 'flanked by half-columns of the Corinthian order, with finely cut capitals and frieze,' which belonged to a villa within the walls. A little farther on is the *Bastion* made by Sangallo for Paul III., which destroyed nine towers of the wall, as well as the ancient Porta Ardeatina.

From the gate, the **Clivus Martis** (crossed by the railway to Civita Vecchia) descends into the valley of the Almo, where antiquaries formerly placed the Porta Capena. On the hillside (L.) stood a Temple of Mars, vowed in the Gallic war, and dedicated by T. Quinctius, the 'duumvir sacris faciundis,' in B.C. 387. No remains exist of this temple. It was approached from the Via Capena by a portico. This was the place where S. Sixtus was beheaded. In the legendary Acts of S. Stephen, the temple is described as having fallen down upon the prayer of the saint. Near this, a temple was erected to Tempestas in B.C. 260, by L. Cornelius Scipio, to commemorate the narrow escape of his fleet from shipwreck off the coast of Sardinia. Near this, also, the poet Terence owned a small estate of twenty acres, presented to him by his rich friend Scipio Emilianus.[1]

Near the bridge over the Almo, at the entrance of the land of tombs,[2] the **Columbarium of the Freedmen of Livia** was discovered in 1725, containing six rooms and the remains of no less than six thousand servants and their families. Of these, six hundred were attached to the person of Livia, and included a Lydus, *a sede Augustae*, keeper of her armchair; an Aurelia, *a cura catellae*, caretaker of her lapdog; a Syneros, *ad imagines*, who took care of the family portraits, &c.

After crossing the brook, we pass between two conspicuous tombs. That on the left is the **Tomb of Geta**, son of Septimius Severus, the murdered brother of Caracalla; that on the right is the **Tomb of Priscilla**, wife of Abascantius, a favourite freedman of Domitian.

> 'Est locus ante urbem, qua primum nascitur ingens
> Appia, quaque Italo gemitus Almone Cybele
> Ponit, et Idaeos jam non reminiscitur amnes.
> Hic te Sidonio velatam molliter ostro
> Eximius conjux (nec enim fumantia busta
> Clamoremque rogi potuit perferre) beato
> Composuit, Priscilla, toro.'
>
> —*Statius, Sylv.* v. i. 222.

Just beyond this, the **Via Ardeatina** branches off on the right, passing, after about two miles, the picturesque **Vigna Marancia**, a pleasant spot, with fine old pines and cypresses, near which an interesting crypt has been discovered hewn out of the rock, with an inscription showing that it was constructed by Marcus Aurelius

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[1] Here the knights used to muster on the anniversary of Regillus, crowned with olive, and in full equestrian attire.

[2] No less than 1559 tombs have been discovered in modern times beyond the Aurelian Wall, in the triangular space between the Via Appia, Via Latina, and the Walls.

Restitutus, an early Christian, for himself and his family, provided that they were believers in Christ—*fidentes in Domino.*

Where the roads divide, is the Church of Domine Quo Vadis, containing a copy of the celebrated footprint said to have been left here by our Saviour: the original having been removed to S. Sebastiano.

'After the burning of Rome, Nero threw upon the Christians the accusation of having fired the city. This was the origin of the first persecution, in which many perished by terrible and hitherto unheard-of deaths. The Christian converts besought Peter not to expose his life. As he fled along the Appian Way, about two miles from the gates, he was met by a vision of our Saviour travelling towards the city. Struck with amazement, he exclaimed, "Lord, whither goest Thou?" to which the Saviour, looking upon him with a mild sadness, replied, "I go to Rome to be crucified a second time," and vanished. Peter, taking this as a sign that he was to submit himself to the sufferings prepared for him, immediately turned back to the city.[1] Michelangelo's famous statue, now in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, is supposed to represent Christ as He appeared to S. Peter on this occasion. A cast or copy of it is in the little church of "Domine Quo Vadis."

'It is surprising that this most beautiful, picturesque, and, to my fancy, sublime legend has been so seldom treated; and never, as it seems to me, in a manner worthy of its capabilities and high significance. It is seldom that a story can be told by two figures, and these two figures placed in such grand and dramatic contrast: Christ in His serene majesty, and radiant with all the joy of beatitude, yet with an expression of gentle reproach; the Apostle at His feet, arrested in his flight, amazed, and yet filled with a trembling joy; and for the background the wide Campagna or towering walls of imperial Rome.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*[2]

Beyond the church is a second 'Bivium,' or bifurcation, where a lane on the left leads up the Valle Caffarelle. Here, feeling some uncertainty as to *which* was the crossing where our Saviour appeared to S. Peter, the English Cardinal Wiseman erected a second tiny chapel of 'Domine Quo Vadis,' which remains to this day.

Columbaria near this are assigned to the Volusii and the Caecilii.

Over the wall on the left of the Via Appia now hangs in profusion the rare yellow-berried ivy (*Edera chrysocarpa*). It is represented, in the mosaic of the Capitol, which is the pendant of 'Pliny's Doves,' where there are two masks, one of them crowned with this ivy. Banqueters wore wreaths of ivy because it was supposed to prevent wine from going to their heads. Many curious plants are to be found on these old Roman walls. Their commonest parasite, the pellitory—*Herba parietina*—calls to mind the nickname given to the Emperor Trajan, alluding sarcastically to his passion for inscribing his name on the walls of Roman buildings which he had merely restored, as if he were their founder;[3] a passion in which the Popes have out-Cæsar'd Cæsar.

We now reach (on the right) the entrance to the **Catacombs of S. Calixtus.**

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[1] This story is told by S. Ambrose.

[2] This story is represented in one of the ancient tapestries in the Cathedral of Anagni, and Sienkiwicz has made a reputation lately with it.

[3] Amm. Marcell. lib. xxvii. c.

(The Catacombs [except those at S. Sebastiano] can only be visited in company of a guide. For most of the Catacombs it is necessary to obtain a *permesso:* upon which a day (generally Sunday) is fixed, which must be adhered to. It may be well for the visitor to provide himself with tapers—*cerini*. The Catacombs of S. Calixtus are superficially shown at all times without a special *permesso*, and are quite sufficient for the requirements of the ordinary tourist. A visit to these, through the usual wicket gate at 1 fr. a head, in a crowd of tourists, renders study and sentiment alike impossible.)

All descriptions of danger attending visits to the Catacombs, if accompanied by a guide and provided with *cerini*, are imaginary. Neither does the visitor ever suffer from cold; the temperature of the Catacombs is mild and warm; the vaults are almost always dry, and the air pure. If, however, the Tramontana blows, it is wise to provide against it on coming out from the passages.

'The Roman **Catacombs**—a name consecrated by long usage, but having no etymological meaning, and not a very determinate geographical one—are a vast labyrinth of galleries excavated in the bowels of the earth in the hills around the Eternal City; not in the hills on which the city itself was built, but those beyond the walls. Their extent is enormous; not as to the amount of superficial soil which they underlie, for they rarely, if ever, pass beyond the third milestone from the city, but in the actual length of their galleries; for these are often excavated on various levels, or *piani*, three, four, or even five—one above the other: and they cross and recross one another, sometimes at short intervals, on each of these levels; so that, on the whole, there are certainly not less than 850 miles of them; that is to say, if stretched out in one continuous line, they would extend the whole length of Italy itself.[1] The galleries are from two to four feet in width, and vary in height according to the nature of the rock in which they are dug. The walls on both sides are pierced with horizontal niches, like shelves in a bookcase or berths in a steamer, and every niche once contained one or more dead bodies. At various intervals this succession of shelves is interrupted for a moment, that room may be made for a doorway opening into a small chamber; and the walls of these chambers are generally pierced with graves in the same way as the galleries.

'These vast excavations once formed the ancient Christian cemeteries of Rome; they were begun in apostolic times, and continued to be used as burial-places of the faithful till the capture of the city by Alaric in the year 410. In the third century the Roman Church numbered twenty-five or twenty-six of them, corresponding to the number of her titles, or parishes, within the city; and besides these, there were about twenty others of smaller dimensions, isolated monuments of special martyrs, or belonging to this or that private family. Originally they all belonged to private families or individuals, the villas or gardens in which they were dug being the property of wealthy citizens who had embraced the faith of Christ, and devoted of their substance to His service. Hence their most ancient titles were taken merely from the names of their lawful owners, many of which still survive. Lucina, for example, who lived in the days of the Apostles, and others of the same family, or at least of the same name, who lived at various periods in the next two centuries; Priscilla, also a contemporary of the Apostles; Flavia Domitilla, niece of Vespasian; Commodilla, whose property lay on the Via Ostiensis; Ciriaca, on the Via Tiburtina; Pretextatus, on the Via Appia; Pontiano, on the Via Portuensis; and the Jordani, Maximus, and Thraso, all on the Via Salaria Nova. These names are still attached to the various catacombs, because they were originally begun upon the land of those who bore them. Other catacombs are known by the names of those who presided over their formation, as that of S. Calixtus, on the Via Appia; or S. Mark, on the Via Ardeatina; or of the principal martyrs who were buried in them, as SS.

[1] Michele Stefano de Rossi calculates the aggregate length of catacomb galleries at 587 miles.

Hermes, Basilla, Protus, and Hyacinthus, on the Via Salaria Vetus; or, lastly, by some peculiarity of their position, as *ad Catacumbas* on the Via Appia, and *ad duas Lauros* on the Via Labicana.

'It has always been agreed among men of learning who have had an opportunity of examining these excavations, that they were used exclusively by the Christians as places of burial and of holding religious assemblies. Modern research has now placed it beyond a doubt that they were also originally designed for this purpose and for no other; that they were not deserted sand-pits (*arenariae*) or quarries, adapted to Christian uses, but a development, with important modifications, of a form of sepulchre not altogether unknown even among the heathen families of Rome, and in common use among the Jews both in Rome and elsewhere.

'At first the work of making the catacombs was done openly without let or hindrance, by the Christians; the entrances to them were public, on the high-road or on the hillside, and the galleries and chambers were freely decorated with paintings of a sacred character. But early in the third century it became necessary to withdraw them as much as possible from the public eye; new and often difficult entrances were now effected in the recesses of deserted *arenariae*, and even the liberty of Christian art was cramped and fettered, lest what was holy should fall under the profane gaze of the unbaptized.

'Each of these burial-places was called in ancient times either *hypogaeum*, *i.e.* generically, a subterranean place, or *coemeterium*, a sleeping-place, a new name of Christian origin which the pagans could only repeat, probably without understanding; sometimes also *martyrium* or *confessio* (its Latin equivalent), to signify that it was the burial-place of martyrs or confessors of the faith. An ordinary grave was called *locus* or *loculus*, if it contained a single body; or *bisomum*, *trisomum*, or *quadrisomum*, if it contained two, three, or four. The graves were dug by *fossores*, and burial in them was called *depositio*. The galleries do not seem to have had any specific name; but the chambers were called *cubicula*. In most of these chambers, and sometimes also in the galleries themselves, one or more tombs are to be seen of a more elaborate kind; a long oblong *châsse*, like a sarcophagus, either hollowed out in the rock or built up of masonry, and closed by a heavy slab of marble lying horizontally on the top. The niche over tombs of this kind was of the same length as the grave, and generally vaulted in a semicircular form, whence they were called *arcosolia*. Sometimes, however, the niche retained the rectangular form, in which case there was no special name for it, but for distinction's sake we may be allowed to call it a table-tomb. Those of the *arcosolia* which were also the tombs of martyrs were used on the anniversaries of their deaths (*natalitia* or birthdays) as altars whereon the holy mysteries were celebrated; hence, whilst some of the *cubicula* were only family vaults, others were chapels or places of public assembly. It is probable that the holy mysteries were celebrated also in the private vaults on the anniversaries of the deaths of their occupants; and each one was sufficiently large in itself for use on these private occasions; but in order that as many as possible might assist at the public celebrations, two, three, or even four of the *cubicula* were often made close together, all receiving light and air through one shaft or air-hole (*luminare*), pierced through the superincumbent soil up to the open air. In this way as many as a hundred persons might be collected in some parts of the catacombs to assist at the same act of public worship; whilst a still larger number might have been dispersed in the *cubicula* or neighbouring galleries, and received there the bread of life brought to them by the assistant priests and deacons. Indications of this arrangement are not only to be found in ancient ecclesiastical writings; they may still be seen in the very walls of the catacombs themselves, episcopal chairs, chairs for the presiding deacon or deaconess, and benches for the faithful, having formed part of the original design when the chambers were hewn out of the living rock, and still remaining where they were first made.'—*Northcote and Brownlow*, '*Roma Sotterranea*.'

'What Saint Louis of France discerned, and found so irresistibly touching, through the dimness of many centuries, as a painful thing done for love of him by One whom he had never seen, was, to them, a thing of yesterday; and their hearts were full with it; it had the force, among their interests, of

an almost recent event in the career of one whom their fathers' fathers might have known. From memories so sublime, yet so close to them, had the narration descended in which these acts of worship centred; and again the names of the more recent dead were mingled with it. And it seems as if the very dead were aware; were stirring beneath the slabs of the sepulchres which lay so near, that they might associate themselves to that enthusiasm—to that exalted worship of Jesus.'—*Walter Pater*, '*Marius the Epicurean*.'

The name Catacombs is modern, having originally been only applied to S. Sebastiano 'ad catacumbas.' The early Christians called their burial-places by the Greek name *Coemeteria*, places of repose. Almost all the catacombs lie between the first and third milestones from the Aurelian Wall, to which point the city extended before the wall itself was built. This was in obedience to the Roman law (B.C. 450) which forbade burial within the precincts of the city, except in special cases like that of the Vestals.

The fact that the Christians were always anxious not to burn their dead, but to bury them in these rock-hewn sepulchres, was probably owing to the remembrance that our Lord was Himself laid 'in a new tomb hewn out of the rock,' and perhaps also for this reason the bodies were wrapt in fine linen cloths, and buried with precious spices, of which remains have been found in the tombs.

The Catacomb which is known as that of S. Calixtus is composed of a number of catacombs, once distinct, but now joined together. Such were those of S. Lucina; of Anatolia, daughter of the consul Aemilianus; and of S. Soteris, 'a virgin of the family to which S. Ambrose belonged in a later generation,' and who was buried 'in coemeterio suo,' A.D. 304. The passages of these catacombs were gradually united with those which originally belonged to the cemetery of Calixtus, destined as a burial-place for the early Bishops of Rome.

On entering we turn to the right. The mass of ruin which meets our eyes on entering the vineyard of S. Calixtus is a remnant of the tomb of the **Caecilii**, of which family a number of epitaphs have been found. Beyond this is another ruin, supposed by Marangoni to have been the basilica which S. Damasus provided for his own burial and that of his mother and sister; which Padre Marchi believed to be the church of S. Mark and S. Marcellinus, but which De Rossi identified with the *cella memoriae*, sometimes called of S. Sistus, sometimes of S. Cecilia (because built immediately over the graves of those martyrs), by S. Fabian in the fourth century.

'The edifice has the shape of a square hall with the three apses—*cella trichora*. It is built over the part of the catacombs which was excavated in the time of Pope Fabianus (A.D. 236–250), who is known to have raised *multas fabricas per coemeteria*; it is probably his work, as the style of masonry is exactly that of the first half of the third century. The original *schola* was covered with a wooden roof, and had no façade or door. In the year 258, while Sixtus II., attended by his deacons Felicissimus and Agapetus, was presiding over a meeting at this place in spite of the prohibition of Valerian, a body of men invaded the *schola*, murdered the bishop and his acolytes, and razed the building nearly to the level of the ground. Half a century later, in the time of Constantine, it was restored to its original shape with the addition of a vaulted roof and a façade. The line which separates the old foundation of Fabianus from the restorations of the age of peace is clearly

visible. Later the *schola* was changed into a church and dedicated to the memory of Sixtus, who had lost his life there, and of Caecilia, who was buried in the crypt below. It became a great place of pilgrimage, and the itineraries mention it as one of the leading stations on the Appian Way.

'When De Rossi first visited the place, the famous *schola* or church of Sixtus and Caecilia was used as a wine-cellar, while the crypts of Caecilia and Cornelius were used as vaults. Thanks to his initiative, the monument has again become the property of the Church of Rome; and after a lapse of ten or twelve centuries divine service was resumed in it in April 1892. Its walls had been covered with inscriptions found in the adjoining cemetery.'—*Lanciani.*

Descending into the catacomb by an ancient staircase restored, we reach (passing a sepulchral cubiculum on the right) the **Chapel of the Popes**, a place of burial and of worship of the third or fourth century as it was restored after its discovery in 1854, but still retaining remains of the marble slabs with which it was faced by Sixtus III. in the fifth century, and of marble columns, &c., with which it was adorned by Leo III. (795–816). Over the entrance is inscribed 'Gerusale(m) civitas et ornamentum martyrum Dni.' The walls are lined with graves of the earliest popes, many of them martyrs—viz., S. Zephyrnus (202–211); S. Pontianus, who died in banishment in Sardinia (231–236); S. Anteros, martyred under Maximian in the second month of his pontificate (236); S. Fabian, martyred under Decius (236–250); S. Lucius, martyred under Valerian (253–255); S. Stephen I., martyred in his episcopal chair, under Valerian (255–257); S. Sixtus II., martyred in the Catacombs of S. Pretextatus (257–260); S. Dionysius (260–271); S. Eutychianus, martyr (275–283); and S. Caius (284–296).[1] Of these, the gravestones of Anteros, Fabianus, Lucius, and Eutychianus have been discovered, with inscriptions in Greek, which is acknowledged to have been the earliest (?) language of the Church—in which S. Paul and S. James wrote, and in which the proceedings of the first twelve Councils were carried on.[2] Though no inscriptions have been found relating to the other popes mentioned, they are known, from the earliest authorities, to have been buried here. Calixtus, however, who founded the cemetery, and was martyred by being thrown from the window of his house near S. Maria in Trastevere, is not buried here, but in the Catacomb of Calepodius.

Over the site of the altar is one of the beautifully-cut inscriptions of Pope **S. Damasus** (366–384), 'whose labour of love it was to rediscover the tombs, which had been blocked up for concealment under Diocletian, to remove the earth, widen the passages, adorn the sepulchral chambers with marble, and support the friable tufo walls with arches of brick and stone.'[3]

'Hic congesta jacet quaeris si turba Piorum,
Corpora Sanctorum retinent veneranda sepulchra,
Sublimes animas rapuit sibi Regia Coeli:
Hic comites Xysti portant qui ex hoste tropaea;
Hic numerus procerum servat qui altaria Christi;
Hic positus longâ vixit qui in pace Sacerdos;

[1] *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 130. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 177. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Hic Confessores sancti quos Graecia misit;
Hic juvenes puerique, senes castique nepotes,
Quis mage virgineum placuit retinere pudorem.
Hic fateor Damasus volui mea condere membra,
Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare Piorum.'

Here, if you would know, lie heaped together a number of the holy;
These honoured sepulchres inclose the bodies of the saints,
These lofty souls the palace of heaven has received.
Here lie the companions of Xystus, who bear away the trophies from the enemy;
Here a tribe of the elders which guard the altars of Christ;
Here is buried the priest who lived long in peace;[1]
Here the holy confessors who came from Greece:[2]
Here lie youths and boys, old men and their chaste descendants,
Who kept their virginity undefiled.
Here I Damasus wished to have laid my limbs,
But feared to disturb the holy ashes of the saints.'[3]

From this chapel we enter the **Cubiculum of S. Cecilia**, where the body of the saint was buried by her friend Urban after her martyrdom in her own house in the Trastevere (see Chap. XVII.), A.D. 224, and where it was discovered in 820 by Pope Paschal I. (to whom its resting-place had been revealed in a dream), 'fresh and perfect as when it was first laid in the tomb, and clad in rich garments mixed with gold, with linen cloths stained with blood rolled up at her feet, lying in a cypress coffin.'[4]

Close to the entrance of the cubiculum, upon the wall, is a painting of Cecilia, 'a woman richly attired, and adorned with bracelets and necklaces.' Near it is a niche for the lamp which burned before the shrine, at the back of which is a large head of our Saviour, 'of the Byzantine type, and with rays of glory behind it in the form of a Greek cross. Side by side with this, but on the flat surface of the wall, is a figure of S. Urban (friend of Cecilia, and who laid her body here) in full pontifical robes, with his name inscribed.' Higher on the wall are figures of three saints, 'executed apparently in the fourth, or perhaps even the fifth century'—Polycamus, a martyr, with a palm branch; Sebastianus, and Curinus, a bishop (Quirinus, Bishop of Siscia—buried at S. Sebastiano). In the pavement is a gravestone of Septimus Pretextatus Caecilianus, 'a servant of God, who lived worthy for three-and-thirty years'—considered important as suggesting a connection between the family of Cecilia and that of S. Praetextatus, in whose catacomb on the other side of the Appian Way her husband and brother-in-law were buried, and where her friend S. Urban was concealed. Several Christians of the noblest families in Rome—Caecilii, Cornelii, Aemilii—are buried near Cecilia.

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[1] S. Melchiades, buried in another part of the catacomb, who lived long in peace after the persecution had ceased, and who was the last pope to be buried near his predecessors 'in coemeteriis Callisti in cripta.' The succeeding popes were buried in chapels above the Catacombs.

[2] Hippolytus, Adrias, Marca, Neo, Paulina, and others.

[3] S. Damasus was buried in the chapel above the entrance.

[4] 'A more striking commentary on the divine promise, "The Lord keepeth all the bones of His servants; He will not lose one of them" (Ps. xxxiv. 20), it would be difficult to conceive.'—*Roma Sotterranea.*

These two chapels are the only ones upon which it is necessary to dwell here. The rest of the catacomb is shown in varying order, and explained in different ways. Three points are of historic interest. 1. The roof-shaped **tomb (arcosolio) of Pope S. Miltiades**, who lived long in peace and died A.D. 313. 2. **The Cubiculum of Pope S. Eusebius**, his predecessor, in the middle of which is placed an inscription, pagan on one side, on the other a restoration of the fifth century of one of the inscriptions of Pope Damasus, which is thus translated:—

'Heraclius forbade the lapsed to grieve for their sins. Eusebius taught those unhappy ones to weep for their crimes. The people were rent into parties, and with increasing fury began sedition, slaughter, fighting, discord, and strife. Straightway both (the pope and the heretic) were banished by the cruelty of the tyrant, although the pope was preserving the bonds of peace inviolate. He bore his exile with joy, looking to the Lord as his Judge, and on the shore of Sicily gave up the world and his life.'

At the top and bottom of the tablet is the following title:—

'Damasus Episcopus fecit Eusebio episcopo et martyri,'

and on either side a single file of letters which hands down to us the name of the sculptor who executed the Damasine inscriptions:—

'Furius Dionysius Filocalus scripsit Damasis pappae cultor atque amator.'

3. Near the exit, properly in the Catacomb of S. Lucina, connected with that of Calixtus by a labyrinth of galleries, is the **tomb of Pope S. Cornelius** (251–252), the only Roman bishop down to the time of S. Sylvester (314) who bore the name of any noble Roman family, and whose epitaph (perhaps in consequence) is in Latin, while those of the other popes are in Greek. The tomb has no chapel of its own, but is a mere grave in a gallery, with a rectangular instead of a circular space above it, as in the cubiculum. Near the tomb are fragments of one of the commemorative inscriptions of S. Damasus, which has been restored by De Rossi thus:—

'Aspice, descensu extructo tenebrisque fugatis,
Corneli monumenta vides tumulumque sacratum.
Hoc opus aegroti Damasi praestantia fecit,
Esset ut accessus melior, populisque paratum
Auxilium sancti, et valeas si fundere puro
Corde preces, Damasus melior consurgere posset,
Quem non lucis amor, tenuit mage cura laboris.'

'Behold, a way down has been constructed and the darkness dispelled; you see the monuments of Cornelius and his sacred tomb. The work the zeal of Damasus has accomplished, sick as he is, in order that the approach might be better, and the aid of the saint might be made convenient for the people; and that, if you will pour forth your prayers from a pure heart, Damasus may rise up better in health, though it has not been love of life, but care for work, that has kept him (here below).'[1]

S. Cornelius was banished under Gallus to Centumcellae—now Civita Vecchia—and was brought back thence to Rome for martyrdom, Sept. 14th, A.D. 252. On the same day of the month, in

[1] *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 180.

258, died his friend and correspondent S. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage,[1] who is consequently commemorated by the Church on the same day with S. Cornelius. Therefore, also, on the right of the grave, are two figures of bishops with inscriptions declaring them to be S. Cornelius and S. Cyprian.[2] Each holds the book of the Gospels in his hands, and is clothed in pontifical robes, 'including the pallium, which had not yet been confined as a mark of distinction to metropolitans.'[3] Beneath the pictures stands the pillar which held one of the vases of oil which were always kept burning before the shrines of the martyrs. Beyond the tomb, at the end of the gallery, is another painting of two bishops, S. Sixtus II., martyred in the Catacomb of Pretextatus, and S. Optatus, who was buried near him.

'The *Liber Pontificalis* says: "The Emperor Decius gave judgment in the case of Cornelius, that he should be taken to the Temple of Mars *extra muros*, and asked to perform an act of adoration; in case of a refusal, that he should be beheaded. This was accordingly done, and Cornelius gave his life for his faith. Lucina, a noble matron, assisted by members of the clergy, collected his remains and buried them in a crypt on her own estate near the cemetery of Calixtus, on the Appian Way; and this happened on Sept. 14 (A.D. 253)." As the Cemetery of Calixtus was the recognised burial-place of the Bishops of Rome, why was this exception made to the rule? The reason is evident: the estate of Lucina contained the family vault of the Cornelii, or at least of a branch of the Cornelian race.'—*Lanciani.*

G. B. de Rossi, to whom we owe the discovery of the Catacombs as they now are, saw the broken words, *Nelius Martyr*, on the marble support of a wine-cask in a neighbouring osteria, and at once recognised a memorial of Cornelius, martyr. The Pope did not believe in him, but permitted him to have the means he required for his investigations. The world called him *pazzo*, the Pope called him a *sognatore.* It was a triumphant moment when, after he had discovered the chapel with the tombs of the popes, he brought Pius IX. to see it, and said, '*Ecco, Santo Padre, il sogno dello sognatore.*'

In going round this catacomb, and in most of the others, the visitor will be shown a number of rude paintings, which will be explained to him in various ways, according to the tendencies of his guide. The paintings may be considered to consist of three classes: symbolical, allegorical, and biblical and liturgical. There is little variety of subject—the same are introduced over and over again.

The **symbols** most frequently introduced on and over the graves are:—

The Anchor, expressive of hope. Heb. vi. 19.
The Dove, symbolical of the Christian soul released from its earthly tabernacle. Ps. lv. 6.

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[1] Alban Butler, viii. 204.
[2] The remains of both, Cornelius from Rome, and Cyprian from Carthage, were removed to Compiègne by Charles le Chauve.
[3] *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 182.

The Sheep, symbolical of the soul still wandering amid the pastures and deserts of earthly life. Ps. cxix. 176; Isa. liii. 6; John x. 14, xxi. 15, 16, 17.

The Phoenix, 'the palm bird,' emblematical of eternity and the resurrection.

The Fish, typical of our Saviour—from the word ἰχθύς, formed by the initial letters of the titles of our Lord—'Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ—'Jesus Christ, the son of God, the Saviour.'

The Ship, representing the Church militant, sometimes seen carried on the back of the fish.

Bread, represented with fish, sometimes carried in a basket on its back, sometimes with it on a table—in allusion to the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. In ancient times a meal was not thought complete without fish, whenever it could be had; 'bread and fish' went together like 'bread and butter' in England.[1]

A Female Figure Praying, an 'Orante'—in allusion to the Church.

A Vine, also in allusion to the Church. Ps. lxxx. 8; Isa. v. 1.

An Olive Branch, as a sign of peace.

A Palm Branch, as a sign of victory and martyrdom. Rev. vii. 9.

Of the *Allegorical and Biblical Representations*, *The Good Shepherd* requires an especial notice from the importance which is given to it and its frequent introduction in Catacomb art, both in sculpture and painting.

'By far the most interesting of the early Christian paintings is that of our Saviour as the Good Shepherd, which is almost invariably painted on the central space of the dome or cupola, subjects of minor interest being disposed around it in compartments, precisely in the style, as regards both the arrangement and execution, of the heathen catacombs.

'He is represented as a youth in a shepherd's frock and sandals, carrying the "lost sheep" on his shoulders, or leaning on his staff (the symbol, according to S. Augustine, of the Christian hierarchy), while the sheep feed around or look up at him. Sometimes he is represented seated in the midst of his flock, playing on a shepherd's pipe,—in a few instances, in the oldest catacombs, he is introduced in the character of Orpheus, surrounded by wild beasts enrapt by the melody of his lyre—Orpheus being then supposed to have been a prophet or precursor of the Messiah. The background usually exhibits a landscape or meadow, sometimes planted with olive-trees, doves resting in their branches, symbolical of the peace of the faithful; in others, as in a fresco preserved in the Museum Christianum, the palm of victory is introduced,—but such combinations are endless. In one or two instances the surrounding compartments are filled with personifications of the Seasons, apt emblems of human life, whether natural or spiritual.

'The subject of the Good Shepherd, I am sorry to add, is not of Roman, but Greek origin, and was adapted from a statue of Mercury carrying a goat at Tanagra, mentioned by Pausanias. The Christian composition approximates to its original more nearly in the few instances where our Saviour is represented carrying a goat, emblematical of the scapegoat of the wilderness. Singularly enough, though of Greek parentage, and recommended to the Byzantines by Constantine, who erected a statue of the Good Shepherd in the forum of Constantinople, the subject did not become popular among them; they seem, at least, to have tacitly abandoned it to Rome.'—*Lord Lindsay's 'Christian Art.'*

'The Good Shepherd seems to have been quite the favourite subject. We cannot go through any part of the Catacombs, or turn over any collection of ancient Christian monuments, without coming across it again and again. We know from Tertullian that it was often designed upon chalices. We find it ourselves painted in fresco upon the roofs and walls of the sepulchral chambers; rudely scratched upon gravestones, or more carefully sculptured on sarcophagi; traced in gold upon glass, moulded on lamps, engraved on

[1] See Stanley's *Christian Institutions*, pp. 50, 51.

rings; and, in a word, represented on every species of Christian monument that has come down to us. Of course, amid such a multitude of examples, there is considerable variety of treatment. We cannot, however, appreciate the suggestion of Kugler, that this frequent repetition of the subject is probably to be attributed to the capabilities which it possessed in an artistic point of view. Rather it was selected because it expressed the whole sum and substance of the Christian dispensation. In the language even of the Old Testament, the action of Divine Providence upon the world is frequently expressed by images and allegories borrowed from pastoral life; God is the Shepherd, and men are His sheep. But in a still more special way our Divine Redeemer offers Himself to our regards as the Good Shepherd. He came down from His eternal throne into this wilderness of the world to seek the lost sheep of the whole human race, and having brought them together into one fold on earth, thence to transport them into the ever-verdant pastures of Paradise.'—'*Roma Sotterranea.*'

The fact that the Good Shepherd was sometimes represented as bearing a kid, not a lamb; a goat, not a sheep, upon his shoulder, called forth an indignant remonstrance from Tertullian.

> 'He saves the sheep—the goats He doth not save:
> So spake the fierce Tertullian.
> But she sigh'd—
> The infant Church! of love she felt the tide
> Stream on her from her Lord's yet recent grave,
> And then she smil'd, and in the Catacombs,
> With eyes suffused, but heart inspired true,
> She her Good Shepherd's hasty image drew,
> And on His shoulders not a lamb, but kid.'
> —*Matthew Arnold.*

Other biblical subjects are—from the *Old Testament* (those of Noah, Moses, Daniel, and Jonah being the only ones at all common):—

1. The Fall. Adam and Eve on either side of a Tree of Knowledge, round which the serpent is coiled. Sometimes, instead of this, 'Our Saviour (as the representative of the Deity) stands between them, condemning them, and offering a lamb to Eve and a sheaf of corn to Adam, to signify the doom of themselves and their posterity to delve and to spin through all future ages.'
2. The offering of Cain and Abel. They present a lamb and sheaf of corn to a seated figure of the Almighty.
3. Noah in the Ark, represented as a box—a dove, bearing an olive branch, flies towards him. Interpreted to express the doctrine that 'the faithful having obtained remission of their sins through baptism, have received from the Holy Spirit the gift of divine peace, and are saved in the mystical ark of the Church from the destruction which awaits the world.'[1] (Acts ii. 47.)
4. Sacrifice of Isaac.
5. Passage of the Red Sea.
6. Moses receiving the Law.
7. Moses striking water from the rock (common).
8. Moses pointing to the pots of manna.
9. Elijah going up to heaven in a chariot of fire.
10. The Three Children in the fiery furnace—very common as symbolical of martyrdom.
11. Daniel in the lions' den; generally a naked figure with hands extended, and a lion on either side (most common—as an encouragement to Christian sufferers).

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[1] *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 242.

12. Jonah swallowed up by the whale, represented as a strange kind of sea-horse.
13. Jonah disgorged by the whale.
14. Jonah under the gourd; or, according to the Vulgate, under the ivy.
15. Jonah lamenting for the death of the gourd.

These four subjects from the story of Jonah are constantly repeated, perhaps as encouragement to the Christians suffering from the wickedness of Rome—the modern Nineveh, which they were to warn and pray for.

Subjects from the *New Testament* are:—

1. The Nativity—the ox and the ass kneeling.
2. The Adoration of the Magi—repeatedly placed in juxtaposition with the story of the Three Children.
3. Our Saviour turning water into wine.
4. Our Saviour conversing with the woman of Samaria.
5. Our Saviour healing the paralytic man—who takes up his bed. This is very common.
6. Our Saviour healing the woman with the issue of blood.
7. Our Saviour multiplying the loaves and fishes.
8. Our Saviour healing the daughter of the woman of Canaan.
9. Our Saviour healing the blind man.
10. The Raising of Lazarus, who appears at a door in his grave-clothes, while Christ with a wand stands before it. This is the New Testament subject oftenest introduced. It is constantly placed in juxtaposition with a picture of Moses striking the rock. 'The two subjects may be intended to represent the beginning and end of the Christian course, "the fountain of water springing up to life everlasting;" God's grace and the gift of faith being typified by the water flowing from the rock, "which was Christ," and life everlasting by the victory over death and the second life vouchsafed to Lazarus.'[1]
11. Our Saviour's triumphal entry into Jerusalem.
12. Our Saviour giving the keys to Peter (rare).
13. Our Saviour predicting the denial of Peter.
14. The denial of Peter.
15. Our Saviour before Pilate.
16. S. Peter taken to prison.

These last six subjects are only represented on tombs.[2]

The class of paintings shown as *Liturgical* are less definite than these. In the Catacombs of Calixtus several obscure paintings are shown (in cubicula anterior to the middle of the third century), which are said to have reference to the sacrament of baptism. Pictures of the paralytic carrying his bed are identified by some Roman Catholic authorities with the sacrament of penance (!). Bosio believed that in the Catacomb of S. Priscilla he had found paintings which illustrated the sacrament of ordination. Representations exist which illustrate the *agape* or love-feast of the primitive Church.

On the opposite side of the Via Appia from S. Calixtus (generally entered on the left of the road leading to S. Urbano) is, in a vineyard, the rude entrance to the **Catacomb of S. Pretextatus**, interesting as being the known burial-place of several martyrs. Long galleries, dry and airy, though very narrow, are first lined with rugged tufa, then masonry and brickwork appear, then tombs,

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[1] *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 247.
[2] Lord Lindsay's *Christian Art*, i. 46.

inscriptions, and remains of columns, till we reach the large crypt discovered in 1857, built with solid masonry and lined with Greek marble.

'The workmanship points to early date, and specimens of pagan architecture in the same neighbourhood enable us to fix the middle of the latter half of the second century (A.D. 175) as a very probable date for its erection. The Acts of the saints explain to us why it was built with bricks and not hewn out of the rock—viz., because the Christian who made it (S. Marmenia) had caused it to be excavated immediately below her own house; and now that we see it, we understand the precise meaning of the words used by the itineraries describing it—viz., "a large cavern most firmly built." The vault of the chapel is most elaborately painted, in a style by no means inferior to the best classical productions of the age. It is divided into four bands of wreaths, one of roses, another of corn-sheaves, a third of vine leaves and grapes (and in all these birds are introduced visiting their young in nests), and the last of highest, of leaves of laurel or the bay tree. Of course these severally represent the seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter. The last is a well-known figure or symbol of death; and probably the laurel, as the token of victory, was intended to represent the new and Christian idea of the everlasting reward of a blessed immortality. Below these bands is another border, more indistinct, in which reapers are gathering in the corn; and at the back of the arch is a rural scene, of which the central figure is the Good Shepherd carrying a sheep upon His shoulders. This, however, has been destroyed by graves pierced through the wall and the rock behind it, from the eager desire to bury the dead of a later generation as near as possible to the tombs of the martyrs. As De Rossi proceeded to examine these graves in detail, he could hardly believe his eyes when he read around the edge of one of them these words and fragments of words: *Mi Refrigeri Januarius Agapetus Felicissim martyres*—"Januarius, Agapetus, Felicissimus, martyrs, refresh the soul of . . ." The words had been scratched upon the mortar while it was yet fresh, fifteen centuries ago, as the prayer of some bereaved relative for the soul of him whom they were burying here, and now they revealed to the antiquarian of the nineteenth century the secret he was in quest of—viz., the place of burial of the saints whose aid is here invoked; for the numerous examples to be seen in other cemeteries warrant us in concluding that the bodies of the saints, to whose intercession the soul of the deceased is here recommended, were at the time of his burial lying at no great distance.'—'*Roma Sotterranea*.'

The S. Januarius buried here was the eldest of the seven sons of S. Felicitas, martyred July 10, A.D. 152. S. Agapetus and S. Felicissimus were deacons of Pope Sixtus II., who were martyred together with him and S. Pretextatus[1] close to this catacomb in the Schola of S. Fabianus, because Sixtus II. 'had set at nought the commands of the Emperor Valerian.'[2]

A mutilated inscription of S. Damasus in the Catacomb of Calixtus, near the tomb of Cornelius, thus records the death of Pope Sixtus:—

'Tempore quo gladius secuit pia viscera Matris
Hic positus rector coelestia jussa docebam.
Adveniunt subito, rapiunt qui forte sedentem;
Militibus missis, populi tunc colla dedere.
Mox sibi cognovit senior quis tollere vellet
Palmam, seque suumque caput prior obtulit ipse,
Impatiens feritas posset ne laedere quenquam.
Ostendit Christus reddit qui praemia vitae
Pastoris meritum, numerum gregis ipse tuetur.'

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[1] Alban Butler, viii. 148. [2] *Lib. Pont.*

'At the time when the sword pierced the heart of our mother (Church), I, its ruler, buried here, was teaching the things of heaven. Suddenly they came, they seized me as I was;—the soldiers being sent in, the people gave their necks (to the slaughter). Soon the old man saw who was willing to bear away the palm from himself, and was the first to offer himself and his own head, fearing lest the blow should fall on any one else. Christ, who awards the rewards of life, recognises the merit of the pastor, He Himself is preserving the number of His flock.'

An adjoining crypt, considered to date from A.D. 130, is believed to be the burial-place of S. Quirinus. Above this catacomb are remains of two basilicas, erected in honour of S. Zeno, and of Tibertius, Valerian, and Maximus, companions of S. Cecilia in martyrdom.

A touching and beautiful service is held here on March 24th, when high mass is celebrated in the subterranean chapel, and the martyr's hymn is sung over their graves.

Behind the Catacomb of S. Calixtus, on the right of the Via Ardeatina, is the **Catacomb of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo.** Close to its entrance is the farm of **Tor Marancia**, where are some ruins, discovered in the excavations made, 1817-23, by the Duchesse de Chablais, daughter of King Vittorio Amadeo of Sardinia, and believed to be remains of the Villa Amaranthiana, which belonged to Flavia Domitilla (Hypogeum Flaviorum). This celebrated member of the early Christian Church was daughter of the Flavia Domitilla who was sister to Emperor Domitian, and wife of her cousin Titus Flavius Clemens. Her two sons were Vespasian Junior and Domitian Junior, who were intended to succeed to the throne, and to whom Quintilian was appointed tutor by the emperor. Dio Cassius narrates that 'Domitian put to death several persons, and amongst them Flavius Clemens the consul, although he was his nephew, and although he had Flavia Domitilla for his wife, who was also related to the emperor. They were both accused of atheism, on which charge many others also had been condemned, going after the manners and customs of the Jews; and some of them were put to death, and others had their goods confiscated; but Domitilla was only banished to Pandataria.[1] This Flavia Domitilla is frequently confused with her niece of the same name,[2] whose banishment is mentioned by Eusebius, when he says: 'The teaching of our faith had by this time shone so far and wide, that even pagan historians did not refuse to insert in their narratives some account of the persecution and the martyrdoms that were suffered in it. Some, too, have marked the time accurately, mentioning, amongst many others, in the fifteenth year of Domitian (A.D. 97), Flavia Domitilla, the daughter of a sister of a Flavius Clemens, one of the Roman consuls of those days, who, for her testimony for Christ, was punished by exile to the island of Pontia.' It was this younger Domitilla who was accompanied in her exile by her two Christian servants, Nereus and Achilleus, whose banishment is spoken of by S. Jerome as 'a

[1] Now Santa Maria, an island near Caëta.
[2] Alban Butler, v. 205.

lifelong martyrdom'—whose cell was afterwards visited by S. Paula,[1] and who, according to the Acts of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, was brought back to the mainland to be burnt alive at Terracina, because she refused to sacrifice to idols. The relics of Domitilla, with those of her servants, were preserved in the catacomb under the villa which had belonged to her Christian aunt.

The marbles found in the villa were given by the Duchesse de Chablais to Pius VII. They are now in the Galleria dei Candelabri. Forty grave-stones found at the same time were set up in the courtyard of the Chablais Palace, in Piazza Paganica. They have now been bought by the Commissione di Archaeologia Sacra, and have been chronologically arranged in a hall at the entrance of the Cemetery of Domitilla. They date from A.D. 271 to A.D. 418. Many bear touching inscriptions, such as 'Solus Deus animam tuam defendet, Alexander!'—'Claudius Calistus in pace decessit, cupicus videre Deum.' Here also is the tombstone of Cucumius and Victoria, keepers of the cloakroom in the Baths of Caracalla, of whom mention is made in the 'Fabiola' of Cardinal Wiseman: also that of a workman in the sandpits of the Via Ardeatina, who is represented driving his horses named Baybatus and Germanus.

Receiving as evidence the story of S. Domitilla, her catacomb must be looked upon as the oldest Christian cemetery in existence (open daily). Its galleries were widened and strengthened by John I. (523–526). A chamber near the entrance is pointed out as the burial-place of S. Petronilla, whose body was removed to the Vatican by Paul I.

'The sepulchre of SS. Nereus and Achilleus was in all probability in that chapel to which we descend by so magnificent a staircase, and which is illuminated by so fine a *luminare;* for that this is the central point of attraction in the cemetery is clear, both from the staircase and the luminare just mentioned, as also from the greater width of the adjacent galleries and other similar tokens. Here, then, S. Gregory the Great delivered his twenty-eighth homily (which Baronius erroneously supposes to have been delivered in the Church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, to which the bodies of the saints were not yet removed), in which he says: "These saints, before whose tomb we are assembled, despised the world and trampled it under their feet, when peace, plenty, riches, and health gave it charms."

'There is a higher and more ancient *piano* in which coins and medals of the first two centuries and inscriptions of great value have been recently discovered. Some of these inscriptions may still be seen in one of the chambers near the bottom of the staircase; they are both Latin and Greek; sometimes both languages are mixed; and in one or two instances Latin words are written in Greek characters. Many of these monuments are of the deepest importance from both an antiquarian and a religious point of view; in archaeology, as showing the practice of private Christians in the first ages to make the subterranean chambers at their own expense and for their own use, *e.g.*—"M. Aurelius Restutus made this subterranean for himself and those of his family who believed in the Lord," where both the triple names and the limitation introduced at the end (which shows that many of his family were still pagan) are unquestionably proofs of very high antiquity.' —*Northcote's 'Roman Catacombs,'* p. 103, &c.

Among the most remarkable paintings in this catacomb are, **Orpheus with his lyre**, surrounded by birds and beasts which are

[1] Alban Butler, v. 205.

charmed with his music; Elijah ascending to heaven in a chariot drawn by four horses, which Mercury is heading; and the alleged portrait of Christ.

'The head and bust of our Lord form a medallion, occupying the centre of the roof in the same *cubiculum* where Orpheus is represented. This painting, in consequence of the description given of it by Kugler (who misnamed the catacomb S. Calixtus), is often eagerly sought after by strangers visiting the Catacombs. It is only just, however, to add, that they are generally disappointed. Kugler supposed it to be the oldest portrait of our Blessed Saviour in existence, but we doubt if there is sufficient authority for such a statement. He describes it in these words: "The face is oval, with a straight nose, arched eyebrows, a smooth and rather high forehead, the expression serious and mild; the hair, parted on the forehead, flows in long curls down the shoulders; the beard is not thick, but short and divided: the age between thirty and forty." But this description is too minute and precise, too artistic, for the original, as it is now to be seen. A lively imagination may, perhaps, supply the details described by our author, but the eye certainly fails to distinguish them.'—'*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 253.

A rich cubiculum discovered here in 1881 bears the name of Ampliatus, sometimes supposed to be the friend mentioned by S. Paul in Rom. xvi. 8—'Salute Amplias, my beloved in the Lord.'

Approached by a separate entrance on the slope of the hill-side is a sepulchral chamber, which De Rossi considered to have been the **Burial-place of S. Domitilla.**

'It is certainly one of the most ancient and remarkable Christian monuments yet discovered. Its position, close to the highway; its front of fine brickwork, with a cornice of terra-cotta, with the usual space for an inscription (which has now, alas! perished); the spaciousness of its gallery, with its four or five separate niches prepared for as many sarcophagi; the fine stucco on the wall; the eminently classical character of its decorations; all these things make it perfectly clear that it was the monument of a Christian family of distinction, excavated at great cost, and without the slightest attempt at concealment. In passing from the vestibule into the catacomb, we recognise the transition from the use of the sarcophagus to that of the common *loculus*; for the first two or three graves on either side, though really mere shelves in the wall, are so disguised by painting on the outside as to present to passers-by the complete outward appearance of a sarcophagus. Some few of these graves are marked with the names of the dead, written in black on the largest tiles, and the inscriptions on the other graves are all of the simplest and oldest form. Lastly, the whole of the vaulted roof is covered with the most exquisitely graceful designs, of branches of the vine (with birds and winged genii among them) trailing with all the freedom of nature over the whole walls, not fearing any interruption by graves, nor confined by any of those lines of geometrical symmetry which characterise similar productions in the next century. Traces also of landscapes may be seen here and there, which are of rare occurrence in the Catacombs, though they may be seen in the chambers assigned by De Rossi to SS. Nereus and Achilleus. The Good Shepherd, an *agape*, or the heavenly feast, a man fishing, and Daniel in the lions' den, are the chief historical or allegorical representations of Christian mysteries which are painted here. Unfortunately they have been almost destroyed by persons attempting to detach them from the wall.'—'*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 70.

In 1871 a small basilica was discovered here, once divided into nave and aisles by two rows of columns, and on a marble fragment a relief representing the execution of a martyr—a young man bound to a stake (shaped like a cross, and surmounted by a martyr's crown)

being stabbed by a soldier. The name of the martyr, Acilleus, is engraved above. The basilica, dedicated to SS. Petronilla, Nereus, and Achilleus, was restored in 1899 under the Commissione di Archaeologia Sacra, the columns of the northern apse replaced on their bases, the enclosure of the Schola Cantorum repaired, the tombstones in the pavement made visible, and the walls of the aisles turned into an epigraphic museum. The inscriptions cover one century from A.D. 300 to 410, which marks the general abandonment of the catacombs as places of burial.

A road to the left now leads to the Via Appia Nuova, passing, about a quarter of a mile hence, a turn on the left to the ruin generally known as the **Temple of Bacchus**, from an altar dedicated to Bacchus which was found there, but considered by modern antiquaries as a **temple of Ceres and Proserpine**. This building has been (comparatively) saved from the destruction which has befallen its neighbours, by having been consecrated as a church—**S. Urbano alla Caffarella**—in A.D. 820 by Pope Paschal I. in honour of his martyred predecessor Urban I., A.D. 226 (whose pontificate was chiefly passed in refuge in the neighbouring Catacomb of S. Calixtus), because of a tradition that he was wont to resort hither.

A chapel below the church is shown as that in which S. Urban baptized and celebrated mass. A fresco here represents the Virgin between S. Urban and S. John.

Around the upper part of the interior are a series of frescoes attributed to Beno de Rapiza, to whom the pictures in the lower church of S. Clemente are due—comprising the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the descent into Hades, and the life of S. Cecilia and her husband Valerian, ending in the burial of Cecilia by Pope Urban in the Catacomb of Calixtus, and the story of the martyred Urban I. In the picture of the Crucifixion, the thieves bear their names, 'Calpurnius and Longinus' (?). The frescoes were altered in the seventeenth century to suit the views of the Roman Church, keys being placed in the hand of Peter, &c. Sets of drawings taken *before* and *after* the alterations, are preserved in the Barberini Library, and instructively show the difference.

A winding path leads from S. Urbano to the valley. Here, beside the Almo rivulet, is a ruined Nymphaeum (second century) containing a mutilated statue of a river-god, formerly called 'the Grotto of Egeria.' The fine grove of old ilex trees on the hillside—il Bosco Sacro—was at the same time pointed out as the sacred grove of Egeria.[1]

> 'Egeria! sweet creation of some heart
> Which found no mortal resting-place so fair
> As thine ideal breast; whate'er thou art
> Or wert,—a young Aurora of the air;

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[1] It is on the site of a very ancient grove dedicated to the memory of Annia Regilla.

The nympholepsy of some fond despair;
Or, it might be, a beauty of the earth,
Who found a more than common votary there
Too much adoring; whatsoe'er thy birth,
Thou wert a beautiful thought, and softly bodied forth.

The mosses of thy fountain still are sprinkled
With thine Elysian water-drops; the face
Of thy cave-guarded spring with years unwrinkled,
Reflects the meek-eyed genius of the place,
Whose green, wild margin now no more erase
Art's works; nor must the delicate waters sleep,
Prisoned in marble, bubbling from the base
Of the cleft statue, with a gentle leap
The rill runs o'er, and round fern, flowers, and ivy creep,

Fantastically tangled; the green hills
Are clothed with early blossoms, through the grass
The quick-eyed lizard rustles, and the bills
Of summer-birds sing welcome as ye pass;
Flowers fresh in hue, and many in their class,
Implore the pausing step, and with their dyes
Dance in the soft breeze in a fairy mass;
The sweetness of the violet's deep blue eyes,
Kiss'd by the breath of heaven, seems coloured by its skies.'

—*Byron*, '*Childe Harold*.'

It is now known that this Nymphaeum and the valley in which it stands belonged to the suburban villa called **Triopio**, of **Herodes Atticus**, whose romantic story is handed down to us through two Greek inscriptions in the possession of the Borghese family, and is further illustrated by the writings of Philostratus and Pausanias.

A wealthy Greek named Ipparchus offended his Government and lost all his wealth by confiscation, but the family fortunes were redeemed through the discovery by his son Atticus of a vast treasure, concealed in a small piece of ground which remained to them, close to the rock of the Acropolis. Dreading the avarice of his fellow-citizens, Atticus sent at once to **Nerva**, the then emperor, telling him of the discovery, and requesting his orders as to what he was to do with the treasure. Nerva replied that he was welcome to keep it and use it as he pleased. Not yet satisfied or feeling sufficiently sure of the protection of the emperor, Atticus again applied to him, saying that the treasure was far too vast for the use of a person in a private station of life, and asking how he was to use it. The emperor again replied that the treasure was his own and due to his own good fortune, and that 'what he could not use he might abuse.' Atticus then entered securely into the possession of his wealth, which he bequeathed to his son Herodes, who used his fortune magnificently in his bountiful charities, in the encouragement of literature and art throughout both Greece and Italy, and (best appreciated of all by the Greeks) in the splendour of the public games which he gave.

Early in the reign of Antoninus Pius, Herodes Atticus removed to Rome, where he was appointed professor of rhetoric to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the two adopted sons of the emperor, and where he attained the consulship in A.D. 143. Soon after his arrival he fell in love with Annia Regilla, a beautiful and wealthy heiress, and in spite of the violent opposition of her brother Annius Attilius Braduas, who, belonging to the Julian family, and claiming an imaginary descent from Venus and Anchises, looked upon the marriage as a mésalliance, he succeeded in obtaining her hand. Part of the wealth which Annia Regilla brought to her husband was the Valle Caffarelle and its nymphaeum.

For some years Herodes Atticus and Annia Regilla enjoyed the perfection of married happiness in this beautiful valley; but shortly before the expected birth of her fifth child, she died very suddenly, leaving her husband almost frantic with grief and refusing every consolation. He was roused,

however, from his first anguish by his brother-in-law, Annius Bradua, who had never laid aside his resentment at the marriage, and who now accused him of having poisoned his wife. Herodes demanded a public trial, and was acquitted. Philostratus records that the intense grief he showed, and the depth of the mourning he wore, were taken as signs of his innocence. Further to clear himself from imputation, Herodes offered all the jewels of Annia Regilla upon the altar of the Eleusinian deities, Ceres and Proserpine, at the same time calling down the vengeance of the outraged gods if he were guilty of sacrilege.

The beloved Regilla was buried in a tomb surrounded by 'a sepulchral field' within the precincts of the villa dedicated to Minerva and Nemesis, and (as recorded in one of the Greek inscriptions) it was made an act of the highest sacrilege for any but her own descendants to be laid within those sacred limits. A statue was also erected to Regilla in the Triopian temple of Ceres and Proserpine, which is now supposed to be the same with that usually called the Temple of Bacchus. Not only did Herodes hang his house with black in his affliction, but all gaily coloured marbles were stripped from the walls, and replaced with the dark grey marble known as 'bardiglio;' and his depth of woe made him so conspicuous, that a satirical person seeing his cook prepare white beans for dinner, wondered that he could dare to do so in a house so entirely black.

The inscriptions in which this story is related (one of them containing thirty-nine Greek verses) are engraved on slabs of pentelic marble, and Philostratus and Pausanias narrate that the quarries of this marble were the property of Herodes, and that in his magnificent buildings he threatened to exhaust them.

The field-path from the Nymphaeum leads back to the Church of Domine Quo Vadis, passing on the right the beautifully finished **Tomb of Herodes and Regilla**, commonly known as the Temple of Deus Rediculus, and erroneously described as having been built to commemorate the retreat of Hannibal, who came thus far in his intended attack upon Rome. The temple erected in memory of this event was really on the right of the Via Appia: it was dedicated to Rediculus, the god of Return, A.D. (?) 65. The folly of ciceroni often cites this name as 'Ridiculous,' as if from *ridere*, to laugh.

The neighbourhood of the Divus Rediculus (which he, however, places on the *right* of the Via Appia) is described by Pliny in connection with a curious story of imperial times. There was a cobbler who had his stall in the Roman Forum, and who possessed a tame crow, which was a great favourite with the young Romans, to whom he would bid good day as he sate perched upon the Rostra. At length he became quite a public character, and the indignation was so great when his master's rival killed him with his hammer in a fit of rage at his spoiling some new leather, that they slew the cobbler, and decreed a public funeral to the bird. The latter was carried to the grave on a bier adorned with honorary crowns, preceded by pipers, and supported by two Nubians in honour of his colour,—and buried—'ad rogum usque, qui constructus dextrâ Viae Appiae ad secundum lapidem in campo Rediculi appellato fuit.'—*Pliny, Nat. Hist.* lib. x. c. 60.

Returning to the Via Appia, we reach, on the right, the **Basilica of S. Sebastiano** (A.D. 367), rebuilt in 1611 by Flaminio Ponzio for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on the site of a church which had been founded by Constantine, where once existed the house and garden of the matron Lucina, in which she had buried the body of Sebastian, after his (second) martyrdom under Diocletian. The basilica contains nothing ancient but the six granite columns in the portico.

The altar covers the relics of the saint (a Gaul, a native of Narbonne, a Christian soldier under Diocletian), and the chapel (L.) of S. Sebastian has a statue of him in his youth, designed by Bernini and executed by Antonio Giorgetti. (See, however, the mosaic of him, with a white beard, in S. Pietro in Vinculi.)

'The almost colossal form lies dead, the head resting on his helmet and armour. It is evidently modelled from nature, and is perhaps the finest thing ever designed by Bernini. . . . It is probably from the association of arrows with his form and story that S. Sebastian has been regarded from the first ages of Christianity as the protecting saint against plague and pestilence; Apollo was the deity who inflicted plague, and therefore was invoked with prayer and sacrifice against it; and to the honours of Apollo, in this particular character, S. Sebastian has succeeded.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art.'*

The flat vault pointed and bearing a nude S. Sebastian in relief in the centre is not without a certain, if questionable, merit.

The original of the footprint in the Domine Quo Vadis is said to be preserved here.

On the left of the entrance is the descent into the catacombs, with the inscription:—

'In hoc sacrosancto loco qui dicitur ad Catacumbas, ubi sepulta fuerunt sanctorum martyrum corpora 174,000, ac 46 summorum pontificum pariterque martyrum. In altare in quo corpus divi Sebastiani Christi athletae jacet celebrans summus Pontifex S. Gregorius Magnus vidit angelum Dei candidiorem nive, sibi in tremendo sacrificio ministrantem ac dicentem, "Hic est locus sacratissimus in quo est divina promissio et omnium peccatorum remissio, splendor et lux perpetua, sine fine laetitia, quam Christi martyr Sebastianus habere promeruit." Prout Severanus Tom. P°. pagina 450, ac etiam antiquissimae lapideae testantur tabulae.'

These are the catacombs originally called Coemiterium ad catacumbas, which have been most frequently visited by strangers, because they could always be seen on application to the monks attached to the church, though they are of inferior interest to those of S. Calixtus. They date, however, from apostolic times, and have probably—as Pope Damasus tells us—protected the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul in the time of persecution.

'Though future excavations may bring to light much that is interesting in this cemetery, the small portion now accessible is, as a specimen of the catacombs, utterly without value. Its only interest consists in its religious associations: here S. Bridget was wont to kneel, rapt in contemplation; here S. Charles Borromeo spent whole nights in prayer; and here the heart of S. Philip Neri was so inflamed "with divine love as to cause his very bodily frame to be changed."'—*Northcote's 'Roman Catacombs.'*

'Philip, on thee the glowing ray
  Of heaven came down upon thy prayer,
To melt thy heart, and burn away
  All that of earthly dross was there.

And so, on Philip when we gaze,
  We see the image of his Lord;
The saint dissolves amid the blaze
  Which circles round the Living Word.

The meek, the wise, none else is here,
  Dispensing light to men below;
His awful accents fill the ear,
  Now keen as fire, now soft as snow.'

—*J. H. Newman*, 1850.

Owing to the desire in the early Christian Church of saving the graves of their first confessors and martyrs from desecration, almost all the catacombs were gradually blocked up, and by lapse of time their very entrances were forgotten. In the fourteenth century very few were still open. In the fifteenth century none remained except this of S. Sebastian, which continued to be frequented by pilgrims, and was called in all ancient documents, 'coemeterium ad catacumbas.'

At the back of the **high-altar** is an interesting half-subterranean building, attributed to Pope Liberius (352–355), and afterwards adorned by Pope Damasus, who briefly tells its history in one of his inscriptions, which may still be seen here:—

'Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,
Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.
Discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur;
Sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra sequuti,
Aetherios petiere sinus et regna piorum.
Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives.
Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes.'

'Here you should know that saints dwelt; their names, if you ask them, were Peter and Paul. The East sent disciples, which we freely acknowledge. For the merit of their blood they followed Christ to the stars, and sought the heavenly home and the kingdom of the blest. Rome, however, deserved to defend her own citizens. May Damasus record these things for your praise, O new stars!'

'The two Apostles, S. Peter and S. Paul, were originally buried, the one at the Vatican, the other on the Ostian Way, at the spot where their respective basilicas now stand; but as soon as the Oriental Christians had heard of their death, they sent some of their brethren to remove their bodies, and bring them back to the East, where they considered that they had a right to claim them as their fellow-citizens and countrymen. These so far prospered in their mission as to gain a momentary possession of the sacred relics, which they carried off along the Appian Way, as far as the spot where the Church of S. Sebastian was afterwards built. Here they rested for a while, to make all things ready for their journey, or, according to another account, were detained by a thunder-storm of extraordinary violence, which delay, however occasioned, was sufficient to enable the Christians of Rome to overtake them and recover their lost treasure. These Roman Christians then buried the bodies, with the utmost secrecy, in a deep pit, which they dug on the very spot where they were. Soon, indeed, they were restored to their original places of sepulture, as we know from contemporary authorities; and there seems reason to believe the old ecclesiastical tradition to be correct which states them to have only remained in this temporary abode for a year and seven months. The body of S. Peter, however, was destined to revisit it a second time, and for a longer period; for when, at the beginning of the third century, Heliogabalus made his circuit at the Vatican, Calixtus, who was then Pope, removed the relics of the Apostle to their former temporary resting-place, the pit on the Appian Way. But in A.D. 257, S. Stephen, the Pope, having been discovered in this very cemetery and having suffered martyrdom there, the body of S. Peter was once more removed, and restored to its original tomb in the Vatican.'—*Northcote's 'Roman Catacombs.'*

In the passages of this catacomb are misguiding inscriptions, placed here in 1409 by William, Archbishop of Bourges, calling upon the faithful to venerate *here* the tombs of S. Cecilia and of many of the martyred popes who are buried elsewhere. The martyr S. Cyrinus is known to have been buried here from very early itineraries, but his grave has not been discovered. A fragment of a

marble bust of the Saviour, of the fourth century, was found here in 1891, with hair parted in the middle and falling over the shoulders.

'When I was a boy, being educated at Rome, I used every Sunday, in company with other boys of my own age and tastes, to visit the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, and to go into the crypts excavated there in the bowels of the earth. The walls on either side as you enter are full of the bodies of the dead, and the whole place is so dark that one seems almost to see the fulfilment of those words of the prophet, "Let them go down alive into Hades." Here and there a little light, admitted from above, suffices to give a momentary relief to the horror of the darkness; but as you go forwards, and find yourself again immersed in the utter blackness of night, the words of the poet come spontaneously to your mind, "The very silence fills the soul with dread."'—*S. Jerome* (A.D. 354), *In Ezek.*, ch. ix.

'A gaunt Franciscan friar, with a wild bright eye, was our only guide down into this profound and dreadful place. The narrow ways and openings hither and thither, coupled with the dead and heavy air, soon blotted out, in all of us, any recollection of the track by which we had come; and I could not help thinking, "Good Heaven, if in a sudden fit of madness he should dash the torches out, or if he should be seized with a fit, what would become of us!" On we wandered, among martyrs' graves; passing great subterranean vaulted roads, diverging in all directions, and choked up with heaps of stones, that thieves and murderers may not take refuge there, and form a population under Rome, even worse than that which lives between it and the sun. Graves, graves, graves; graves of men, of women, of little children, who ran crying to the persecutors, "We are Christians! we are Christians!" that they might be murdered with their parents; graves with the palm of martyrdom roughly cut into their stone boundaries, and little niches made to hold a vessel of the martyr's blood; graves of some who lived down here for years together, ministering to the rest, and preaching truth and hope and comfort from the rude altars, that bear witness to their fortitude at this hour; more roomy graves, but far more terrible, where hundreds, being surprised, were hemmed in and walled up—buried before death, and killed by slow starvation.

'"The triumphs of the Faith are not above ground in our splendid churches," said the friar, looking round upon us, as we stopped to rest in one of the low passages, with bones and dust surrounding us on every side. "They are here! among the martyrs' graves!" He was a gentle, earnest man, and said it from his heart; but when I thought how Christian men have dealt with one another; how, perverting our most merciful religion, they have hunted down and tortured, burnt and beheaded, strangled, slaughtered, and oppressed each other: I pictured to myself an agony surpassing any that this dust had suffered with the breath of life yet lingering in it, and how these great and constant hearts would have been shaken—how they would have quailed and drooped—if a foreknowledge of the deeds that professing Christians would commit, in the great name for which they died, could have rent them with its own unutterable anguish, on the cruel wheel, and bitter cross, and in the fearful fire.'—*Dickens.*

'No doubt they also had their perplexities, and wondered why the wicked triumph, and sighed to God, "How long, O Lord, how long?"'—'*Schönberg-Cotta Family.*'

In the Vigna Randanini (L.), almost opposite S. Sebastiano, is the curious **Jewish Catacomb** (found 1860), which can only be visited by especial permission from the proprietor, at whose expense it has been excavated. A characteristic of this catacomb is the breadth of its passages. At one point is a well. One chapel is adorned with well-executed paintings of peacocks and other birds. The inscriptions found show that this cemetery was exclusively Jewish.

They refer to officers of the synagogue, rulers (ἄρχοντες) and scribes (γραμματεῖς), &c. The inscriptions are in great part in Greek letters, expressing Latin words; the monumental slabs are frequently adorned with the seven-branched candlestick and palms. An interesting Museum in the vineyard is filled with relics found in the Catacombs, the most important being a grand marble sarcophagus, which was broken in 200 pieces when discovered.[1]

In the valley on the left are the splendid remains of the **Circus and Stadium of Maxentius,** overlooked by those of a Villa of that emperor. The circus was 1482 feet long, 244 feet broad, and was capable of containing 150,000 spectators, yet it is only a miniature of the Circus Maximus, though very interesting as retaining in tolerable preservation the different features which composed a circus. In the centre of its Spina stood the obelisk now in the Piazza Navona, which was made for Domitian and probably once placed in his Iseum near the Pantheon. Bernini erected it in the Piazza for Innocent X. The circular ruin near its site was a **Temple,** dedicated by Maxentius to his son Romulus, like the Heroon Romuli in the Forum.

These ruins (which ought to be a national monument) are very picturesque, backed by the peaks of the Sabine range.

The opposite ridge and point of the Appia is crowned by the **Tomb of Cecilia Metella,** daughter of Quintus Metellus Creticus, and wife of Crassus (68 B.C.). It is a round tower, ninety feet in diameter, faced with travertine. The bulls' heads (bucranii) on the frieze gave it the popular name of Capo di Bove. The marble coating of the basement was carried off by Urban VIII. to make the fountain of Trevi, and the tomb itself was condemned to be used as building material in the reign of Sixtus V., and was only saved by the remonstrances of the Roman people. The battlements ('Coda di Rondine') were added when the tomb was turned into a fortress by the Caëtani in the thirteenth century.

'About two miles or more from the city gates, and right upon the roadside, is an immense round pile, sepulchral in its original purpose. It is built of great blocks of hewn stone, on a vast, square foundation of rough, agglomerated material, such as composes the mass of all the other ruinous tombs. But, whatever might be the cause, it is in a far better state of preservation than they. On its broad summit rise the battlements of a mediaeval fortress, out of the midst of which (so long since had time begun to crumble the supplemental structure, and cover it with soil, by means of wayside dust) grow trees, bushes, and thick festoons of ivy. This tomb of a woman has become the dungeon-keep of a castle; and all the care that Cecilia Metella's husband could bestow, to secure endless peace for her beloved relics, only sufficed to make that handful of precious ashes the nucleus of battles long ages after her death.'—*Hawthorne.*

'There is a stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress, with its fence of stone,
Such as an army's baffled strength delays,
Standing with half its battlements alone,

[1] The Jews seem to have used biblical names slightly Latinised (Esther), Semoel, Sarah, Lea, Loo, as well as purely Latin ones.

And with two thousand years of ivy grown,
The garland of eternity, where wave
The green leaves over all by time o'erthrown ;—
What was this tower of strength ? within its cave
What treasure lay so lock'd, so hid ?—A woman's grave.

But who was she, the lady of the dead,
Tomb'd in a palace ? Was she chaste and fair ?
Worthy a king's—or more—a Roman's bed ?
What race of chiefs and heroes did she bear ?
What daughter of her beauties was the heir ?
How lived—how loved—how died she ? Was she not
So honoured—and conspicuously there,
Where meaner relics must not dare to rot,
Placed to commemorate a more than mortal lot ?

Perchance she died in youth : it may be, bow'd
With woes far heavier than the ponderous tomb
That weigh'd upon her gentle dust, a cloud
Might gather o'er her beauty, and a gloom
In her dark eye, prophetic of the doom
Heaven gives its favourites—early death ; yet shed
A sunset charm around her, and illume
With hectic light, the Hesperus of the dead,
Of her consuming cheek the autumnal leaf-like red.

Perchance she died in age—surviving all,
Charms, kindred, children—with the silver grey
On her long tresses, which might yet recall,
It may be, still a something of the day
When they were braided, and her proud array
And lovely form were envied, praised, and eyed
By Rome—but whither would Conjecture stray ?
Thus much alone we know—Metella died,
The wealthiest Roman's wife : behold his love or pride ! '

—*Childe Harold.*

Opposite the tomb are the ruins of the Gothic chapel of the Caëtani Castle. Even thirteenth century Gothic looks flimsy beside the Roman work.

The Tomb of Cecilia Metella is situated on the edge of a great pre-historic lava stream which, issuing from the Alban Hills, flowed as far as this toward the site long afterwards occupied by Rome. From its quarries Rome has been paved. It is at this tomb that the charms of the Via Appia really begin. A short distance farther, we emerge from the walls which have hitherto shut in the road on either side, and enjoy uninterrupted views over the green undulating Latin plain, strewn with its ruined tombs, castles, and villages, and long lines of aqueducts, to the Sabine and Alban mountains.

' Appia longarum teritur regina viarum.'

—*Statius, Sylv.* ii. 2, 12.

Under the empire the Appian Way was the fashionable drive of the Roman nobility,[1] but now few, except foreigners, enjoy its beauties.

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[1] Horace, *Epod.* iv. 14 ; *Epist.* i. 6, 26.

'The Via Appia is a magnificent promenade, among ruinous tombs, the massive remains of which extend for many miles over the Roman Campagna. The powerful families of ancient Rome loved to build monuments to their dead by the side of the public road, probably to exhibit at once their affection for their relations and their own power and affluence. Most of these monuments are now nothing but heaps of ruins, upon which are placed the statues and sculptures which have been found in the earth or amongst the rubbish. Those inscriptions which have been found on the Via Appia bear witness to the grief of the living for the dead, but never to the hope of reunion. On a great number of sarcophagi or the friezes of tombs may be seen the dead sitting or lying as if they were alive; some seem to be praying. Many heads have great individuality of character. Sometimes a white marble figure, beautifully draped, projects from these heaps of ruins, but without head or hands; sometimes a hand is stretched out, or a portion of a figure rises from the tomb. It is a street through monuments of the dead, across an immense churchyard; for the desolate Roman Campagna may be regarded as such. To the left it is scattered with the ruins of colossal aqueducts, which, during the time of the emperors, conveyed lakes and rivers to Rome, and which still, ruinous and destroyed, delight the eye by the beautiful proportions of their arcades. To the right is an immense prairie, without any other limit than that of the ocean, which, however, is not seen from it. The country is desolate, and only here and there are there any huts or trees to be seen.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

'For the space of a mile or two beyond the gate of S. Sebastiano, this ancient and famous road is as desolate and disagreeable as most of the other Roman avenues. It extends over small, uncomfortable paving-stones, between brick and plastered walls, which are very solidly constructed, and so high as almost to exclude a view of the surrounding country. The houses are of the most uninviting aspect, neither picturesque, nor homelike and social; they have seldom or never a door opening on the wayside, but are accessible only from the rear, and frown inhospitably upon the traveller through iron-grated windows. Here and there appears a dreary inn or a wineshop, designated by the withered bush beside the entrance, within which you discover a stone-built and sepulchral interior, where guests refresh themselves with sour bread and goat's-milk cheese, washed down with wine of dolorous acerbity.

'At frequent intervals along the roadside, up rises the ruin of an ancient tomb. As they stand now, these structures are immensely high and broken mounds of conglomerated brick, stone, pebbles, and earth, all molten by time into a mass as solid and indestructible as if each tomb were composed of a single boulder of granite. When first erected, they were cased externally, no doubt, with slabs of polished marble, artfully wrought bas-reliefs, and all such suitable adornments, and were rendered majestically beautiful by grand architectural designs. This antique splendour has long since been stolen from the dead to decorate the palaces and churches of the living. Nothing remains to the dishonoured sepulchres except their massiveness.

'Even the pyramids form hardly a stranger spectacle, or a more alien from human sympathies, than the tombs of the Appian Way, with their gigantic height, breadth, and solidity, defying time and the elements, and far too mighty to be demolished by an ordinary earthquake. Here you may see a modern dwelling, and a garden with its vines and olive-trees, perched on the lofty dilapidation of a tomb, which forms a precipice of fifty feet in depth on each of the four sides. There is a house on that funeral mound, where generations of children have been born, and successive lives have been spent, undisturbed by the ghost of the stern Roman whose ashes were so preposterously burdened. Other sepulchres wear a crown of grass, shrubbery, and forest-trees, which throw out a broad sweep of branches, having had time, twice over, to be a thousand years of age. On one of them stands a tower, which, though immemorially more modern than the tomb, was itself built by immemorial hands, and is now rifted quite from top to bottom by a vast fissure of decay; the tomb hillock, its foundation, being still as firm as ever, and likely to endure until the last trump shall rend it wide asunder, and summon forth its unknown dead.'—*Hawthorne.*

'Yesterday I visited the (Circus of Maxentius) Hippodrome of Caracalla, the ruined tombs along the Via Appia, and the Tomb of Cecilia Metella, which is the first to give one a true idea of what solid masonry really is.'—*Goethe* (Nov. 11, 1786).

'The brothers **Lugari** are carrying on excavations at their farm of the Tor Carbone, at the fourth milestone on the Appian Way, with a view of laying open permanently a district of the ancient Campagna. The work already accomplished is enough to convey to the visitor the true idea of the perfection to which the suburban districts were brought under the empire. The ground is crossed at right angles by roads, as frequent as they would be in the city itself; and these roads are so neatly levelled and paved, and their sidewalks so cleverly arranged, that one would scarcely believe them to be country roads. Some cross-lanes were on private property, and were closed accordingly with gates at each end. You still see the very walls, or *materiae*, as they were styled in ancient times, enclosing the fields; and in these fields remains of rustic dwellings, of a modest appearance, but wonderfully well adapted to their purpose. They show what care Roman landlords took of the hygiene and welfare of their peasants. The ground-floor rooms are provided with double pavements, for the circulation of the hot air, or vapour, in the interstices—a precaution most commendable in low, damp lands. Great care was bestowed on the drainage of the house, which was always carried to a great distance, and forced through its channel by a permanent jet of water; which, when not actually needed for drinking, bathing, or irrigating purposes, was stored in huge reservoirs and cisterns, ready for any extraordinary emergency. At the crossing of the roads, or *quadrivia*, there were fountains for the accommodation of travellers and their horses; in fact, the gentleness and kindness of those happy generations went so far as to provide the weary pilgrim with seats, shaded by trees, where he could rest during the hottest hours of the day.'—*Lanciani*, '*Ancient Rome*.'

Near the fourth milestone is the tomb of Marcus Servilius Quartus (with an inscription) restored by Canova in 1808. A bas-relief of the death of Atys, killed by Adrastus, a short distance beyond this, has been suggested as part of the tomb of Seneca, who put himself to death 'near the fourth mile stone' by order of Nero. The Poet's Villa then was near this.

'The conspiracy of Piso, A.D. 65, gave Nero the long sought for pretext to get rid of an ill-tolerated adviser; and although there was little or no evidence of his being a party to the plot, his death was decided upon. Seneca, suffering from asthma, had stopped for rest, on his return from Campania, at his villa on the Appian Way, when Granius Silvanus, tribune of one of the prætorian cohorts, surrounded the estate with his men, and showed the doomed man the death-warrant. Without betraying any emotion, "Seneca cheered his weeping friends by reminding them of the lessons of philosophy. Embracing his wife, Pompeia Paolina, he prayed her to moderate her grief, and to console herself for the loss of her husband by the reflection that he had lived an honourable life. But as Paulina protested that she would die with him, Seneca consented, and the veins in the arms of both were opened. Seneca's body was attenuated by age and meagre diet, perhaps also from his attacks of asthma; the blood would not flow easily, and he opened the veins in his legs. His torture was excessive; and to save himself and his wife the pain of seeing one another suffer, he bade her retire to her chamber. His torments being still prolonged, he took hemlock from his friend and physician, Statius Annaeus, but it had no effect. At last he entered a warm bath, and as he sprinkled some of the water on the slaves nearest to him, he said that he made a libation to Jupiter the Liberator. He was then taken into a vapour bath, where he was speedily suffocated."'—*Smith's* '*Classical Dictionary*.'

An inscribed tomb beyond this is that of Sextus Pompeius Justus.

Near this, in the campagna on the left, are some small remains, supposed to be those of a temple of Juno.

Beyond this a number of tombs can be identified, but none are of importance. Such are the tombs of Plinius Eutychius, erected by Plinius Zosimus, a freedman of Pliny the younger; of Caius Licinius; the doric tomb of the tax-gatherer, Claudius Philippianus, inscribed 'Tito . Claudio . Secundo . Philippiano . Coactori . Flavio . Irene . Vxor . Indulgentissimo;' of Rabinius, with three busts in relief; of Hermodorus; of Elsia Prima, priestess of Isis; of Marcus C. Cerdonus, with the bas-relief of an elephant bearing a burning altar. The marble casing has been plundered from all the tombs, and little remains but brickwork. 'Almost all the houses in the city,' wrote Raffaelle to Leo X., 'have been built with lime made out of the precious marbles that were the glory of Rome.'

'"Brickwork I found thee, and marble I left thee," their emperor vaunted; "Marble I thought thee, and brickwork I find thee!" the tourist may answer.'

—*Clough.*

Most of the tombs, both here and on the other roads round Rome, had an inscription—titulus sepulcralis—stating the amount of frontage and depth behind belonging to the family who owned the monument. (This applied to the Sepulcretum on the Esquiline.)

Beyond the fifth milestone, two circular mounds with basements of peperino were considered by Canina (1844) to be the tombs of the Horatii and Curiatii.

On the opposite side farther on is the exceedingly picturesque mediaeval fortress known as **Torre Mezza Strada**, into which are incorporated the remains of the Church of S. Maria Nuova, or della Gloria. Here was concluded the truce between King Ladislaus and Innocent VII., June 28, 1406. Behind this extends a vast assemblage of ruins which form a splendid foreground to the distant mountain view, and whose size has led to their receiving the popular epithet of **Roma Vecchia**, a term applied to four or five localities. Here was the favourite villa of the Emperor Commodus, where he was residing when the people, excited by a sudden impulse during the games of the Circus, rose and poured out of Rome against him—as the inhabitants of Paris to Versailles—and refused to depart, till, terrified into action by the entreaties of his mistress, Marcia, he tossed the head of the unpopular Cleander to them out of the window, and had the brains of that minister's child dashed out against the stones. The residence of the emperors at some particular villa always drew a number of patrician families to build in the neighbourhood and rents rose. 'Ubi Caesar, ibi Roma,' was a maxim of Roman jurisprudence. This villa is proved, by the discovery of a number of pipes bearing their names, to have been originally the winter villa[1] of the brothers Condianus and Maximus, of the great family of the **Quintilii**, which was confiscated by Commodus, and which occupied nearly half a square mile.

[1] Their magnificent summer villa was seven miles off, on the slopes of Tusculum, almost on the site of the Villa Mondragone.

The Torlonia farm of Roma Vecchia is, in its limits, identical with the property which Commodus held here.

It was near S. Maria Nuova that a sensation was created in April 1845 by the discovery of the perfect body of a beautiful young woman, with an inscription stating that it was that of Julia Prisca, who 'did no wrong except to die.'

On the left of the Via Appia appears a huge monument on a narrow base, called the **Tomb of the Metelli.** Beyond this, after the fifth milestone, are the tombs of Sergius Demetrius, a wine merchant; of Lucius Arrius; of Septimi Gallia; and of one of the Caecilii, in whose sepulchre, according to Eutropius, was buried Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, whose daughter Pomponia was the first wife of Agrippa, and whose grand-daughter Vipsania was the first wife of Tiberius.

'Par places, l'ancien pavé reparaît, de grandes pierres plates, des morceaux de lave, déjétes par le temps, rudes aux voitures le mieux suspendues. À droit et à gauche filent deux bandes d'herbe, où s'alignent les ruines des tombeaux, d'une herbe abandonnée de cimetière, brûlée par les soleils d'été, semée de gros chardons violâtres et de hauts fenouils jaunes. Un petit mur à hauteur d'appui, bâti en pierres sèches, clôt de chaque côté ces marges roussâtres, pleines d'un crépitement de sauterelles; et, au delà, à perte de vue, la Campagne romaine s'étend, immense et nue. À peine, près des bords, de loin en loin, aperçoit-on un pin parasol, un eucalyptus, des oliviers, des figuiers, blancs de poussière. Sur la gauche, les restes de l'Acqua Claudia détachent dans les prés leurs arcades couleur de rouille, des cultures maigres s'étendent au loin, les vignes avec de petites fermes, jusqu'aux monts de la Sabine et jusqu'aux monts Albains, d'un bleu violâtre, où les taches claires de Frascati, de Rocca di Papa, d'Albano, grandissent et blanchissent, à mesure qu'on approche; tandis que, sur la droite, du côté de la mer, la plaine s'élargit et se prolonge, par vastes ondulations, sans une maison, sans un arbre, d'une grandeur simple extraordinaire, une ligne unique, toute plate, un horizon d'un océan qu'une ligne droite, d'un bout à l'autre, sépare du ciel. Au gros d'été, tout brûle, la prairie illimitée flambe, d'un ton fauve de brasier. Des Septembre, cet océan commence à verdir, se perde dans du rose et dans du mauve, jusqu'au bleu éclatant, éclaboussé d'or, des beaux couchers de soleil.'—*Zola.*

Close beyond the **sixth milestone** is the mass of masonry, many times re-constructed, called 'Casale Rotondo,' or 'Cotta's Tomb,' from that name being found there inscribed on a stone. But it is generally attributed to Messala Corvinus, the poet, and friend of Horace, believed to have been raised to him by his son Valerius Maximus Cotta, mentioned in Ovid.

'Te tamen in turba non ausim, Cotta, silere,
Pieridum lumen, praesidiumque fori.'
—*Epist. ex Ponto*, iv. 16, 41.

The basement of this tomb was even larger than that of Cecilia Metella. It was used as a fortress by the Orsini in the fifteenth century.

Beyond this are tombs identified as those of P. Quintius, tribune of the sixteenth legion; Marcus Julius, steward of Claudius; Publius Decumius Philomusus (with appropriate bas-reliefs of two mice nibbling a cake); and of Cedritius Flaccianus.

Passing on the left the **Tor di Selce,** erected upon a huge un-

known tomb, are the tombs of Titia Eucharis, and of Atilius Evodus, jeweller (*margaritarius*) on the Via Sacra, with the inscription, 'Hospes resiste—aspice ubi continentur ossa hominis boni misericordis amantis pauperis.' Near the eighth milestone are ruins attributed to the shrines of Hercules (erected by Domitian), which is mentioned in Martial's Epigrams, beyond which were the villas of Bassus and of Persius the Satirist. The last tomb identified is that of Quintus Verranius. Near the ninth milestone is a tomb supposed to be that of Gallienus (Imp. 268), who lived in a villa close by, amid the ruins of which the 'Discobolus' was discovered. Many of the tombs are overgrown with tufts of the *roccella*, which yields a famous purple dye, and which gave a name to the princely family of the Ruccellai.

From the stream called Ponticello, near the **tenth milestone**, the road gradually ascends to Albano, passing several important but unnamed tombs. At the **Osteria delle Frattocchie** it joins the Via Appia Nova. Close to the gate of Albano, it passes on the left the tall tomb attributed to **Pompey** the Great, in accordance with the statement of Plutarch, but in spite of the epigram of Varro Atacinus, which says :—

> 'Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet ; at Cato parvo ;
> Pompeius nullo ; quis putet esse Deos ?'

Among the many processions which have passed along this road, perhaps the most remarkable have been that bearing back to Rome the dead body of Sulla, who died at Puteoli, 'in a gilt litter, with royal ornaments, trumpets before him, and horsemen behind ;[1] and the funeral of Augustus, who, dying at Nola (A.D. 14), was brought to Bovillae, and remained there a month in the sanctuary of the Julian family, after which the knights brought the body in solemn procession to his palace on the Palatine.

But throughout a walk along the Appian Way, the one great Christian interest of this world-famous road will, to the Christian visitor, overpower all others. It was by this road, over these paving-stones, that S. Paul came to Rome in A.D. 56.

'And so we went toward Rome.

'And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns; whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.

'And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard : but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him.'—*Acts* xxviii. 14-16.

'It is not without its manifold uses to remember that amidst the dim and wavering traditions of later times, one figure at least stands out clear and distinct and undoubted, and this figure is the Apostle Paul. He, whatever we may think concerning any other apostle or apostolic man in connection with Rome, he, beyond a shadow of a doubt, appears in the New Testament as her great teacher. No criticism or scepticism of modern times has ever questioned the perfect authenticity of that last chapter of the Acts, which gives the account of his journey, stage by stage, till he set foot within the walls of the city. However much we may be compelled to distrust any

[1] Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* iv. 402.

particular traditions concerning special localities of his life and death, we cannot doubt for a moment that his eye rested on the same general view of sky and plain and mountain; that his feet trod the pavement of the same Appian road; that his way lay through the same long avenue of ancient tombs on which we now look and wonder; that he entered (and there we have our last authentic glimpse of his progress), and then is lost to our view in the great Babylon of Rome.'—*A. P. Stanley's 'Sermons.'*

'When S. Paul was approaching Rome, all the bases of the mountain were (as indeed they are partially now) clustered round with the villas and gardens of wealthy citizens. The Appian Way climbs and then descends along its southern slope. After passing Lanuvium it crossed a crater-like valley on immense substructions, which still remain. Here is Ariccia, an easy stage from Rome. The town was above the road, and on the hillside swarms of beggars beset travellers as they passed. On the summit of the next rise, Paul of Tarsus would obtain his first view of Rome. There is no doubt that the prospect was, in many respects, very different from the view which is now obtained from the same spot. It is true that the natural features of the scene are unaltered. The long wall of the blue Sabine mountains, with Soracte in the distance, closed in the Campagna, which stretched far across to the sea and round the base of the Alban hills. But ancient Rome was not, like modern Rome, impressive from its solitude, standing alone, with its one conspicuous cupola, in the midst of a desolate though beautiful waste. S. Paul would see a vast city, covering the Campagna, and almost continuously connected by its suburbs with the villas on the hill where he stood, and with the bright towns which clustered on the sides of the mountains opposite. Over all the intermediate space were the houses and gardens, through which aqueducts and roads might be traced in converging lines towards the confused mass of edifices which formed the city of Rome. Here no conspicuous building, elevated above the rest, attracted the eye or the imagination. Ancient Rome had neither cupola nor campanile, still less had it any of those spires which give life to all the capitals of Northern Christendom. It was a wide-spread aggregate of buildings, which, though separated by narrow streets and open spaces, appeared, when seen from near Ariccia, blended into one indiscriminate mass; for distance concealed the contrasts which divided the crowded habitations of the poor and the dark haunts of filth and misery from the theatres and colonnades, the baths, the temples, and palaces with gilded roofs, flashing back the sun.

'The road descended into the plain at Bovillae, six miles from Ariccia; and thence it proceeded in a straight line, with the sepulchres of illustrious families on either hand. One of these was the burial-place of the Julian gens, with which the centurion who had charge of the prisoners was in some way connected. As they proceeded over the old pavement, among gardens and modern houses, and approached nearer the busy metropolis—the "conflux issuing forth or entering in" in various costumes and on various errands—vehicles, horsemen and foot-passengers, soldiers and labourers, Romans and foreigners—became more crowded and confusing. The houses grew closer. They were already in Rome. It was impossible to define the commencement of the city. Its populous portions extended far beyond the limits marked out by Servius. The ancient wall, with its once sacred pomoerium, was rather an object for antiquarian interest, like the walls of York or Chester, than any protection against the enemies, who were kept far aloof by the legions on the frontier.

'Entering within the city, Julius and his prisoners moved on, with the Aventine on their left, close round the base of the Coelian, and through the hollow ground which lay between this hill and the Palatine; thence over the low ridge called Velia, where afterwards was built the Arch of Titus, to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem; and then descending by the *Via Sacra* into that space which was the centre of imperial power and imperial magnificence, and associated also with the most glorious recollections of the republic. The Forum was to Rome what the Acropolis was to Athens, the heart of all the characteristic interest of the place. Here was the *Milliarium Aureum*, to which the roads of all the provinces converged. All around were the stately buildings which were raised in the closing years of the republic

and by the early emperors. In front was the Capitoline Hill, illustrious long before the invasion of the Gauls. Close on the left, covering that hill whose name is associated in every modern European language with the notion of imperial splendour, were the vast ranges of the *palace*—the "house of Caesar" (Phil. iv. 22). Here were the household troops quartered in a *praetorium* attached to the palace. And here (unless, indeed, it was in the great Praetorium camp outside the city wall) Julius gave up his prisoner to Burrus, the Praetorium Prefect, whose official duty it was to keep in custody all accused persons who were to be tried before the Emperor.'—*Conybeare and Howson.*

There is, however, one terrible association with the Appian Way which cannot be effaced even by the exceeding loveliness of its views in every direction. It is the finale of the war with Spartacus, B.C. 73, when six thousand captured slaves were crucified, forming an avenue of death and agony from Capua to Rome—perhaps a crucifixion at every two hundred yards on each side of the road.

CHAPTER X

THE QUIRINAL AND VIMINAL

Palazzo Barberini—Palazzo Albani—S. Carlo a Quattro Fontane—S. Andrea a Monte Cavallo—Quirinal Palace—Palazzo della Consulta—Palazzo Rospigliosi—Colonna Gardens and Temple of the Sun—S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo—S. Caterina di Siena—SS. Domenico e Sisto—S. Agata dei Goti—S. Maria in Monte—S. Lorenzo Panisperna—S. Pudenziana—S. Paolo Primo Eremita—S. Dionisio—S. Vitale.

IT is difficult to determine the exact limits of what in ancient times were regarded as the Quirinal and Viminal hills, both of which were called *colles*, in contradistinction to the other hills, which were called *montes*—the whole *regio* being called *Collina*. These hills, like the Esquiline and Coelian, are in fact merely spurs or tongues of hills, projecting inwards from a common base, the broad table-land which slopes on the other side almost imperceptibly into the Campagna.[1] That which is described in this chapter as belonging to these two hills is chiefly the district to the east of the Via Quattro Fontane, and its continuation, which extends in a straight line to S. Maria Maggiore.

The Quirinal, like the other hills, except the Palatine and the Coelian, belonged to the Sabines in the earliest period of Roman history, and is full of records of their occupation. They had a Capitol here which is believed to have existed anterior to that on the Capitoline, and which likewise was crowned by temples of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This Sabine Capitol probably occupied the site of the present Palazzo Rospigliosi.

The name Quirinal is said to be derived from the Sabine word *Quiris* (?), signifying a lance, which gave the Sabines their name of Quirites or lance-bearers, and to their god the name Quirinus. After his death (no doubt for politic reasons) Romulus received this title, and an important temple was raised to him on the Quirinal by Numa,[2] under this name, thus identifying him with Quirinus, the national war-god. This temple was surrounded by a sacred grove mentioned by Ovid.[3] It was rebuilt by the Consul L. Papirius Cursor, to commemorate his triumph after the third Samnite war, 293 B.C., when he adorned it with a sundial (*solarium horologium*), the first set up in Rome, which, however, not being constructed for the right latitude, did not show the

[1] Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, ch. xi.
[2] Dionysius, ii. 63.
[3] Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 452.

time correctly. This defect was not remedied till nearly a century afterwards, when Q. Marcius Philippus set up a correct dial. In front of this temple grew two celebrated myrtle trees, corresponding to the two laurels of Mars in front of the Regia in the Forum, one called *Patricia*, the other *Plebeia*, which shared the fortunes of their respective orders, as the orange tree at Sabina now does that of the Dominicans (?). Thus, up to the fifth century, Patricia flourished gloriously, while Plebeia pined; but from the time when the Plebeians completely gained the upper hand, Patricia withered away.[1] The temple was rebuilt by Augustus, and Dio Cassius states that the number of pillars by which it was surrounded accorded with that of the years of his life at the time.

Adjoining the temple was a portico:—

> 'Vicini pete porticum Quirini:
> Turbam non habet otiosiorem
> Pompeius vel Agenoris puella.'
> —*Martial, Ep.* xi. i. 9.

> '——Officium cras
> Primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini.'
> —*Juvenal, Sat.* ii. 132.

Hard by was a temple of Fortuna Publica:—

> 'Qui dicet, Quondam sacrata est colle Quirini
> Hac Fortuna die Publica: verus erit.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* iv. 375.

Also an altar to Mamuris, an ancient Sabine divinity, probably identical with Mars, and a Temple of Salus, or Health, which gave a name to the Servian Porta Salutaris, which must have stood nearly on the site of the present Via della Dataria, left of the entrance to the Royal Palace.

The site of the Temple of Quirinus, (perhaps) discovered and demolished in 1626, was adjoining that now occupied by S. Andrea a Monte Cavallo. On the site of the Convent of S. Silvestro was the **Temple of Semo-Sancus**, or Deus Fidius, close to the Porta Sanqualis of the Servian Wall. Between the two former temples was situated the house of Pomponius Atticus (the friend and correspondent of Cicero), which gave an opportunity for the witticism of Cicero when he said that he would rather Caesar should dwell with Quirinus than with Salus, meaning that he would rather he should be at war than be in good health.[2]

Not very far off lodged, A.D. 91, Martial the epigrammist,[3] 'on the third floor, in a narrow street,' whence he had a view as far as the portico of Agrippa, near the Flaminian Way (Corso). Below, probably on the site now occupied by the Piazza Barberini, was a Circus of Flora, a very ancient and popular Italian divinity.

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[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xv. 36.

[2] 'De Caesare vicino scripseram ad te, quia cognoram ex tuis literis: eum σύνναον Quirino malo, quam Saluti.'—*Ad. Att.* xii. 45.

[3] *Epig.* x. 58; xi. 1.

'Mater, ades, florum, ludis celebranda jocosis:
Distuleram partes mense priore tuas.
Incipis Aprili: transis in tempora Maii.
Alter te fugiens, quum venit alter, habet.
Quum tua sint, cedantque tibi confinia mensum,
Convenit in laudes ille vel iste tuas.
Circus in hunc exit, clamataque palma theatris:
Hoc quoque cum Circi munere carmen eat.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* v. 183.

Among the great families who lived on the Quirinal were the Cornelii (who even had a street of their own, *Vicus Corneliorum*, probably on the slopes behind the present Colonna Palace), and the Flavii, who were of Sabine origin.[1] Domitian was born here in the house, 'Ad malum Punicum,' of the Flavii, afterwards consecrated by him as a temple, in the atrium of which Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian himself were buried, as well as Julia, the plain daughter of Titus—well known from her statues in the Vatican.

As some fragments remain of the two buildings erected on the Quirinal during the later empire—Aurelian's Temple of the Sun and the Baths of Constantine—they will be noticed in due course.

In the hollow between the Quirinal and the Pincian Hills, where the Via Sistina meets the Via delle Quattro Fontane, is the **Piazza del Tritone**, with a pretty fountain having the familiar figure of a Triton blowing in a shell, by Bernini. At the L. corner of the Via del Tritone is the site of the Temple of Flora, whose Festival—April 28 to May 3—was of an undesirable character. Under the Papal Government no subject was more frequently painted by artists than this: but the 'subject' is gone now, the pavement has been raised and straightened, the base of the fountain half buried, and the groups of great oxen which used to surround it are things of the past.[2]

From the Via dei Giardini is the entrance of the **Tunnel**, constructed 1900–1901, under the gardens and palace of the Quirinal to facilitate communication from the Piazza di Spagna and Via Due Macelli with the Via Nazionale. In making the tunnel remains were discovered of the house of Fulvius Plautianus, whose daughter, Plautilla, married the Emperor Caracalla in A.D. 202. The father was put to death for plots against the emperor in 203. The marbles found here have been taken to the Museo Municipale al Celio (*q.v.*).

On the ascent of the hill, just above the Piazza del Tritone, is the noble **Barberini Palace**, built by Urban VIII. from designs of Carlo Maderna, continued by Borromini, and finished by his rival, Bernini, in 1640. It is screened from the street by a magnificent

[1] Vespasian had a brother named Sabinus; his son's name recalls that of Titus Tatius.

[2] Hence the shabby Via del Tritone leads to the Corso. Its lower and wider portion was formerly the Via del Angelo Custode, but Rome does not now honour any guardian angel.

railing between massive decorative piers, erected 1865–67; and if this railing could be continued, and the block of houses towards the piazza removed, it would appear the most splendid private palace in Rome, always excepting the Farnese.

This immense building is a memorial of the magnificence and ambition of Urban VIII. Fearing that the family of Barberini might become absorbed in that of Colonna, he also issued a Bull by which the name, estates, and privileges of his house might pass to any living male descendant, legitimate or illegitimate, whether child of prince or priest.[1] The size of the palace is enormous, the smallest 'apartment' in the building containing from twenty to thirty rooms. The family have usually inhabited the right wing. In the left wing—occupied in the beginning of the nineteenth century by the ex-king and queen of Spain and the 'Prince of Peace'—is the apartment of the late Cardinal Barberini, in which Count Pecci, brother of Leo XIII., recently died. On the other side is the grand staircase (the most comfortable in Rome), upon which is placed a lion in high relief, found on the family (?) property at Palestrina. It is before this lion that Canova is said to have lain for hours upon the pavement, studying for his tomb of Clement XIII. in S. Peter's. The *guarda-roba*, badly kept, contains many curious relics of family grandeur; amongst them is a sedan-chair painted by Titian. When excavating for the laying of its foundation several painted chambers were found.

'The Barberini were the last papal nephews who aspired to independent principalities. Urban VIII., though he enriched them enormously, appears to have been but little satisfied with them. He used to complain that he had four relations who were fit for nothing; first, Cardinal Francis, who was a saint, and worked no miracles; secondly, Cardinal Anthony, who was a monk, and had no patience; thirdly, Cardinal Anthony the younger, who was an orator (*i.e.* an ambassador), and did not know how to speak; while the fourth was a general, who did not know how to draw the sword.'—*Goethe*, '*Römische Briefe*.'

The **Library** (open on Thursdays from 9 to 2) contains a valuable collection of MSS., about 8000 in number, brought together by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII. They include collections of letters of Galileo, Bembo, and Bellarmino; the official reports to Urban VIII. relating to the state of Catholicism in England in the time of Charles I.; a copy of the Bible in the Samaritan character; a Bible of the fourth century; several manuscript copies of Dante; a missal illuminated by Ghirlandajo; and a book of sketches of ancient Roman edifices, of 1465, by Giuliano di Sangallo—most interesting to the antiquarian and architect, as preserving the forms of many public buildings which have disappeared since that date. Among the 50,000 printed books is a Hebrew Bible of 1788, one of the twelve known copies of the complete edition of Soncino; a Latin Plato, by Ficino, with marginal notes by Tasso and his father Bernardo; a Dante of 1477, with notes by Bembo, &c.

[1] Silvagni.

In the right wing is a huge *Hall* (adorned with second-rate statues), with a grand ceiling by *Pietro da Cortona* (1596–1669), representing 'Il Trionfo della Gloria,' the Forge of Vulcan, Minerva annihilating the Titans, and other mythological subjects—much admired by Lanzi, and considered by Kugler to be the most important work of the artist. Four vast frescoes of the Fathers of the Church are preserved here, having been removed from the dome of S. Peter's, where they were replaced with mosaics by Urban VIII. Below are other frescoes by *Pietro da Cortona*, a portrait of Urban VIII., and some tapestries illustrative of the events of his reign and of his own intense self-esteem: thus the Virgin and Angels are represented bringing in the ornaments of the papacy at his coronation, &c. But the conceit of Pope Urban reaches its climax in a room at the top of the house, which exhibits a number of the Barberini bees (the family badge) flocking against the sun, and eclipsing it—to typify the splendour of the family. The will of Pope Urban VIII. is a curious document, providing against the extinction of the family in every apparent contingency. This, however, now seems likely to take place; the heir is a Sciarra. In the room adjoining the great hall are busts of Urban VIII. and his nephews, and several other fine works of sculpture, including a drunken faun, attributed to Michelangelo, and a veiled statue by a Portuguese artist. The pillars in front of the palace, and all the surrounding buildings, teem with the bees of the Barberini, which may also be seen on the Propaganda and many other great Roman edifices, and which are creeping up the robe of Urban VIII. in S. Peter's. Altogether, the Barberini, more perhaps than any other Roman palace, retains reminiscences of the stately old days when, instead of a meretricious fountain lighted by electricity, torches blazed on every alternate step of the great staircase to receive a Cardinal; and when not only the palace, but the houses of the street as far as S. Teresa were hung with splendid old tapestries, if a prince of the house of Barberini was to be buried.[1]

On the right, on entering the palace, is the small **Collection of Pictures** (open daily from 11 till 4, when the custode chooses to be there), indifferently lodged for a building so magnificent. Most of the pictures are doubtful, but we may notice:—

1st Room:—

5. *Domenichino:* Adam and Eve.

2nd Room:—

65. *Andrea Sacchi:* Urban VIII.
38. *Titian:* Cardinal Pietro Bembo, *c.* 1520; retouched.
72. *Francia:* Madonna and Child, S. John and S. Jerome.
64. *Giovanni Bellini* (?): Madonna and Child.
68. *Mengs:* Daughter of Raphael Mengs.
78. *Masaccio* (?): Portrait of himself.

[1] The Princess Barberini Sacchetti sold to the Louvre (1902) the famous ivory diptych of Constantine and a Siculo-Arab vase of great importance. The tapestries bearing the arms of Urban VIII. have gone to America.

3rd Room :—

76. *School of Palma Vecchio :* The 'Schiava.'

'This picture, with a totally unmeaning name, taken from the manacles on the hands, is attributed to Titian, but one of the well-known "daughters of Palma Vecchio" was evidently the model.'—*Kugler.*

79. *Claude Lorraine :* Castel Gandolfo.
81. *Bronzino :* Portrait.
82. *Albert Dürer :* Christ among the Doctors—painted in five days, in 1506.

'Affreux docteurs, laids comme leur science, et vieux comme leurs grimoires.'—*Emile Montégut.*

86. **Raffaelle** : The Fornarina. The painter's name occurs on the armlet. Authorities nevertheless attribute the picture to Sebastiano del Piombo.

'The history of this person, to whom Raffaelle was attached even to his death, is obscure, nor are we very clear with regard to her likenesses. In the Tribune at Florence there is a portrait, inscribed with the date 1512, of a very beautiful woman holding the fur lining of her mantle with her right hand, which is said to represent her. The picture is decidedly by Raffaelle, but can hardly represent the Fornarina; at least it has no resemblance to this portrait, which has the name of Raffaelle on the armlet, and of the authenticity of which (particularly with respect to the subject) there can hardly be a doubt. In this the figure is seated, and is uncovered to the waist; she draws a light drapery around her; a shawl is twisted round her head. The execution is beautiful and delicate, although the lines are sufficiently defined: the forms are fine and not without beauty, but at the same time not free from an expression of coarseness and common life. The eyes are large, dark, and full of fire, and seem to speak of brighter days. There are repetitions of this picture, from the school of Raffaelle, in Roman galleries.'—*Kugler.*

89. *Pontormo :* Pygmalion.
90. *N. Poussin* : Death of Germanicus.
99. *Andrea del Sarto* (?) : Holy Family.
97. *School of Botticelli :* Annunciation.

But the interest of this collection centres entirely around two portraits—that (85) of Lucrezia, the unhappy second wife of Francesco Cenci, by *Scipione Caëtani*, and that (88) called Beatrice Cenci, and long supposed to have been by Guido Reni (1575–1642), who was, however, a mere boy at the time of the execution of the Cenci, and was not in Rome at all during their lifetime, and first painted there in 1608.[1]

'The portrait of Beatrice Cenci is most interesting as a just representation of one of the loveliest specimens of the workmanship of nature. There is a fixed and pale composure upon the features; she seems sad and stricken down in spirit, yet the despair thus expressed is lightened by the patience of gentleness. Her head is bound with folds of white drapery, from which the yellow strings of her golden hair escape, and fall about her neck. The moulding of her face is exquisitely delicate; the eyebrows are distinct and arched; the lips have that permanent meaning of imagination and sensibility which suffering has not repressed, and which it seems as if death scarcely could extinguish. Her forehead is large and clear; her eyes, which we are told were remarkable for their vivacity, are swollen with weeping and lustreless, but beautifully tender and serene. In the whole mien there

[1] That this picture was seen and admired by Guido Reni is evident from his introduction of the head, drapery, &c., in his famous fresco at S. Gregorio. The picture is not mentioned in the Barberini catalogues of 1604 and 1623, the former of which was compiled only five years after the death of Beatrice.

is a simplicity and dignity which, united with her exquisite loveliness and deep sorrow, is inexpressibly pathetic. Beatrice Cenci appears to have been one of those persons in whom energy and gentleness dwell together without destroying one another; her nature simple and profound. The crimes and miseries in which she was an actor and sufferer are as the mask and the mantle in which circumstances clothed her for her impersonation on the scene of the world.'—*Shelley's Preface to 'The Cenci'*

'The picture of Beatrice Cenci represents simply a female head; a very youthful, girlish, perfectly beautiful face, enveloped in white drapery, from beneath which strays a lock or two of what seems a rich, though hidden, luxuriance of auburn hair. The eyes are large and brown, and meet those of the spectator, evidently with a strange, ineffectual effort to escape. There is a little redness about the eyes, very slightly indicated, so that you would question whether or no the girl had been weeping. The whole face is very quiet; there is no distortion or disturbance of any single feature; nor is it easy to see why the expression is not cheerful, or why a single touch of the artist's pencil should not brighten it into joyousness.'—*Hawthorne.*

Until late years, there was a pretty old-fashioned garden belonging to this palace, at one corner of which—overhanging an old statue—stood the celebrated Barberini Pine, often drawn by artists from the Via Sterrata at the back of the garden, where statue and pine combined well with the Church of S. Caio; but this magnificent tree was cut down in 1872, the church has been destroyed, and the garden greatly curtailed.

At the back of the palace-court, behind the arched bridge (from right wing) leading to the garden, is—let into the wall—an inscription which formed part of the dedication of the arch once spanning the Corso by the Palazzo Sciarra, erected to Claudius by the senate and people, in honour of his conquest of Britain, A.D. 46. The letters were inlaid with bronze. In front of the palace, a statue of Thorwaldsen commemorates the fact of his studio having been situated in the neighbouring street.

Ascending to the summit of the hill, we find four ugly statues of river-gods sprawling over the Quattro Fontane, from which the street takes its name.

On the left is the Palazzo Albani del Drago, restored by the late Queen Christina of Spain. Here on the staircase are two of the curious representations in *opus sectile marmoreum* which formerly adorned the Church of S. Antonio in Catabarbara, near S. Prassede.

'In one of the palace rooms is a very ancient painting of Jupiter and Ganymede, in a very uncommon style, uniting considerable grandeur of conception, great force and decision, and a deep tone and colour, which produce great effect. It is said to be Grecian.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The opposite church, **S. Carlo a Quattro Fontane**, is worth observing, from the fact that the whole building, church and convent, corresponds in area with one of the four piers supporting the cupola of S. Peter's. Here was formed the point of attack against the Quirinal Palace, November 16, 1848, which caused the flight of Pius IX., disguised as a servant, and the downfall of his government. From a window of this convent the shot was fired which killed Monsignore Pellegrino Rossi, one of the pontifical secretaries, a writer on ecclesiastical history, who had unfortunately exposed himself

at a window opposite. The church contains two pictures b *Mignard*, relating to the history of S. Carlo.

Turning (right) down Via del Quirinale, one side of the stree is occupied by the immense portion of the Quirinal Palace formerl used for the accommodation of the cardinals when collected an imprisoned during Papal conclaves. On the left is **S. Andrea de Noviziato** (on the supposed site of the Temple of Quirinus), erecte as is told by an inscription inside, by Camillo Pamfili, nephe of Innocent X., from designs of Bernini. It has a Corinthia façade and a projecting semicircular Ionic portico. The interic is oval. It is exceedingly florid, being almost entirely lined wit red marble streaked with white (Sicilian jasper), divided by whit marble pillars supporting a gilt cupola. The high altar—sup posed to cover the body of S. Zeno—between really magnificen pillars, is surmounted by a fine picture, by *O. Courtois*, of th crucifixion of S. Andrew. Near this is the tomb, by *Festa*, c Emmanuel IV., king of Sardinia, who abdicated his throne in 180 to become a Jesuit monk in the adjoining convent, where he die in 1818. On the right is the chapel of Santa Croce, with thre pictures of the passion and death of Christ, by *Brandini;* and the of S. Francis Xavier, with three pictures by *Baccicio*, representin the Saint preaching—baptizing an Indian queen—and lying dea in the island of Sancian in China (1552). On the left is the chap of the Virgin, with pictures, by *David*, of the three Jesuit saints— S. Ignatius Loyola, S. Francis Borgia, and S. Luigi Gonzaga— adoring the Virgin, and, by *Gérard de la Nuit*, of the Adoration the Shepherds and of the Magi; and lastly the chapel of S. Stanisla Kostka, containing his shrine of gold and lapis-lazuli, under a exceedingly rich altar, which is adorned with a beautiful pictur by *Carlo Maratta*, representing the saint receiving the infant Jesu from the arms of His mother. At the sides of the chapel are tw other pictures by *Maratta*, one of which represents S. Stanisla 'bathing with water his breast inflamed with divine love,' the othe his receiving the Host from the hands of an angel. These are th three principal incidents in the story of the young S. Stanisla who belonged to a noble Polish family and abandoned the worl to shut himself up here, saying, 'I am not born for the good thing of this world; that which my heart desires is the good things eternity.'

'I have long ago exhausted all my capacity of admiration for splendid i teriors of churches; but methinks this little, little temple (it is not more tha fifty or sixty feet across) has a more perfect and gem-like beauty than an other. Its shape is oval, with an oval dome, and above that another litt dome, both of which are magnificently frescoed. Around the base of th larger dome is wreathed a flight of angels, and the smaller and upper one encircled by a garland of cherubs—cherub and angel all of pure whi marble. The oval centre of the church is walled round with precious an lustrous marble, of a red-veined variety interspersed with columns and pila ters of white; and there are arches, opening through this rich wall, forr ing chapels, which the architect seems to have striven hard to make ev more gorgeous than the main body of the church. The pavement is o star of various tinted marbles.'—*Hawthorne*, '*Notes on Italy*.'

Pope Leo XIII. (Vincenzo Pecci) said his first mass in this chapel. Early mass in the church is frequently attended by Queen Margherita—'the Pearl of Savoy.'

The adjoining **Convent of the Noviciate of the Order of Jesus** contains the room in which S. Stanislas Kostka died, at the age of eighteen, with his reclining statue by *Le Gros*, the body in white, his dress (that of a novice) in black, and the couch upon which he lies in yellow marble. Beyond his statue is a picture of a celestial vision which consoled him in his last moments. On the day of his death, November 13th, the convent is thrown open, and mass is said without ceasing in this chamber, which is visited by thousands.

'La petite chambre de S. Stanislas Kostka est un de ces lieux où la prière naît spontanément dans le cœur, et s'en échappe comme par un cours naturel.' —*Veuillot*, '*Parfum de Rome*.'[1]

In the neighbouring corridor of the convent, the original doors which led to the cells of S. Francesco Borgia and S. Ignazio della Vigna are preserved. In the convent garden is shown the fountain where 'the angels used to bathe the breast of S. Stanislas burning with the love of Christ.'

Near this church was discovered in 1889 one of the ancient altars erected to demand the divine protection against fire, after the great conflagration under Nero.

Gardens now occupy the site of the old Benedictine convent, which had a courtyard containing a sarcophagus used as a fountain, and a humble church decorated with rude frescoes of S. Benedict and S. Scholastica; also of a small and popular church, rich in marbles, belonging to the *Perpetue Adoratrici del Divino Sacramento del Altare*, founded by Sister Maddalena of the Incarnation, who died 1829, and was buried on the right of the entrance. Here the low monotonous chant of the perpetual adoration might be constantly heard in old days. These buildings were all destroyed in 1888, to make a garden in front of the rooms which were to be occupied for a few days by the Emperor of Germany! In this hitherto sacred position, a monument to King Charles Albert of Savoy (a personage wholly unconnected with Rome) was erected in 1898.

The **Piazza di Monte Cavallo** has in its centre the red granite obelisk (ninety-five feet high with its base) erected here by Antinori in 1781 for Pius VI. It was originally brought from Egypt by Domitian, together with the obelisk now in front of S. Maria Maggiore, and they were both first placed at the entrance of the mausoleum of Augustus. At its base are the colossal statues found in the Baths of Constantine, of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, reining in their horses. These statues, which, according to an old tradition, were a present to Nero from Tiridates, give a name to the district. Their bases bear the names of Phidias and Praxiteles, and,

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[1] 'Deus, qui inter caetera sapientiae tuae miracula etiam in tenera aetate maturae sanctitatis gratiam contulisti; da, quaesumus, ut beati Stanislai exemplo, tempus, instanter operando, redimentes, in aeternam ingredi requiem festinemus.'—*Collect of SS. Kostka, Roman Vesper-Book.*

though they have no claim to be the work of such distinguished sculptors, they are probably copies of bronze originals of Greek origin. The original position of the figures—the men facing the horses and holding them in as they rear—has been learnt from coins, and reproduced in statues on the top of the Museum at Berlin, where they have the nicknames of Gehemmter Fortschritt and Beförderter Rückschritt—Progress checked and Retrogression encouraged.

The story of the horses, as believed in the Middle Ages, is given in the *Mirabilia*:—

'In the time of the Emperor Tiberius there came to Rome two young men that were philosophers, named Praxiteles and Phidias, whom the emperor, observing them to be of so much wisdom, kept nigh unto himself in his palace; and he said to them, "Wherefore do ye go abroad naked?" who answered and said, "Because all things are naked and open to us, and we hold the world of no account, therefore we go naked and possess nothing;" and they said, "Whatsoever thou, most mighty emperor, shalt devise in thy chamber by day or night, albeit we be absent, we will tell it thee every word." "If ye shall do that ye say," said the emperor, "I will give you what thing soever ye shall desire." They answered and said, "We ask no money, but only a memorial to us." And when the next day was come, they showed unto the emperor in order whatsoever he had thought of in that night. Therefore, he made them the memorial that he had promised, to wit, the naked horses, which trample on the earth—that is, upon the mighty princes of the world that rule over the men of this world; and there shall come a full mighty king, which shall mount the horses, that is upon the might of the princes of this world. Meanwhile there be the two men half naked, which stand by the horses, and with arms raised on high and bent fingers tell the things that are to be; and as they be naked, so is all worldly knowledge naked and open to their minds.'—*Trans. by F. M. Nichols.*

'From this fable, wild and absurd as it is, we may nevertheless draw the inference that the statues had been handed down from time immemorial as the works of Phidias and Praxiteles, though those artists had in the lapse of ages been metamorphosed into philosophers. May we not also assume the existence of a tradition that the statues were brought to Rome in the reign of Tiberius? In the Middle Ages the group appears to have been accompanied by a statue of Medusa, sitting at their feet, and having before her a shell. According to the text of the *Mirabilia*, as given by Montfaucon in his *Diarium Italicum*, this figure represented the Church. The snakes which surrounded her typified the volumes of Scripture, which nobody could approach unless he had first been washed—that is, baptized—in the water of the shell. But the Prague MS. of the *Mirabilia* interprets the female figure to represent Science, and the serpents to typify the disputed questions with which she is concerned.'—*Dyer's 'Hist. of the City of Rome.'*

'Ye too, marvellous Twain, that erect on the Monte Cavallo
Stand by your rearing steeds in the grace of your motionless movement,
Stand with upstretched arms and tranquil regardant faces,
Stand as instinct with life in the might of immutable manhood,—
O ye mighty and strange, ye ancient divine ones of Hellas.'

—*Clough.*

'Pius VI. changed the position of the statues and turned them round, and the ever-conservative and ever-discontented Roman people were disgusted by the change. On the pedestal of one of them are the words "Opus Phidiae." A punning placard was at once stuck upon the inscription with the legend, "Opus Perfidiae Pii Sexti."'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Close by is a fountain playing into a fine basin of Egyptian granite, which was found, near S. Martina, beneath the statue of Marforio when it was moved to the Capitol *c.* 1544. The basin was set up in 1593 near the Temple of Castor and Pollux, where it was

used for watering cattle, till it was brought to its present position in 1817 by Pius VII.

On the left is the **Palace of the Consulta**, built in 1730 by Clement XII. (Corsini), from designs of Fuga. Before its gates, under the popes, some of the Guardia Nobile were always to be seen sunning themselves in a uniform so resplendent that it was scarcely to be believed that the pay of this 'noble guard' of the Pope amounted only to £5, 6s. 3d. a month.

On the right is the immense **Palace of the Quirinal**, 1574, now the **Royal Palace**, which also extends along the side of the street we have been pursuing (anciently, the 'Alta Semita'). It may be visited on Thursday and Sunday from 12 to 3, with a permesso to be obtained between 10 and 12 at the Ministero della Casa Reale, at 30 Via del Quirinale, near S. Andrea.

'That palace-building, ruin-destroying pope, Gregory XIII., began to erect the enormous palace on the Quirinal Hill; and the prolongation of his labours, by a long series of successive pontiffs, has made it one of the largest and ugliest buildings extant.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The chief, indeed almost the only, interest of this palace arises from its having been the favourite residence of Pius VII. (Chiaramonte). It was here that he was taken prisoner by the French. General Radet forced his way into the pope's room on the night of June 6th, 1809, and, while excusing himself for being the messenger, hastily intimated to the pontiff, in the name of the emperor, that he must at once abdicate his temporal sovereignty. Pius absolutely refused, upon which he was forced to descend the staircase, and found a coach waiting at the entrance of the palace. Here the pope paused, his face streaming with tears, and, standing in the starlit piazza, solemnly extended his hands in benediction over his sleeping people. Then he entered the carriage, followed by Cardinal Pacca, and was hurried away to exile. . . . 'Whirled away through the heat and dust of an Italian summer's day, without an attendant, without linen, without his spectacles—fevered and wearied, he never for a moment lost his serenity. Cardinal Pacca tells us, that when they had just started on this most dismal of journeys, the pope asked him if he had any money. The secretary of state replied, that he had had no opportunity of providing himself. "We then drew forth our purses," continues the cardinal, "and, notwithstanding the state of affliction we were in at being thus torn away from Rome and all that was dear to us, we could hardly compose our countenances, on finding the contents of each purse to consist—of the pope's, of a papetto (10d.), and of mine, of three grossi (7½d.). We had precisely thirty-five baiocchi between us. The pope, extending his hand, showed his papetto to General Radet, saying, at the same time, "Look here—this is all I possess."'[1] . . . Six years after Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, and Pius VII. returned in triumph to Rome!

It was from this same palace that Pius IX.—who never afterwards inhabited it—made his escape to Gaëta disguised, during the Revolution of 1848, when the siege of the Quirinal by the insurgents had succeeded in extorting the appointment of a democratic ministry.

'On the afternoon of November 24th, the Duc d'Harcourt had arrived at the Quirinal in his coach as ambassador of France, and craved an audience of the sovereign. The guards wondered that he stayed so long; but they knew not that he sat reading the newspapers in the papal study, while the pope had retired to his bedroom to change his dress. Here his major-domo, Filippani,

[1] Cardinal Wiseman's '*Life of Pius VII.*'

had laid out the black cassock and dress of an ordinary priest. The pontiff took off his purple stole and white pontifical robe, and came forth in the simple garb he had worn in his quiet youth. The Duc d'Harcourt threw himself on his knees, exclaiming, "Go forth, holy Father; divine wisdom inspires this counsel, divine power will lead it to a happy end." By secret passages and narrow staircases Pius IX. and his trusty servant passed unseen to a little door, used only occasionally for the Swiss guards, and by which they were to leave the palace. They reached it, and bethought them that the key had been forgotten! Filippani hastened back to the papal apartment to fetch it; and returning unquestioned to the wicket, found the pontiff on his knees, and quite absorbed in prayer. The wards were rusty, and the key turned with difficulty; but the door was opened at last, and the holy fugitive and his servant quickly entered a poor hackney coach that was waiting for them outside. Here again they ran the risk of being discovered through the thoughtless adherence to old etiquette of the other servant, who stood by the coach, and who, having let down the steps, knelt, as usual, before he shut the door.

'The pope wore a dark greatcoat over his priest's cassock, a low-crowned round hat, and a broad brown woollen neckcloth outside his straight Roman collar. Filippani had on his usual loose cloak; but under this he carried the three-cornered hat of the pope, a bundle of the most private and secret papers, the papal seals, the breviary, the cross-embroidered slippers, a small quantity of linen, and a little box full of gold medals stamped with the likeness of his Holiness. From the inside of the carriage he directed the coachman to follow many winding and diverging streets, in the hope of misleading the spies, who were known to swarm at every corner. Beside the Church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, in the deserted quarter beyond the Coliseum, they found the Bavarian minister, Count Spaur, waiting in his own private carriage, and imagining every danger which could have detained them so long. The sovereign pressed the hand of his faithful Filippani and entered the Count's carriage. Silently they drove on through the old gate of Rome—Count Spaur having there shown the passport of the Bavarian minister going to Naples on affairs of state.

'Meanwhile the Duc d'Harcourt grew tired of reading the newspapers in the pope's study; and when he thought that his Holiness must be far beyond the walls of Rome, he left the palace, and taking post-horses, hastened with all speed to overtake the fugitive on the road to Civita Vecchia, whither he believed him to be flying. As he left the study in the Quirinal, a prelate entered with a large bundle of ecclesiastical papers, on which, he said, he had to confer with the pope; then his chamberlain went in to read to him his breviary and the office of the day. The rooms were lighted up, and the supper taken in as usual; and at length it was stated that his Holiness, feeling somewhat unwell, had retired to rest; and his attendants and the guard of honour were dismissed for the night. It is true that a certain prelate, who chanced to see the little door by which the fugitive had escaped into the street left open, began to cry out, "The pope has escaped! the pope has escaped!" But Prince Gabrielli was beside him, and clapping his hand upon the mouth of the alarmist, silenced him in time, by whispering, "Be quiet, Monsignore; be quiet, or we shall be cut to pieces!"

'Near La Riccia, the fugitives found Countess Spaur (who had arranged the whole plan of the escape) waiting with a coach and six horses, in which they pursued their journey to Gaëta, reaching the Neapolitan frontier between five and six in the morning. The pope throughout carried with him the sacrament in the pyx which Pius the Seventh carried when he was taken prisoner to France, and which, as if with prescience of what would happen, had been lately sent to him as a memorial by the Bishop of Valence. —*Beste.*

On the death of Pius VII. in the Quirinal Palace, the cardinals met here for the election of his successor, in accordance with the law prescribing that a Conclave shall meet in the palace where the pope dies. Without warranty of any kind, however, the conclaves which resulted in the elections of Leo XII., Pius VIII.,

Gregory XVI., and Pius IX., also met in the Quirinal Palace, to the desertion of the Vatican.

'In the afternoon of the last day of the novendiali, as they are called, after the death of a pope, the cardinals assemble (at S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo), and walk in procession, accompanied by their conclavisti, a secretary, a chaplain, and a servant or two, to the great gate of the royal residence, in which one will remain as master and supreme lord. Of course the hill is crowded by persons lining the avenue kept open for the procession. Cardinals never before seen by them, or not for many years, pass before them; eager eyes scan and measure them, and try to conjecture, from fancied omens in eye, in figure, or in expression, who will be shortly the sovereign of their fair city; and, what is much more, the head of the Catholic Church, from the rising to the setting sun. They all enter equal over the threshold of that gate: they share together the supreme rule, spiritual and temporal: there is still embosomed in them all the voice, yet silent, that will soon sound from one tongue over all the world, and the dormant germ of that authority which will soon again be concentrated in one man alone. To-day they are all equal; perhaps to-morrow one will sit enthroned, and all the rest will kiss his feet; one will be sovereign, and others his subjects; one the shepherd, and the others his flock. . . .

'From the Quirinal Palace stretches out, the length of a whole street, an immense wing, divided in its two upper floors into a great number of small but complete suites of apartments, occupied permanently or occasionally by persons attached to the Court. During conclave these are allotted, literally so, to the cardinals, each of whom lives apart with his own attendants. His food is brought daily from his own house, and is overhauled, and delivered to him in the shape of "broken victuals," by the watchful guardians of the *turns* and lattices, through which alone anything, even conversation, can penetrate into the seclusion of that sacred retreat. For a few hours the first evening the doors are left open, and the nobility, the diplomatic body, and, in fact, all presentable persons, may roam from cell to cell, paying a brief compliment to its occupant, perhaps speaking the same good wishes to fifty, which they know can only be accomplished in one. After that, all is closed. A wicket is left accessible for any cardinal to enter who is not yet arrived; but every aperture is jealously guarded by faithful janitors, judges and prelates of various tribunals, who relieve one another. Every letter even is opened and read, that no communications may be held with the outer world. The very street on which the wing of the conclave looks is barricaded and guarded by a picket at each end; and as, fortunately, opposite there are no private residences, and all the buildings have access from the back, no inconvenience is thereby created. . . . In the meantime, within, and unseen from without, *fervet opus*.

'Twice a day the cardinals meet in the chapel belonging to the palace, included in the enclosure, and there, on tickets so arranged that the voter's name cannot be seen, write the name of him for whom they give their suffrage. These papers are examined in their presence, and if the number of votes given to any one do not constitute the majority, they are burnt in such a manner that the smoke (the *spumata*), issuing through a flue, is visible to the crowd usually assembled in the square outside. Some day, instead of this usual signal to disperse, the sound of pick and hammer is heard, a small opening is seen in the wall which had temporarily blocked up the great window over the palace gateway. At last the masons of the conclave have opened a rude door, through which steps out on the balcony the first cardinal deacon, and proclaims to the many, or to the few, who may happen to be in waiting, that they again possess a sovereign and a pontiff.'[1]—*Cardinal Wiseman.*

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[1] The form of the announcement in the case of Pius IX. was: "Nuntio vobis gaudium magnum: Papam habemus eminentissimum et reverendissimum dominum Joannem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem Mastai-Ferretti, Presbyterum sub titulo Sancti Marcellini et Petri, qui nomen sibi adscivit Pium IX.'

The palace was seized in October 1871 by Victor Emmanuel II., who died here January 9, 1878, having received in his last hours a sublime message of pardon from the pontiff he had outraged, and who would have come in person to give the deathbed absolution if he had not been forcibly prevented by his all-powerful masters, the Jesuits.

'When the Italians had taken Rome, a detachment of soldiers, accompanied by a smith and his assistants, marched up to the gate of the Quirinal. Not a soul was within, and they had instructions to enter and take possession of the palace. In the presence of a small and silent crowd of sullen-looking men of the people, the doors were forced.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The palace is now the residence of King Vittorio Emmanuele III. and Queen Elena. The interior of the building is little worth seeing. On the landing of the principal staircase, in a bad light, is a very important fresco of 'the Ascension' by **Melozzo da Forli**, a rare master allied to the Paduan school.[1]

'On the vaulted ceiling of a chapel in the Church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, Melozzo executed a work (1472) which, in those times, can have admitted of comparison with few. When the chapel was rebuilt in the eighteenth century some fragments were saved. That comprehending the Creator between angels was removed to a staircase in the Quirinal Palace, while single figures of angels were placed in the sacristy of S. Peter's. These detached portions suffice to show a beauty and fulness of form, and a combination of earthly and spiritual grandeur, comparable in their way to the noblest productions of Titian, although in mode of execution rather recalling Correggio. Here, as in the cupola frescoes of Correggio himself, half a century later, we trace that constant effort at true perspective of the figure, hardly in character, perhaps, with high ecclesiastical art; the drapery, also, is of a somewhat formless description; but the grandeur of the principal figure, the grace and freshness of the little adoring cherubs, and the elevated beauty of the angels are expressed with an easy naïveté, to which only the best works of Mantegna and Signorelli can compare.'—*Kugler.*

Beyond the great hall, one hundred and ninety feet long, occur a number of rooms which were fitted up by Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. for their summer residence. Several apartments have mosaic pavements, brought hither from pagan edifices. In one chamber Pius VII. was taken prisoner; in the next he died. The room, which is decorated with a modern tapestry of the martyrdom of S. Stephen, has a plaster frieze, being the original cast of the triumph of Alexander the Great, modelled for Napoleon by *Thorwaldsen.*

The *Private Chapel of the Popes*, opening from the picture-gallery, contains a magnificent picture of the Annunciation by *Guido*, and frescoes portraying the life of the Virgin by *Albani.*

The *Palazzino* has been erected for the accommodation of the Duchess of Genoa and other members of the royal family during their visits to Rome.

The **Gardens** *of the Quirinal*, which, under the Papal government, were a delightful resort for strangers, are usually closed to the

[1] By this same master (1438–94) are the interesting fresco of Sixtus IV. with his nephews, now in the Vatican gallery, and the angels playing instruments of music in the sacristy of S. Peter's. He was court-painter to Federigo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino.

public. They are in the stiff old style of box hedges and clipped avenues which we know to have been popular here even before imperial times. John Evelyn (1644) found them amongst 'the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome.' Pliny, in his account of his Tusculan villa, describes his gardens decorated with 'figures of different animals, cut in box; evergreens clipped into a thousand different shapes; sometimes into letters forming different names; walls and hedges of cut box, and trees shaped into family portraits.' But the Quirinal gardens were also worth visiting, on account of the many pretty glimpses they afford of S. Peter's and other distant buildings, and the oddity of some of the devices—an organ played by water, &c. The Casino, built by Fuga, has frescoes by *Orizonte*, *Pompeo Battoni*, *Pannini*, and *Masucci*.

(The *Royal Stables* may be visited with an order from the Palazzo S. Felice, 21 Via della Dataria, from 12 to 3; or, without an order, on Thursday and Sunday from 10 to 12.)

If we turn to the left (with our backs to the front of the palace) we reach—on the left—the entrance to the courtyard of the **Palazzo Rospigliosi**, built by Flaminio Ponzio, in 1603, for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on a portion of the site of the Baths of Constantine, which he was permitted by Paul V. to demolish, together with four churches, in order to make room for it. It was inhabited by Cardinal Bentivoglio, and sold by him to Cardinal Mazarin, who enlarged it from designs of Carlo Maderno. His father died there. His niece brought it to the Dukes of Nevers, who (*c.* 1668) sold it to the Prince Rospigliosi, brother of the reigning Pope, Clement X. From the time of Mazarin to 1704 it was inhabited by French ambassadors. It now belongs to two brothers.

The palace itself is not shown, but the *Casino* is open on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 9 to 3. It is situated at the end of a very small but pretty garden planted with magnolias, and consists of three chambers. On the vault of the central room is the famous **Aurora of Guido.**

'Guido's **Aurora** is the very type of haste and impetus: for surely no man ever imagined such hurry and tumult, such sounding and clashing. Painters maintain that it is lighted from two sides—they have my full permission to light *theirs* from three if it will improve them, but the difference lies elsewhere.'—*Mendelssohn's Letters*, p. 91.

'This is the noblest work of Guido. It is embodied poetry. The Hours, that hand in hand encircle the car of Phoebus, advance with rapid pace. The paler, milder forms of those gentle sisters who rule over declining day, and the glowing glance of those who bask in the meridian blaze, resplendent in the hues of heaven, are of no mortal grace and beauty; but they are eclipsed by Aurora herself, who sails on the golden clouds before them, shedding "showers of shadowing roses" on the rejoicing earth; her celestial presence diffusing gladness, and light, and beauty around. Above the heads of the heavenly coursers hovers the morning star, in the form of a youthful cherub, bearing his flaming torch. Nothing is more admirable in this beautiful composition than the motion given to the whole: the smooth and rapid step of the circling Hours as they tread on the fleecy clouds; the fiery steeds; the whirling wheels of the car; the torch of Lucifer, blown back by the velocity of his advance; and the form of Aurora, borne through the ambient air, till you almost fear she should float from your sight.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'The work of Guido is more poetic than that of Guercino, and luminous, and soft, and harmonious. Cupid, Aurora, Phoebus, form a climax of beauty, and the Hours seem as light as the clouds on which they dance.'—*Forsyth.*

Lanzi points out that Guido always took the Venus de' Medici and the Niobe as his favourite models, and that there is scarcely one of his large pictures in which the Niobe or one of her sons is not introduced, yet with such dexterity that the theft is scarcely perceptible.

The frescoes of the frieze are by *Tempesta;* the four landscapes by *Paul Brill.* Two columns, twelve feet high, are, with the steps at S. Prassede, the finest known specimens of the Greek marble—rosso-antico (Cape Matapan). In the hall are busts, statues, and a bronze horse found in the ruins of the Baths.

There is a collection of pictures, but few of importance. In the room on the left is the beautiful *Danielle di Volterra* of our Saviour bearing His cross. In the same room are two large pictures—(81) David triumphing with the head of Goliath, *Domenichino;* and (64) Perseus rescuing Andromeda, *Guido.* No. 48 is a Holy Family by *Luca Signorelli.* In the room on the right are—Adam gathering fig-leaves, in a Paradise which resembles a menagerie, *Domenichino;* and (35) Samson pulling down the house upon the Philistines, *Ludovico Caracci.* Here also is a remarkable picture (32) of Juno chastising Cupid, by **Lorenzo Lotto**, full of life, motion, and fury.

In digging foundations for the Theatro Nazionale here, was found the celebrated bronze Boxer of the Terme Museum.

'Mr. Mündler showed his appreciation of this finely conceived and carefully executed painting, and called it "The Victory of Chastity." It might with equal fitness be named Juno taking righteous vengeance on Venus. Juno, wrapped in a green mantle, with a white drapery about her head, brandishes aloft Cupid's broken bow, and seems about to pour forth the vials of her wrath upon Venus. The goddess of love—a violet mantle about her, pearls in her fair hair, a brilliant star glowing on her brow, and gold chains round her neck—seeks to shield Cupid from the fury of the queen of heaven. The little god, with his many-coloured wings, cowers behind her with tearful face. The name Laurentius Lottus is still visible on a "cartellino."'—*Morelli.*

It sadly needs reframing: the present frame interferes with the outline of Venus.

A bronze bust represents the Rospigliosi Pope, Clement IX.

A second small garden belonging to this palace is well worth seeing in May for its wealth of camellias, azaleas, and Banksian roses. In the palace, Benvenuto Cellini's famous salt-cellar is preserved—a shell resting on an enamel dragon.

During 1901-2 a tunnel for traffic was constructed through this hill, from the Via dei Giardini to the Via Nazionale, which passes beneath the gardens of the palace.

Opposite the Rospigliosi Palace is the handsome entrance to the **Colonna Gardens** (which may be seen on Wednesdays from 11 to 3 by ringing at a bell by a door near the Quirinal). The gardens are connected with the Palace in the Piazza SS. Apostoli by a series of bridges across the intervening street (Via della Pilotta). Here, on a lofty terrace which has a fine view towards the Capitol, and overshadowed by grand cypresses, are remains long supposed to belong

to the Temple of the Sun (fragments of Corinthian cornice, one of them being the largest block of marble in Rome, and weighing twenty-seven tons), built by Aurelian (A.D. 270–275), but now considered to be decorations of the entrance to the **Baths of Constantine**. At the other end of the terrace, looking down through two barns into a kind of pit, we can see some vestiges of the baths—built A.D. 326—and of the great staircase which led up to them from the valley below. The portico of these baths remained erect till the time of Clement XII. (1730–40), and was adorned with four marble statues, of which two—those of the two Constantines—may now be seen on the terrace of the Capitol, and a third in the Portico of the Lateran.

Beneath the magnificent cypress-trees on the slope of the hill are several fine sarcophagi. Only the stem is preserved of the historical pine-tree planted (it was said) on the day on which Cola di Rienzi died, and which was one of the great ornaments of the city until 1848, when it was broken in an ominous storm. These gardens, with their temple-ruins, statues, cypresses, birds, and flowers, are the most beautiful which the recent commercial speculations have spared to Rome. Incredible, however, as it may seem, the historic family of Colonna would have sold the upper part of them for building land, if the Government had not interfered, on account of the two pagan ruins which they contain.

Just beyond the end of the garden is the **Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo**—belonging to the Missionaries of S. Vincent de Paul, in which the cardinals used to meet before going in procession to the conclave. It is mentioned in tenth-century documents. The **cupola** of the south transept has frescoes by *Domenichino*, of David dancing before the Ark, the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, Judith with the head of Holofernes, and Esther fainting before Ahasuerus. These are considered by Lanzi as some of the finest frescoes of the master. Over the **altar** is an Assumption, painted on slate, considered the masterpiece of *Scipione Caëtani*. The last chapel but one on the left has a ceiling by *Cav. d'Arpino*, and frescoes on the wall by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*. The picture over the altar, representing S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena, is by *Mariotto Albertinelli*. Cardinal Bentivoglio—who wrote the history of the wars in Flanders, and lived in the Rospigliosi Palace—is buried here, with Cardinal Gian Giacopo Pancirelli, the one honest minister of the reign of Alexander VI. The adjoining **convent**, beneath which remains of a shrine of Semo Sancus were discovered in 1881,[1] is now the headquarters of the Royal Engineers.

We now reach the height of Magnanapoli (Balnea Pauli) from which the isthmus which joined the Quirinal to the Capitoline was cut away by Trajan for his Forum. Here, beneath the wall of the Villa Aldobrandini, radiant with flowers in spring, is a spacious

[1] The statue of the god and its inscribed pedestal are now in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican. This early Divinity is connected with Jupiter and with Hercules, and is probably identical with Deus Fidius. 'Me Deus Fidius' was a Roman oath, synonymous with 'Me Hercule.'

crossway with a palm, and in the centre of which is preserved a fragment of the ancient wall of the time of King Servius Tullius. Another fragment, in the neighbouring **Palazzo Antonelli**, retains a massive stone archway, supposed to be the **Porta Fontinalis**. The foundations under this arch are important as showing the use of concrete as early as the time of the Kings. The palace was the favourite private residence of that great cardinal, of brigand-ancestry, who was long the prime minister of Pius IX.

'Antonelli was the best hated man of his day, not only in Europe and Italy, but by a large proportion of Churchmen.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Hence the modern Via Nazionale with its tramway leads east direct up to S. Maria degli Angeli, and west, through what was the garden of Antonelli, down to the Piazza Colonna. The turn given to the hill near this, and the effect of the lofty and luxuriant Aldobrandini Garden with its tall palms and cypresses amongst the houses, is, nevertheless, one of the best things done in Rome since 1870. A fine house of the first century A.D., with exquisitely painted walls, was discovered near this in June 1884, but its destruction was at once ordered.

Opposite is the white **Church of S. Caterina di Siena** (1563), possessing some frescoes attributed, on doubtful grounds, to the rare master *Timoteo Vite*. Adjoining is a large Dominican convent, inclosed within the precincts of which is the mediaeval tower, sometimes called the Tower of Nero, but generally known as the **Torre delle Milizie**, *i.e.* of the Roman Militia. It was erected by the sons of Peter Alexius, a baron attached to the party of Senator Pandolfo de Suburra, on the site of a building called 'Hostium Militiae.' The lower part is said to have been built in 1210, the upper in 1294. It leans to the south-west. A little later than those days it was possessed by the Caetani, who sold it to the Annibaldi. In 1312 Giovanni Annibaldi gave it up to the Emperor Henry VII., who had it fitted up for his use during his stormy sojourn in Rome, as being more central and nearer the Colonna strongholds than the Lateran.

'People pass through two regular courses of study at Rome—the first in learning, and the second in unlearning.

'"This is the Tower of Nero, from which he saw the city in flames—and this is the Temple of Concord—and this is the Temple of Castor and Pollux—and this is the Temple of Vesta—and these are the Baths of Paulus Aemilius," and so on, says your lacquey.

'"This is not the Tower of Nero—nor that the Temple of Castor and Pollux—nor the other the Temple of Concord—nor are any of these things what they are called," says your antiquary.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The Convent of S. Caterina (entered from the Salita del Grillo) was built by the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, who requested the advice of Michelangelo on the subject, and was told she had better make the ancient 'Torre' into a belfry. A curious account of the interview in which this subject was discussed, and which took place in the Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, is left us in the memoirs of Francesco d'Olanda, a painter, who was himself present at the conversation.

Near this point are two other brick **mediaeval towers**. One, engrafted in the Via Nazionale, on the left of the descent (R.) to the Piazza Venezia, is that of the Colonna, now called **Tor di Babele**, and is ornamented with three beautiful fragments of sculptured frieze, one of them bearing the device of Colonna, a crowned column rising through a wreath. The other tower, standing in the Salita del Grillo, is called **Torre del Grillo**, from the family of that name.

Beside S. Caterina rises the **Church of SS. Domenico e Sisto** (1640), approached by a handsome double twisted flight of stairs, the effect of which was injured by changes in 1870–77. This church is only open from 7 A.M. until 9 A.M. Over the 2nd altar (left) is a picture of the marriage of S. Catherine by *Allegrani*, and, on the anniversary of her (visionary) marriage (July 19), the dried up hand of the saint is exhibited here, to the comfort of the faithful. More of her is in S. Maria sopra Minerva.

In opening or building the Via Nazionale between this point and the Baths of Diocletian many fragments and foundations of the palaces of illustrious Romans were discovered (and destroyed or reburied) which once lined the **Vicus Longus**. These included, on the right, the magnificent houses of Lucius Naevius Clemens, Publia Materna, C. Articuleius Germanicianus, Tiberius Julius Frugi, C. Julius Avitus, P. Numicius Caesianus, and Scipio Orfitus; faced, on the opposite side of the street, by the houses of the Claudii Claudiani, of M. Postumius Festus, T. Avidius Quietus, the Lampadii, T. Aelius Antonius Severus.

We may turn by SS. Domenico e Sisto into Via Panisperna, or back into the Via Magnanapoli—Baths of Aemilius Paulus, a name once given to ruins on the east side of the Forum of Trajan. The *Mirabilia* speaks of the corruption of the name 'Vado ad Napulim,' supposed in the Middle Ages to have been the exclamation of the wizard Virgil, who, on this spot, being taken by the Romans, escaped invisibly, and went to his beloved Naples. The Tor delle Milizie is best seen from here. In Via Panisperna on the left we pass the **Palazzo Aldobrandini**, with a bright, pleasant-looking court and handsome fountain. The fortunes of this house were founded by Clement VIII., who presented his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, with a million scudi in ready money. Of this family was S. Pietro Aldobrandini, known as S. Pietro Igneo, who was canonised because, in 1067, he walked unhurt, crucifix in hand, through a burning fiery avenue ten feet long before the church door of Settimo, near Florence, to prove an accusation of simony which he had brought against Pietro di Pavia, bishop of that city.

Descending into the Via di Mazzarini (1st turning left), in the hollow between the Quirinal and Viminal, is (R.) the **Convent of S. Agata in Suburra**, through the courtyard of which we enter the **Church of S. Agata dei Goti**. It was built by Ricimer, the king-maker, who was buried here in A.D. 472. S. Maria Maggiore is seen in the distance. But twelve ancient granite columns and a handsome cosmatesque pavement are the only remaining signs of

antiquity. The Ionic caps are gilded. The church now belongs to the Irish Seminary. In the left aisle is the monument of **Daniel O'Connell**, with bas-reliefs by Benzoni, inscribed:—

'This monument contains the heart of O'Connell, who dying at Genoa on his way to the Eternal City, bequeathed his soul to God, his body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome. He is represented at the bar of the British House of Commons in MDCCCXXIX., when he refused to take the anti-Catholic declaration, in these remarkable words: "I at once reject this declaration; part of it I believe to be untrue, and the rest I know to be false." He was born vi. Aug., MDCCLXXVI., and died xv. May, MDCCCXLVII. Erected by Charles Bianconi, the faithful friend of the immortal Liberator, and of Ireland, the land of his adoption.'

At the end of this aisle is a chapel, which Cardinal Antonelli (who had a palace near this) decorated, 1863, with frescoes and arabesques as a burial-place for his family. In the chapel at the head of the R. aisle is a gilt figure of S. Agata—showing the manner in which she suffered.

'Agatha was a maiden of Catania, in Sicily, whither Decius the emperor sent Quintianus as governor. He, inflamed by the beauty of Agatha, tempted her with rich gifts and promises, but she repulsed him with disdain. Then Quintianus ordered her to be bound and beaten with rods, and sent two of his slaves to tear her bosom with iron shears, and, as her blood flowed forth, she said to him, "O thou cruel tyrant! art thou not ashamed to tear me thus?—hast thou not thyself been fed at thy mother's breasts?" Thus only did she murmur. And in the night a venerable man came to her, bearing a vase of ointment, and before him walked a youth bearing a torch. It was the holy apostle Peter, and the youth was an angel; but Agatha knew it not, though such a glorious light filled the prison, that the guards fled in terror. . . . Then S. Peter made himself known and ministered to her, restoring with heavenly balm her wounded breasts.

'Quintianus, infuriated, demanded who had healed her. She replied, "He whom I confess and adore with heart and lips, He hath sent His apostle, who hath healed me." Then Quintianus caused her to be thrown bound upon a great fire, but instantly an earthquake arose, and the people in terror cried, "This visitation is sent because of the sufferings of the maiden Agatha." So he caused her to be taken from the fire, and carried back to prison, where she prayed aloud that, having now proved her faith, she might be freed from pain and see the glory of God; and her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed into eternal glory, Feb. 5th, A.D. 251.'—'*Legende delle SS. Vergini.*'

Agata (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced by the Roman people. On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body I have never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which fadeth not away."'

The tomb of Joannes Lascaris (west wall, beside door) (a learned refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has—in Greek—the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Turning back into Via Panisperna and passing the *Convent of S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the *Via dei Serpenti* (origin of name not known), interesting as occupying the supposed site in the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longâ veniebat Julius Albâ;
Lunaque fulgebat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito motu nubes crepuere sinistrae:
Retulit ille gradus; horruerunt que comae.
Pulcher, et humano major, trabeâque decorus,
Romulus in mediâ visus adesse viâ.'
—*Ovid*, *Fast.* ii. 498.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, a fish-market, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.)

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pélerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pélerinage de Lorètte. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture

of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive*. No more curious convent has been recently, none more deservedly, destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed: 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

In one of the walls was an opening with a double grille, beyond which was a metal plate, pierced with holes like the rose of a watering-pot. It was beyond this grille, and behind this plate, that the abbess of the Sepolte Vive received her visitors, but she was even then veiled from head to foot in heavy folds of black serge. Gregory XVI., who, of course, could penetrate within the convent, and who wished to try her, said, 'Sorella mia, levate il velo.' 'No, mio padre,' she replied; 'è vietato dalla nostra regola.'

The nuns of the Sepolte Vive are never seen again after they once assume the black veil, though they are allowed double the ordinary noviciate. They never hear anything of the outer world, even of the deaths of their nearest relations. They may not lie down to sleep; and their speech dies of inanition like their eyesight. Daily they dig their own graves, and their remaining hours are occupied in monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Panisperna (a continuation of the Via Magnanapoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers. A temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street—the Vicus Longus—which ran from here in a direct line to the Ministero delle Finanze across the city. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red-hot gridiron, and below —entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head is at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown. He possesses over thirty chapels in Rome.

'Blessed Laurentius, as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."'—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden, dreamer of disgusting dreams, used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the 2nd altar, R., are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many unavailing tortures, beheaded by the sword (A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th.

'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered.'
—*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints. They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine. Boniface VIII. (1299) rebuilt the church.

The name, Panisperna, is supposed by some authors to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably it is derived from a Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden (now that of the university of Rome), in which there was a mediaeval house.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** (1656) covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Hippolytus, his gaoler, and the latter's daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the vale between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius (sixth King of Rome) was killed, and where Tullia (535 B.C.) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The street was afterwards known as Vicus Sceleratus. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is perhaps (?) represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. Maria Maggiore.

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[1] Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art.*

Turning to the left, at the foot of the Esquiline, we find the interesting **Church of S. Pudentiana**—Ecclesia Pudentiana[1]—supposed to be the most ancient of all the Roman churches ('omnium ecclesiarum urbis vetustissima'). Cardinal Wiseman, who took his title from this church, considered it was the principal place of worship in Rome after apostolic times, being founded on the site of the house where S. Paul lodged, A.D. 41 to 50, with the senator Pudens, whose family were his first converts, and who is said to have himself suffered martyrdom under Nero. On this ancient place of worship an oratory was engrafted by Pius I. (*c.* A.D. 145), in memory of the younger daughter of Pudens, Pudentiana, perhaps at the request of her sister Prassede, who is believed to have survived until that time. In very early days two small churches existed here, known as 'Titulus Pudentis' and 'Titulus Pastoris,' the latter in memory of the brother of Pius I.

The church, which has been successively altered by Adrian I. in the eighth century, by Gregory VII., and by Innocent II., was finally modernised by Cardinal Caëtani in 1597. Little remains of ancient external work except the graceful brick **campanile** (*c.* 1130), with triple arcades of open arches on every side, separated by bands of terra-cotta moulding; and the door adorned with low reliefs of the Lamb bearing the cross, and of S. Prassede and S. Pudentiana, with the vases in which they collected the blood of the martyrs, and two other figures, probably S. Pudens and S. Pastor.

The chapel L. of the tribune, which is regarded as representing the 'Titulus Pudentis,' has an old mosaic pavement, said to have belonged to the house of Pudens. Here is a bas-relief by Giacomo della Porta, representing Christ delivering the keys to S. Peter; and here is preserved part of the altar at which S. Peter is said to have celebrated mass (the rest is at the Lateran), and which was used by the popes until the time of Sylvester. Among early Christian inscriptions let into the walls, is one to a Cornelia, of the family of the Pudentiani, bearing a rude portrait.

Opening from the **L. aisle** is the chapel of the Caëtani family, with tombs of the seventeenth century. Over the altar is a bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi, by *Paolo Olivieri*. On each side are fine columns of Lumachella (fossil snails) marble. Over the entrance from the nave are ancient mosaics—of the Evangelists and of S. Pudentiana collecting the blood of the martyrs. Beneath is a gloomy and neglected vault, in which the Sarcophagi and coffins of the dead Caëtani are shown by torchlight.

In the **tribune** are magnificent **mosaics**, ascribed to the fourth century, and considered by Poussin and afterwards by De Rossi[2] as the best of all ancient Christian mosaics, as they are the oldest, dating from A.D. 398. They were deplorably mutilated by Cardinal

[1] The Church of Pudens, and the early Christian buildings of Rome, were never named from a saint, but from their founders, or the owners of the site on which they were built.

[2] *Roma Cristiana.*

Enrico Caëtan in 1582. Panvinio (1560) says they were the loveliest in Rome, and were completed by Innocent I. (401–417).

'In conception and treatment this work is indeed classic; seated on a rich throne in the centre is the Saviour with one arm extended, and in the other holding a book open at the words *Conservator Ecclesiae Pudentianae;* laterally stand SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana with leafy crowns in their hands; and at a lower level, but more in front, SS. Peter and Paul with eight other male figures, all in the amply-flowing costume of ancient Romans; while in the background are seen, beyond a portico with arcades, various stately buildings, one a rotunda, another a parallelogram with a gable-headed front, recognisable as a baptistery and basilica, here, we may believe, in authentic copy from the earliest types of the period of the first Christian emperors. Above the group and hovering in the air, a large cross, studded with gems, surmounts the head of our Saviour, between the four symbols of the Evangelists, of which one has been entirely, and another in the greater part, sacrificed to some wretched accessories in woodwork actually allowed to conceal portions of this most interesting mosaic. As to expression, a severe solemnity is that prevailing, especially in the principal head, which *alone* is crowned with the nimbus—one among other proofs, if but negative, of its high antiquity.'—*Hemans' 'Ancient Christian Art.'*

Besides S. Pudentiana and S. Pudens, S. Novatus and S. Siricius are said to be buried there. Those who visit this sanctuary every day obtain an indulgence for three thousand years, with remission of a third part of their sins! Excavations made by Mr. J. H. Parker, in 1865, laid bare some interesting constructions beneath the church—supposed to be those of the house of Pudens—a part of the public baths of Novatus (son of Pudens), which must have been in use for some centuries, and a chamber supposed to have been the oratory dedicated by Pius I. in A.D. 145. As at S. Maria Antiqua, the Tablinum of the house had probably served as the Dominicum or meeting-chamber until the Peristylium and its wings became required for the accommodation of the increasing congregation. And so from a hall in a Roman house evolves the ecclesiastical basilica with nave and aisles—not in the least imitative of the vast public basilicas, which for the most part possessed nave and double aisles.

'Eubulus greeteth thee, and *Pudens*, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.'—2 *Timothy* iv. 21.

'Here the first converts met for prayers; here Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Timotheus, daughters and son of Pudens, obtained from Pius I. the institution of a regular parish-assembly (*titulus*) provided with a baptismal font: and here, for a long time, were preserved some pieces of household furniture which had been used by S. Peter. The tradition deserves attention because it was openly accepted at the beginning of the fourth century.'—*Lanciani.*

The following account of the family of Pudens is received as a legacy of Pastor to the Christian Church:—

'Pudens went to his Saviour, leaving his daughters strengthened with chastity, and learned in all the divine law. These sold their goods, and distributed the produce to the poor, and persevered strictly in the love of Christ, guarding intact the flower of their virginity, and only seeking for glory in vigils, fastings, and prayer. They desired to have a baptistery in their house, to which the blessed Pius not only consented, but with his own hand drew the plan of the fountain. Then calling in their slaves, both from town and country, the two virgins gave liberty to those who were Christians,

and urged belief in the faith upon those who had not yet received it. By the advice of the blessed Pius, the affranchisement was declared, with all the ancient usages, in the oratory founded by Pudens; then, at the festival of Easter, ninety-six neophytes were baptized; so that henceforth assemblies were constantly held in the said oratory, which night and day resounded with hymns of praise. Many pagans gladly came thither to find the faith and receive baptism.

'Meanwhile the Emperor Antonine, being informed of what was taking place, issued an edict commanding all Christians to dwell apart in their own houses, without mixing with the rest of the people, and that they should neither go to the public shops nor to the baths. Praxedis and Pudentiana then assembled those whom they had led to the faith, and housed them. They nourished them for many days, watching and praying. The blessed bishop Pius himself frequently visited us with joy, and offered the sacrifice for us to the Saviour.

'Then Pudentiana went to God. Her sister and I wrapped her in perfumes and kept her concealed in the oratory. Then, at the end of twenty-eight days, we carried her to the cemetery of Priscilla, and laid her near her father Pudens.

'Eleven months after, Novatus died in his turn. He bequeathed his goods to Praxedis, and she then begged of S. Pius to erect a titular [a church] in the baths of Novatus, which were no longer used, and where there was a large and spacious hall. The bishop made the dedication in the name of the blessed virgin Praxedis. In the same place he consecrated a baptistery.

'But at the end of two years a great persecution was declared against the Christians, and many of them received the crown of martyrdom. Praxedis concealed a great number of them in her oratory, and nourished them at once with the food of this world and with the Word of God. But the Emperor Antonine, having learnt that these meetings took place in the oratory of Praxedis, caused it to be searched, and many Christians were taken, especially the priest Simetrius and twenty-two others; and the blessed Praxedis collected their bodies by night, and buried them in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the seventh day of the calends of June. Then the virgin of the Saviour, worn out with sorrow, only asked for death. Her tears and her prayers reached to heaven, and fifty-four days after her brethren had suffered she passed to God; and I, Pastor, the priest, have buried her body near that of her father Pudens.'—*From the Narration of Pastor.*

Returning by the main line of streets to the Quattro Fontane, we pass, on the left, the **Church of S. Paolo Primo Eremita**, rebuilt by Pius VI. in 1765, and now turned into the Institute of Hygiene. The strange-looking palm tree over the door, with a raven perched upon it and two lions below, commemorates the story of the saint, who, retiring to the desert at the age of 22, lived there till he was 112, eating nothing but the dates of his tree for twenty-two years, after which bread was daily brought to him by a raven. In his last hours S. Anthony came to visit him, and was present at his burial, when two lions, his companions, came to dig his grave. The sustaining palm tree and the three animals who loved S. Paolo were again represented over the altar. In 1884 this church was converted by the Ministry of Public Instruction into a hall for physiological research. Farther on the left we pass the Via S. Vitale, occupying part of the line of the Vicus Longus, considered to have been the longest street in the ancient city.

The **Church of S. Vitale**, originally SS. Gervasio e Protasio, on the Viminal, which now stands here, facing the Via Nazionale, was founded by Innocent I. in A.D. 416. The interior is covered with frescoes of martyrdoms. It is seldom open except early on Sunday

mornings. S. Vitale, father of S. Gervasius and S. Protasius, was the martyr and patron saint of Ravenna, who was buried alive in the reign of Nero. The modern Via Nazionale leads from S. Maria degli Angeli to the Piazza di Venezia, and contains the **American Church**, a gothic building by *Street*, with a tower of the Roman style of the thirteenth century, and the *Galleria d'Arte Moderna* (admission 1 fr.). Near this is the entrance to the tunnel, passing under the Quirinal, which communicates direct with the Via del Tritone and Piazza di Spagna.

A little farther down the street, on the left, stands the Banca Nazionale, probably the finest piece of modern architecture in Rome, by Gaetano Koch. In excavating the foundations for this was discovered a stone-mason or sculptor's yard; and among the properties, a torso of Antinous, which had evidently been taken from some watercourse—drowned, like its original. The finds made during the recent excavations for the neighbouring tunnel point to other yards of the same kind having existed in the vicinity. The statues of various schools and epochs (mostly mutilated beyond repair) may be seen at the Magazzino al Celio, or Municipal Museum. On the whole they were disappointing.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN

The Cappuccini—S. Isidoro—S. Niccolo da Tolentino—Via S. Basilio—Convent of the Pregatrici—Villa Massimo Rignano—Gardens of Sallust—Villa Ludovisi—Porta Salaria—(Villa Albani—Catacombs of S. Felicitas and S. Priscilla—Ponte Salario)—Porta Pia—(Villa Torlonia—S. Agnese—S. Costanza—Ponte Nomentano—Mons Sacer—S. Alessandro)—Villa Torlonia within the walls—Via Macao—Pretorian Camp—Railway Station—Villa Negroni—Agger of Servius Tullius—S. Maria degli Angeli—Museum—Fountain of the Termini—S. Maria della Vittoria—S. Susanna—S. Bernardo.

OPENING from the left of the Piazza Barberini is the spacious Via Veneto with (R.) the Capuchin convent, which has long been one of the largest in Rome. The conventual church, dedicated to **S. Maria della Concezione,** contains several fine pictures. The 1st chapel (R.) contains the magnificent **Guido** of the Archangel Michael—the 'Catholic Apollo,' as Forsyth calls him—trampling upon the Devil—said to be a portrait of Pope Innocent X. (Pamfili), against whom the painter had a peculiar spite.

'Here the angel, standing, yet scarcely touching the ground, poised on his outspread wings, sets his left foot on the head of his adversary; in one hand he brandishes a sword, in the other he holds the end of a chain, with which he is about to bind down the demon in the bottomless pit. The attitude has been criticised, and justly; the grace is somewhat mannered, verging on the theatrical; but Forsyth is too severe when he talks of "the air of a dancing-master." One thing, however, is certain, we do not think about the attitude when we look at Raffaelle's S. Michael (in the Louvre); in Guido's it is the first thing that strikes us; but when we look further, the head redeems all; it is singularly beautiful, and in the blending of the masculine and feminine graces, in the serene purity of the brow, and the flow of the golden hair, there is something divine; a slight, very slight expression of scorn is in the air of the head. The fiend is the worst part of the picture; it is not a fiend, but a degraded prosaic human ruffian; we laugh with incredulous contempt at the idea of an angel called down from heaven to overcome such a wretch. In Raffaelle the fiend is human, but the head has the godlike ugliness and malignity of a satyr; Guido's fiend is only stupid and base. It appears to me that there is just the same difference—the same *kind* of difference—between the angel of Raffaelle and the angel of Guido, as between the description in Tasso and the description in Milton; let any one compare them. In Tasso we are struck by the picturesque elegance of the description as a piece of art, the melody of the verse, the admirable choice of the expressions, as in Guido by the finished but somewhat artificial and studied grace. In Raffaelle and Milton we see only the vision of a "shape divine."'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* p. 107.

In the same chapel is a picture by *Gherardo della Notte* of Christ in the purple robe. The 3rd chapel contains a fresco by *Domenichino*

of the Death of S. Francis, and a picture of the Ecstasy of S. Francis, which was a gift from the same painter to this church.

The 1st chapel (L.) contains the Visit of Ananias to Saul, by *Pietro da Cortona.*

'Whoever would know to what length this painter carried his style in his altar-pieces should examine the Conversion of S. Paul in the Cappuccini at Rome, which, though placed opposite to the S. Michael of Guido, cannot fail to excite the admiration of such judges as are willing to admit various styles of beauty in art.'—*Lanzi.*

On the left of the **high altar** is the tomb of Prince Alexander Sobieski, son of John III., King of Poland, who died at Rome in 1714, in the house next the Tempietto, commanding Via Gregoriana.

The church was founded in 1624 by Cardinal Barberini, the old monk-brother of Urban VIII., who, while his nephews were employed in building magnificent palaces, refused to take advantage of the family elevation otherwise than to endow this church and convent. He is buried in front of the altar, with the remarkable epitaph—very different from the pompous, self-glorifying inscriptions of his brother—

'Hic jacet pulvis, cinis, et nihil.'

This Cardinal Francesco Barberini possesses some historical interest from the patronage he extended to Milton during his two months' visit to Rome in 1638 (October–November), and from having, as legate to France, brought her king the golden rose (1626).

'During his sojourn in Rome Milton enjoyed the conversation of several learned and ingenious men, and particularly of Lucas Holsteinius, keeper of the Vatican library, who received him with the greatest humanity, and showed him all the Greek authors, whether in print or MS., which had passed through his correction; and also presented him to Cardinal Barberini, who, at an entertainment of music, performed at his own expense, waited for him at the door, and taking him by the hand, brought him into the assembly. The next morning he waited upon the Cardinal to return him thanks for these civilities, and by the means of Holsteinius was again introduced to his Eminence, and spent some time in conversation with him.'—*Newton's 'Life of Milton.'* [1]

'The 30th October there dined in our College, and were hospitably received, the following English gentlemen: Mr. N. Cary, brother of Lord Falkland; Dr. Holding of Lancaster, Mr. N. Fortescue, and Mr. Milton, with his servant.' —*Traveller's Book of English College.*

It was probably at the Barberini Palace the poet heard the splendid singing of Leonora Baroni.

Over the entrance is a cartoon for the Navicella of *Giotto*, revealing how his work in S. Peter's has been injured by removal.

From the courtyard of the convent a monk will give admittance to the famous cemetery of the Cappuccini (not subterranean), consisting of four chambers, decorated (?) with human bones in

[1] 'At Rome, Selvaggi made a Latin distich in honour of Milton, and Salsilli a Latin tetrastich, celebrating him for his Greek, Latin, and Italian poetry; and he in return presented to Salsilli in his sickness those fine Scanzoni or Iambic verses having a spondee in the last foot, which are inserted among his juvenile poems. From Rome he went to Naples.'—*Newton.*

patterns, and with mummified bodies. The earth was brought from Jerusalem. As the cemetery is too small for the convent, when any monk dies, the one who has been buried longest is ejected to make room for him. The loss of a grave is supposed to be amply compensated by the short rest in holy earth which the body has already enjoyed. It is pleasant to read on the spot the pretty sketch in the 'Improvisatore':—

'I was playing near the church of the Capuchins, with some other children who were all younger than myself. There was fastened on the church door a little cross of metal; it was fastened about the middle of the door, and I could just reach it with my hand. Always when our mothers had passed by with us they had lifted us up that we might kiss the holy sign. One day, when we children were playing, one of the youngest of them inquired "why the Child Jesus did not come down and play with us?" I assumed an air of wisdom, and replied, that He was really bound upon the cross. We went to the church door, and although we found no one, we wished, as our mothers had taught us, to kiss it, but we could not reach up to it; one therefore lifted up the other, but just as the lips were pointed for the kiss, that one who lifted the other lost his strength, and the kissing one fell down just when his lips were about to touch the invisible Child Jesus. At that moment my mother came by, and when she saw our child's-play, she folded her hands, and said, "You are actually some of God's angels, and thou art mine own angel," added she, and kissed me.

'The Capuchin monk, Fra Martino, was my mother's confessor. He made very much of me, and gave me a picture of the Virgin, weeping great tears, which fell, like raindrops, down into the burning flames of hell, where the damned caught this draught of refreshment. He took me over with him into the convent, where the open colonnade, which inclosed in a square the little potato-garden, with the two cypress and orange trees, made a very deep impression upon me. Side by side, in the open passages, hung old portraits of deceased monks, and on the door of each cell were pasted pictures from the history of the martyrs, which I contemplated with the same holy emotions as afterwards the masterpieces of Raffaelle and Andrea del Sarto.

'"Thou art really a bright youth," said he; "thou shalt now see the dead." Upon this, he opened a little door of a gallery which lay a few steps below the colonnade. We descended, and now I saw round about me skulls upon skulls, so placed one upon another, that they formed walls, and therewith several chapels. In these were regular niches, in which were seated perfect skeletons of the most distinguished of the monks, enveloped in their brown cowls, their cords round their waists, and with a breviary or withered bunch of flowers in their hands. Altars, chandeliers, bas-reliefs of human joints, horrible and tasteless as the whole idea. I clung fast to the monk, who whispered a prayer, and then said to me, "Here also I shall some time sleep; wilt thou thus visit me?"

'I answered not a word, but looked horrified at him, and then round about me upon the strange grisly assembly. It was foolish to take me, a child, into this place. I was singularly impressed with the whole thing, and did not feel myself easy again until I came into his little cell, where the beautiful yellow oranges almost hung in at the window, and I saw the brightly coloured picture of the Madonna, who was borne upwards by angels into the clear sunshine, while a thousand flowers filled the grave in which she had rested. . . .

'On the festival of All Saints I was down in the chapel of the dead, where Fra Martino took me when I first visited the convent. All the monks sang masses for the dead, and I, with two other boys of my own age, swung the incense-breathing censer before the great altar of skulls. They had placed lights in the chandeliers made of bones, new garlands were placed around the brows of the skeleton monks, and fresh bouquets in their hands. Many people, as usual, thronged in; they all knelt, and the singers intoned the solemn Miserere. I gazed for a long time on the pale yellow skulls, and the fumes of the incense which wavered in strange shapes between me and them,

With the fury against trees which characterises most Italians, the magnificent ilexes and cypresses were cut down as soon as the land was secured, and the plots of building land rendered altogether hideous and undesirable. The folly of the authorities has been shown in nothing more than the destruction of the immemorial ilexes, which would have given dignity and grandeur to openings or squares even in the meanest quarter; but now trashy shrubs and false rockwork are preferred! Not a trace remains of the picturesque glories of this once noble villa, which, if acquired by the Municipality, who refused to purchase it, might have been made into public gardens of beauty unrivalled in any European capital. The most perfect portion of the Aurelian wall is that which was so well seen from the Villa Ludovisi. Near the entrance of the remaining walk survives a fountain shaded by a huge plane-tree, but its beauty is destroyed.

'The Ludovisi gardens were offered to the municipality for 3,000,000 lire, and refused, while it spent 3,700,000 lire in the purchase and demolition of a single palace on the Corso, to make a vacant space less than a hundredth part of the gardens.'—*W. J. Stillman.*

'It is true that the villas have disappeared, that their magnificent ilexes have been burnt into charcoal, their great pines used for timber, their hills and dales cut away or filled up to a dead level, and their deliciously shady avenues destroyed to make room for broad, straight, sun-beaten thoroughfares, yet no one seems to have gained by it. Those who sold and those who bought the grounds have failed alike in their speculations, and the new quarter remains still unfinished.'—*Lanciani, 'The Ruins of Ancient Rome.'*

The reckless opportunism of the Boncompagni-Piombino has obliterated even the avenue which led from the villa to the Aurora. The **Casino of the Aurora** (often closed) must now be sought in the Via Lombardia, behind the Eden Hotel. Its position shows the former level of that part of the garden, and from its roof a beautiful view may be obtained. Here are the most famous frescoes of *Guercino.* On the ceiling of the ground-floor, Aurora driving away Darkness and scattering flowers in her course, with Night and Daybreak in the lunettes; and on the first floor, 'Fame' blowing her trumpet. On the staircase is a bas-relief of two Cupids dragging a quiver.

'The prophets and sibyls of Guercino da Cento (1590–1666), and his Aurora, in a garden pavilion of the Villa Ludovisi, at Rome, almost attain to the effect of oil paintings in their glowing colouring combined with broad and dark masses of shadow.'—*Kugler.*

'In allegorising nature, Guercino imitates the deep shades of night, the twilight grey, and the irradiations of morning, with all the magic of *chiaroscuro;* but his figures are too mortal for the region where they move.' —*Forsyth.*

'The joyous day gan early to appeare;
And fayre Aurora from the deawy bed
Of aged Tithone gan herselfe to reare
With rosy cheeks, for shame as blushing red:
Her golden locks, for hast, were loosely shed
About her ears, when Una her did marke
Clymbe to her charet, all with flowers spred,
From heven high to chace the cheareless darke:
With mery note her lowd salutes the mounting larke.'
—*Spenser, 'The Faerie Queene.'*

In B.C. 82, the district near the Porta Collina, till recently occupied by the curtailed Villa Massimo, was the scene of a battle for the very existence of Rome, between Sulla and the Samnites and Lucanians under the Samnite general Pontius Telesinus, who declared he would raze the city to the ground if he were victorious. The left wing under Sulla was put to flight; but the right wing, commanded by Crassus, enabled him to restore the battle, and to gain a complete victory; fifty thousand (?) men fell on each side.

The road now runs along the ridge of the hill to the **Porta Salaria**, by which Alaric entered Rome, through the treachery of the Isaurian guard, on the 24th of August 410; the event which drew forth S. Jerome's wail—'De nocte Moab capta est,' and which caused S. Augustine to write his 'De Civitate Dei.'

This gate was rebuilt after the invasion of Rome in 1870, when the towers which flanked it were destroyed, and curious remains of an ancient tomb were laid bare on the outside. Built into the wall was found the marble cippus commemorating a precocious schoolboy of the time of Domitian, Q. Sulpicius Maximus, who died, aged 11, after having won a prize for Greek verses on the subject of the reproof which Jupiter administered to Apollo for allowing Phaeton to drive the horses of the Sun. Part of this prize poem—Agon Capitolinus—is inscribed on the monument.[1]

Near-by the Porta Salaria is a semicircular monument, discovered in 1866; the **Tomb of the Freedman Menander**, secretary to the aediles and quaestors.

Just inside the gate, in the grounds of the Villa Bonaparte, the workmen, digging the foundations of modern houses in the spring of 1885, discovered a vaulted chamber, the *hypogeum* of the **Licinian Family**. Around it stood seven marble cippi, with beautifully cut inscriptions. Of these, the most important commemorated Calpurnius Piso Licinianus, the adopted son and heir of Galba, chosen partly on account of his noble character, partly on account of his high birth and descent from the Licinii and Pompeii. It was partly mortification at the adoption of Piso by that Emperor that led to the rebellion of Otho and the murder of Galba in the Forum, followed by that of Piso himself, who was sacrilegiously dragged from the Temple of Vesta, where he had taken refuge. The next cippus, decorated with rams' horns and flowers, contained the ashes of the father of Piso, Marcus Licinius Crassus, pontifex, praetor urbanus, consul (A.D. 27), and legate of the Emperor Claudius in Mauritania, who, with his wife Scribonia (daughter of Pompeia, grand-daughter of Pompey the Great) was put to death by order of Claudius. A third cippus contained the ashes of Piso's eldest brother, who had assumed, as he was fully entitled to do, the name of his mother's family, of which, through her, he was the only remaining representative. Caligula prohibited him from using the cognomen of Magnus, but this distinction was restored to him by Claudius, whose eldest daughter, Antonia, he married, and by whose order

[1] Now in the Capitoline Museum.

he was ultimately put to death, at the wish of Messalina. Seneca, in his *Apocolocyntosis*, says satirically that Claudius restored him his name and cut off his head.

Passing through the gate and continuing some way to the left along the outside of the wall, we may see, opening upon a street, the two round towers of the **Porta Pinciana**, once restored by Belisarius. It was formerly called Porta Belisaria, from that famous general, who expanded it from a postern to its present form. It was from hence that he made his fortunate sortie in 537 against the Goths of Vitiges, and drove them back as far as the Anio. This also is the place where mendacious tradition declared that in his declining years the same neglected hero sat begging, with the cry, 'Date obolum Belisario.'

Close to this is a second entrance to the Villa Borghese. A ruined 'Domus Pinciana' existed outside this gate in the time of Theodoric (A.D. 500). Eight hundred and fifty tombs were found within nine months in making the road from the Porta Pinciana to Porta Salaria. The walls between the Porta Pinciana and the Porta Salaria are in good preservation, and a tower here (the sixth from the Porta Salaria) is the most perfect in the circuit of Rome.

A short distance from the gate along the Via Salaria is, on the right, the **Villa Albani** (which now belongs to Don Giulio Torlonia, who never allows it to be seen without a personal order), built in 1750 by Cardinal Alessandro Albani (Winckelmann's friend)—sold in 1834 to the Count of Castlebarco, and in 1868 to Prince Torlonia. In the centre of the grounds is an obelisk.

'Le cardinal Albani étoit si passionné pour toutes les choses antiques que, lorsqu'on ne vouloit pas les lui vendre, il les voloit; il a fait dans ce genre une action inouïe. . . . Voici le fait: le prince de Palestrine avoit eu, dans le jardin de sa maison de campagne, un superbe obélisque antique, qu'il refusa de vendre au cardinal Albani, qui vouloit, à tout prix, en faire l'acquisition. Peu de temps après le prince fit un voyage; alors le cardinal envoya dans la nuit quatre mille hommes, qui entrèrent de force dans le jardin, enlevèrent l'obélisque et le lui apportèrent: et il le mit dans son jardin à la villa Albani. Comme le cardinal étoit excessivement puissant dans Rome, le prince n'osa pas lui intenter un procès, et il prit la chose en plaisantant, le félicita sur cet exploit extraordinaire, et il ne se brouilla point avec lui. En nous promenant dans les jardins Albani, le prince de Palestrine me montra ce fameux obélisque.'—*Mémoires de Madame de Genlis*, vol. iii.

The scene from the garden-terrace was once among the loveliest of Roman pictures, the view of the delicate-tinted Sabine mountains —Monte Gennaro, with the Monticelli beneath it—and in the middle distance the churches of S. Agnese and S. Costanza, relieved by the dark cypresses and a graceful fountain of the villa; now, nothing is to be seen for a number of those huge box-like jerry-built barracks which render portions of modern Rome most contemptible.

The **Casino**, which is, in fact, a palace, is remarkable as having been built from Cardinal Albani's own designs, Carlo Marchionni having been only employed to see that they were carried out.

'Here is a villa of exquisite design, planned by a profound antiquary. Here Cardinal Albani, having spent his life in collecting ancient sculpture,

formed such porticoes and such saloons to receive it as an old Roman would have done; porticoes where the statues stood free upon the pavement between columns proportioned to their stature; saloons which were not stocked but embellished with families of allied statues, and seemed full without a crowd. Here Winckelmann grew into an antiquary under the cardinal's patronage and instruction; and here he projected his history of art, which brings this collection continually into view.'—*Forsyth's 'Italy.'*

The collection of sculptures is much reduced since the French invasion, when 294 of the finest specimens were carried off by Napoleon to Paris, where they were sold by Prince Albani upon their restoration in 1815, as he was unwilling to bear the expense of their transport. Many of them are now at Munich. The greater number of the remaining statues are of little importance. Those of the Imperial family in the vestibule are interesting. Julius and Augustus Caesar, Agrippina wife of Germanicus, and Faustina, are seen seated. Most of the heads have been badly restored.

In the **Sala Ovale**, on the first floor, to the right of the entrance, is (906) the beautiful statue of a youth by Stephanos, pupil of Praxiteles, a Greek sculptor who worked in Rome in the first century B.C. Found 1769.

The ceiling of the Great Saloon is decorated with the famous fresco of 'Parnassus' by *Raphael Mengs.* Conspicuous among the treasures of the villa are the sarcophagus with reliefs of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, pronounced by Winckelmann to be one of the finest in existence; and the small bronze 'Apollo Saurocthonos' (952), considered by Winckelmann to be the original (?) statue by Praxiteles described by Pliny and the most beautiful bronze statue in the world,—it was found near S. Balbina on the Aventine. But most important of all is (994) the famous relievo of **Antinous** crowned with lotus, from the Villa Adriana (over the chimneypiece of the first room to the left of the saloon), supposed to have formed part of an apotheosis of Antinous.

'One of the best specimens of sculpture we possess from the time of Hadrian.'—*Helbig.*

'As fresh and as highly finished as if it had just left the studio of the sculptor, this work, after the Apollo and the Laocoön, is perhaps the most beautiful monument of antiquity which time has transmitted to us.'—*Winckelmann, Hist. de l'Art*, vi. ch. 7.

Inferior only to this is (1031) another bas-relief, also over a chimneypiece—the parting of **Orpheus and Eurydice**,—the last moment!

'The spirit of the highest Greek art, and the breath of a deep but restrained feeling, rest on these figures. Eurydice is grasping the shoulder of her husband, who is turning towards her once more, and looking into her eyes with one deep last look, which meets with a fond reply. But Mercury, the guide of spirits, gently touches her right hand to conduct her into the land of shadows. The composition reminds us of the famous farewell terzetto in Mozart's *Flauto Magico*, where a similar situation is depicted by means of an art of a very different kind, though with equal majesty and grandeur of feeling.'—*Lübke.*

Observe also a lovely head of Sappho, heads of Hippocrates, of Socrates, the tomb—'Relief of Leucothea (?),' and an ideal Æsop,—the witty hunchback!

The villa also contains a collection of pictures, of which the most interesting are the sketches of *Giulio Romano* for the frescoes of the story of Psyche in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, and two fine pictures by *Luca Signorelli* and *Perugino*, in compartments. All the works of art have lately been rearranged. The **Caffè** and the **Bigliardo**—(reached by an avenue of oaks, which, being filled with ancient tombstones, has the effect of a cemetery)—contain more statues, but of less importance.

In the Villa Bertone, opposite the Villa Albani, the **Mausoleum of Lucilia Polla and her brother Lucilius Paetus** was discovered in May 1885. It was of great size; a marble basement, 110 feet in diameter, and cone of earth 55 feet high, surrounded by trees. It was buried in the soil removed from the Forum of Trajan, and at the end of the fourth century was discovered by Christians, who dispersed the relics, threw down the busts of the first occupants, and annexed it as a catacomb. A vaulted passage, with recesses for urns on either side, leads to the central chamber.

Beyond the Villa Albani, the Via Salaria (said by Pliny to derive its name from the Salt of Ostia exported to the north by this route) passes on the left the site of the town of *Antemnae*, now occupied by a modern fort,[1] in making which a large portion of the ancient walls was discovered, and is still visible on the left of the entrance. The number of objects discovered in the necropolis (and now preserved at the museum in the Baths of Diocletian) are of great interest, as illustrating Roman life in its earliest times, for Antemnae was destroyed by Romulus soon after the foundation of Rome. On the left is **Villa Ada**, with the largest grounds near the city. A gateway on the right, marked with the arms of Della Rovere, is the entrance to a vineyard where the first catacomb discovered near Rome was opened, when Antonio Bosio (d. 1629), the historian of the catacombs, was three years old. On the right a lane turns aside to the **Villa Chigi**, with beautiful ilex groves and glorious views of the Sabine mountains.

The main road, with views toward the mountain ranges, overtopped by the snowy peak of Monte Velino, descends a hill, passing three ancient tombs on the right. Two miles from the city, the Anio is crossed by the **Ponte Salario**, destroyed by the Roman Government in the terror of Garibaldi's approach from Monte Rotondo, in 1867. This bridge was a restoration by Narses, in the sixth century, but stood on the foundations of that famous Ponte Salario, upon which Titus Manlius fought the Gaulish giant, and cutting off his head, carried off the golden collar which earned him the name of Torquatus.

Beyond the ruins of the bridge is a massive tomb with a tower, now used as an Osteria. Hence, the road leads by the Villa Spada,

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[1] Eighteen unnecessary forts have been erected round Rome since 1870—Monte Antemne, Batteria Nomentana, Pratalata, Tiburtino, Prenestino, Tusculano, Porta Furba, Appia Pignatelli, Appia Antica, Ardeatino, Ostiense, Portuense, Bravetta, Aurelia Antica, Boccea, Casal Braschi, Trionfale, and Monte Mario.

occupying the site of the arx of **Fidenae**, and then by Castel Giubileo, on the site of one of the outposts of that deserted city, to Monte Rotondo, where the scenery is of the grandest.[1]

The district beyond the Porta Salaria, and that extending between the Via Salaria and the Monte Parioli, are completely undermined by catacombs (see Chap. IX.). The most important are: 1. Nearest the gate, the **Catacomb of S. Felicitas**, which had three tiers of galleries, adorned by Pope Boniface I., who took refuge there from persecution, and is buried there—now much dilapidated. Over this cemetery was a church, now destroyed, which is mentioned by William of Malmesbury. Many of the galleries of this catacomb have been recently filled up, that the site may be used for building! 2. **The Catacomb of SS. Thraso and Saturninus**, much decorated with the usual paintings. 3. **The Catacomb of S. Priscilla**, on the left of the descent to the Anio. This cemetery, now being further excavated by Orazio Marucchi, is of great interest, from the number of martyrs' graves it contains, and from its peculiar construction in an ancient *arenarium*, pillars and walls of masonry being added throughout the central part, in order to sustain the tufo walls. In the vineyard of Count Telfener, above the crypt of the Acilii Glabriones, remains of a small basilica have been discovered, built by S. Sylvester, and in which he was buried with four other popes —Liberius, Siricius, Celestinus, and Vigilius. In the catacomb below were buried—probably because the entrance to the Chapel of the Popes at S. Calixtus was blocked up to preserve it in the persecution under Diocletian—Pope S. Marcellinus (ob. 308), and Pope S. Marcellus (ob. 310), who was sent into exile by Maxentius. On the tomb of the latter was placed, in finely-cut inscription, the following epitaph by Pope Damasus:—

> 'Veridicus Rector, lapsos quia crimina flere
> Praedixit, miseris fuit omnibus hostis amarus.
> Hinc furor, hinc odium sequitur, discordia, lites,
> Seditio, caedes, solvuntur foedera pacis.
> Crimen ob alterius Christum qui in pace negavit,
> Finibus expulsus patriae est feritate tyranni.
> Haec breviter Damasus voluit comperta referre,
> Marcelli ut populus meritum cognoscere posset.'

('The truth-speaking Pope, because he preached that the lapsed should weep for their crimes, was bitterly hated by all those unhappy ones. Hence followed fury, hatred, discord, contentions, sedition, and slaughter, and the bonds of peace were ruptured. For the crime of another, who in [a time of] peace had denied Christ, [the pontiff] was expelled the shores of his country by the cruelty of the tyrant. These things Damasus having learnt, was desirous to narrate briefly, that people might recognise the merit of Marcellus.')[2]

Several of the paintings in this catacomb are remarkable; especially a Last Supper with wreathed apostles; while that of a woman with a child, dating, without doubt, from the second century,

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[1] Good walkers may train to Monte Rotondo. Fly at the station to the town: and thence walk to Bagni station.

[2] See '*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 174.

is the earliest known representation of the Virgin. The painting is thus described by Northcote:—

'De Rossi unhesitatingly says that he believes this painting of our Blessed Lady to belong almost to the Apostolic age. It is to be seen on the vaulted roof of the *loculus*, and represents the Blessed Virgin seated, her head partially covered by a short light veil, and with the Holy Child in her arms: opposite to her stands a man, clothed in the pallium, holding a volume in one hand, and with the other pointing to a star which appears above and between the figures. This star almost always accompanies our Blessed Lady, both in paintings and in sculptures, where there is an obvious historical excuse for it—*e.g.*, when she is represented with the Magi offering their gifts, or by the side of the manger with the ox and the ass; but with a single figure, as in the present instance, it is unusual. The most obvious conjecture would be that the figure was meant for S. Joseph, or for one of the Magi. De Rossi, however, gives many reasons for preferring the prophet Isaias, whose prophecies concerning the Messias abound with imagery borrowed from light.'—'*Roma Sotterranea.*'

The passages of this catacomb are unusually picturesque in effects of shadow and colour, and the catacomb is one of the oldest, S. Priscilla, from whom it is named, being formerly supposed to be the wife of Pudens, and a contemporary of the apostles. Part of her inscription remains in the chapel beneath the Basilica of S. Silvestro. Her grand-daughters (?), Praxedis and Pudentiana, were buried here before the removal of their relics to the church on the Esquiline. The Aquila and Priscilla of S. Paul were probably emancipated by their master, Pudens. With this cemetery is connected the extraordinary history of the manufacture of S. Filomena, now one of the most popular saints in Italy, and one toward whom veneration is carried out with frantic enthusiasm both at Domo d'Ossola and in some of the Neapolitan States. The story of this saint is best told in the words of Mrs. Jameson:—

'In the year 1802, while some excavations were going forward in the Catacomb of Priscilla, a sepulchre was discovered containing the skeleton of a young female; on the exterior were rudely painted some of the symbols constantly recurring in these chambers of the dead—an anchor, an olive branch (emblems of Hope and Peace), a scourge, two arrows, and a javelin; above them the following inscription, of which the beginning and end were destroyed:—

——LUMENA PAX TE CUM FI——

'The remains, reasonably supposed to be those of one of the early martyrs for the faith, were sealed up and deposited in the treasury of relics in the Lateran; here they remained for some years unthought of. On the return of Pius VII. from France, a Neapolitan prelate was sent to congratulate him. One of the priests in his train, who wished to create a sensation in his district, where the long residence of the French had probably caused some decay of piety, begged for a few relics to carry home, and these recently discovered remains were bestowed on him; the inscription was translated somewhat freely to signify *Santa Philumena, rest in peace.* Another priest, whose name is suppressed, *because of his great humility*, was favoured by a vision in the broad noon-day, in which he beheld the glorious virgin Filomena, who was pleased to reveal to him that she had suffered death for preferring the Christian faith and her vow of chastity to the addresses of the emperor, who wished to make her his wife. This vision leaving much of her history obscure, a certain young artist, whose name is also suppressed, perhaps because of his great humility, was informed in a vision that the emperor alluded to was Diocletian, and at the same time the torments and persecutions suffered by the Christian virgin Filomena, as well as her wonderful constancy, were also revealed to him. There were some difficulties in the

way of the Emperor Diocletian, which *incline* the writer of the *historical* account to incline to the opinion that the young artist in his wisdom *may* have made a mistake, and that the emperor may have been not Diocletian, but Maximian. The facts, however, admitted of no doubt; the relics were carried by the priest Francesco da Lucia to Naples; they were enclosed in a case of wood resembling in form the human body; this figure was habited in a petticoat of white satin, and over it a crimson tunic after the Greek fashion; the face was painted to represent nature, a garland of flowers was placed on the head, and in the hands a lily and a javelin with the point reversed to express her purity and her martyrdom; then she was laid in a half-sitting posture in a sarcophagus, of which the sides were glass, and, after lying for some time in state in the chapel of the Torres family in the church of Sant' Angiolo, she was carried in grand procession to Mugnano, a little town about twenty miles from Naples, amid the acclamations of the people, working many and surprising miracles by the way. . . . Such is the legend of S. Filomena, and such the authority on which she has become within the last twenty years one of the most popular saints in Italy.'—'*Sacred and Legendary Art*,' p. 671.

It is hoped that further interesting relics may still be discovered in this catacomb.

'In an account preserved by S. Gregory of Tours, we are told that under Numerianus, the martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria were put to death in an *arenaria* (or sandpit), and that a great number of the faithful having been seen entering a subterranean crypt on the Via Salaria, to visit their tombs, the heathen emperor caused the entrance to be hastily built up, and a vast mound of sand and stone to be heaped in front of it, so that they might be all buried alive, even as the martyrs whom they had come to venerate. S. Gregory adds, that when the tombs of these martyrs were rediscovered, after the ages of persecution had ceased, there were found with them, not only the relics of those worshippers who had been thus cruelly put to death, skeletons of men, women, and children lying on the floor, but also the silver cruets (*urcei argentei*) which they had taken down with them for the celebration of the sacred mysteries. S. Damasus was unwilling to destroy so touching a memorial of past ages. He abstained from making any of those changes by which he usually decorated the martyrs' tombs, but contented himself with setting up one of his invaluable historical inscriptions, and opening a window in the adjacent wall or rock, that all might see, without disturbing, this monument so unique in its kind—this Christian Pompeii in miniature. These things might still be seen in S. Gregory's time, in the sixth century; and De Rossi holds out hopes that some traces of them may be restored even to our own generation, some fragments of the inscription perhaps, or even the window itself through which our ancestors once saw so moving a spectacle, assisting, as it were, at a mass celebrated in the third century.'—'*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 88.

Near the Catacomb of Priscilla, the **Crypt of the Glabriones** has been discovered, being the burial-place of the Acilian family, which first became celebrated when the Consul Acilius Glabrio (191 B.C.) conquered the Macedonians at the battle of Thermopylae. The Temple of Piety, now represented by S. Nicolo in Carcere, was built by him, and his descendants had a palace and gardens on the Pincian hill. The family had attained such wealth and influence before the time of Pertinax (A.D. 193), that he proclaimed them the noblest race in the world. Several second-century inscriptions to different members of the family have been found in the crypt, and in an oratory at its southern extremity to the memory of their martyr-hero, Marius Acilius Glabrio, consul with Trajan, A.D. 91, who, in exile, suffered for the Christian faith under Domitian in 95 (?). In the search for hidden treasure under Clement IX., the crypt was broken into, and mutilated.

Returning to the **Porta Salaria** (rebuilt after the bombardment

of Rome in 1870), and following the walls, where the Via Salaria falls into the Via Venti Settembre, the remains of a temple of Venus Erycina, or Venus Hortorum Sallustianorum, were found in 1882. Its foundations of rubble (100 feet long and 50 feet wide) were blown up.

The **Villa Bonaparte** was built by Milizia, the well-known critical writer on architecture, and was bequeathed by Pauline Borghese to the wife of Charles Bonaparte, Prince Musignano, who was daughter of her brother Joseph.

The Via Venti Settembre (once the 'Alta Semita') ends in the **Porta Pia**, built by Matteo da Castelloni, 1561, and rebuilt since 1870. Seventy thousand Italian troops, on September 20, by a breach in the wall, entered the defenceless city which they had bombarded for five hours, and marched, unwelcomed, through the silent streets to their different quarters. Outside is an inscription, saying that they entered in answer to the entreaties of the Romans. Since then they have done more destruction than did Alaric in 410.

'The taking of Rome in 1870 was the death-blow of mediaevalism.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

A little to the right stood the **Porta Nomentana**, or Collina, flanked by round towers, closed by Pius IV. It was by the gate and road of this name in the Servian Wall (by the Finance Office) that the oppressed Romans retreated to the Mons Sacer—and by it Nero fled to his suicide. Both its towers rest on tombs of classical times: that on the right belonged to Quintus Haterius.

The road **outside** the Porta Pia, which was the favourite walk of the cardinals in the stately old times, has been lined, since 1886, by box-like houses hastily run up, many of them already condemned and falling to pieces. Here and there are remains of former villas. Immediately outside the gate was the entrance of the beautiful **Villa Patrizi** (recently sold to a building association), whose grounds enclosed the small **Catacomb of S. Nicodemus.** Their lovely screen of purple Judas trees and ilex, which were such a feature of this approach to Rome, was destroyed in the spring of 1892 to make the dusty, shadeless piazza we now see. Then came the **Villa Lezzani**, where S. Giustina was buried in a chapel, and where her festa was observed on the 25th of October.

A little to the right is the **Villa Victoria**, an admirably managed orphanage in English hands, on the site of a military cemetery. Many inscriptions and urns for ashes have been found in its grounds.

Beyond this is the mushroom **Villa Torlonia**, peppered with mock ruins. It has been sold by Prince Torlonia to the Banca Tiberina for 3,000,000 lire.

At a little more than a mile from the gate the tramway reaches the **Basilica of S. Agnese fuori le Mura**, founded by Constantine at the request of his daughter Constantia, in honour of the martyr buried in the neighbouring catacomb, and rebuilt 498 by Symmachus and adorned by Honorius I., 626. It was altered in 1490

by Innocent VIII., but retains more of its ancient character than most of the Roman churches. The polychrome decorations of the interior and the rebuilding of the monastery were carried out at the expense of Pius IX., as a thank-offering for his escape when he fell through the floor here into a cellar, with his cardinals and attendants, on April 15th, 1855. The scene is represented in a large fresco by *Domenico Tojetti*, in a chamber on the right of the courtyard. It is curious that the above accident was attributed to the possession by that Pontiff of the 'Evil Eye.'

The approach to the church is by a picturesque staircase of forty-five ancient marble steps, lined with inscriptions from the catacombs. The **nave** is divided from the aisles by sixteen columns, four of which are of *porta-santa* and two of *pavonazzetto*. A smaller range of columns above these supports the vault of the gallery for women, which is on a level with the road. The **baldacchino**, erected in 1614, is supported by four porphyry columns. Beneath is the shrine of S. Agnes, surmounted by her statue, an antique torso of oriental alabaster, with modern heads and hands of gilt bronze. The **mosaics** of the tribune, representing S. Agnes between Popes Honorius I. and Symmachus, are of the seventh century. Beneath is an ancient episcopal chair. The candelabrum is antique.

The 2nd chapel **R.** has a beautiful mosaic altar, and a relief of SS. Stephen and Laurence of 1490. The 3rd altar is that of S. Emerentiana, foster-sister of S. Agnes, who being discovered praying beside the tomb of her friend, was stoned to death because she refused to sacrifice to idols.

'So ancient is the worship paid to S. Agnes, that, next to the Evangelists and Apostles, there is no saint whose effigy is older. It is found on the ancient glass and earthenware vessels used by the Christians in the early part of the third century, with her name inscribed, which leaves no doubt of her identity. But neither in these images, nor in the mosaics, is the lamb introduced, which in later times has become her inseparable attribute, as the patroness of maidens and maidenly honesty.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* p. 105.

S. Agnes suffered martyrdom by being stabbed in the throat, under Diocletian, in her thirteenth year (see Chap. XIV.), after which, according to the expression used in the Acts of her martyrdom, her parents 'with all joy' laid her in the catacombs. One day, as they were praying near the body of their child, she appeared to them surrounded by a great multitude of virgins, triumphant and glorious like herself, with a lamb by her side, and said, 'I am in heaven, living with these virgins, my companions, near Him whom I have so much loved.' By her tomb, also, Constantia, a princess sick with hopeless leprosy, was praying for the healing of her body, when she heard a voice saying, 'Rise up, Constantia, and go on constantly ("Constanter age, Constantia") in the faith of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who shall heal your disease,'—and being cured of her evil, she besought her father to build this basilica as a thank-offering.[1] The story of Agnese, in its main points, is one

[1] *Une Chrétienne à Rome.*

of those of the early Church least ruined by imaginative zeal. S. Jerome speaks of her in the fourth century, and on ancient glass and earthenware vessels used by Christians of that date her name is inscribed. Her legend says: 'She was filled with all good gifts of the Holy Spirit, having loved and followed Christ, from her infancy, and was distinguished for her wonderful beauty.'

On the 21st of January a beautiful service is celebrated here, in which two lambs, typical of the purity of the virgin saint, are blessed upon the altar. They are sent by the chapter of S. John Lateran, and their wool is afterwards used to make the **pallium**, which is consecrated before it is worn by metropolitans by being deposited in a golden urn upon the tomb of S. Peter. The pallium is the sign of archiepiscopal jurisdiction.

'Ainsi, le simple ornement de laine que ces prélats doivent porter sur leurs épaules comme symbole de la brebis du Bon-Pasteur, et que le pontife romain prend sur l'autel même de Saint-Pierre pour le leur adresser, va porter jusqu'aux extrémités de l'Eglise, dans une union sublime, le double sentiment de la force du Prince des Apôtres et de la douceur virginale d'Agnès.'—*Dom Guéranger.*

Close to S. Agnese is the circular **Church of S. Costanza** (formerly, owing to its pagan decorations, called Temple of Bacchus), erected by Constantine as a baptistery and a mausoleum for his daughters, and converted into a church by Alexander IV. (1254–61) in honour of the Princess Constantia, ob. 354, whose life is represented by Marcellinus as anything but saint-like,[1] and who is proved by Bottari to have been confused in her canonisation with a sainted nun of the same name. The other two daughters of Constantine, Helena, wife of Julian, and Constantina, wife of Gallus Caesar, were buried in the same place. The rotunda, seventy-three feet in diameter, was externally surrounded by a vaulted corridor; twenty-four coupled columns of granite support the dome. The ring-vaulting is covered with mosaic arabesques of the fourth century, of flowers and birds, with scenes referring to a vintage. Excepting perhaps those of S. Pudenziana, and of S. Maria Maggiore, these are the earliest of Roman Christian mosaics. The same subjects are repeated on the splendid porphyry sarcophagus of S. Costanza, the interest of which is so greatly marred by its removal to the Vatican from its proper site, whence it was first stolen by Pope Paul II. (1462), who intended to have it for his own tomb.

Behind the two churches is an oblong space, ending in a mass of seventh-century ruin—'La Sedia del diavolo'—which is best seen from the valley below. This was long supposed to be the Hippodrome of Constantine, but is now discovered to have belonged to a Christian cemetery. Beyond this are the tufo quarries of S. Agnese, the largest still in use.

S. Agnese was built near the Coemeterium Ostrianum, close to

[1] 'She was an incarnate fury, never weary of exciting the savage disposition of her husband (Hannibalianus) and as insatiable as he was in her thirst for human blood.'—xiv. 1, 2 ('*Megaera Mortalis*').

which an early tradition affirms that S. Peter had his second residence in Rome.

'The reasons which caused S. Peter to decide on this spot on the Via Nomentana for the prosecution of his apostolate are of course unknown to us, but the tradition is too strong to allow us to doubt of the fact, and we can guess at some of the reasons which may have weighed with him. It was a region where public tranquillity was guaranteed by the close proximity of the camp of the Pretorian guards, which had only recently been constructed close by. There was water, too, available for the baptism of converts, for the place was marshy, and hence was known by the names of *ad Nymphas* and of *palus Caprea;* and, most important of all, there was already a Christian population in the neighbourhood, or, at the least, a Christian family, the head of which, who bore the name of Ostorius, possessed either a villa, or else one of the places of burial surrounded by more or less extensive grounds which were common among the richer classes at this time. Thus, within private grounds, protected by the rights of private property, he could teach and baptize undisturbed.'—*A. S. Barnes*, '*S. Peter in Rome.*'

A portion of what are now called the **Catacombs of S. Agnese**, lighted up on the festival of the saint, is entered from the **L. aisle** of the church. Another portion (for which a special *permesso* is required) is entered through the adjoining vineyard. After that of S. Calixtus, this, perhaps, is the catacomb which is most worthy of a visit, though the bit usually shown has little interest.

Armed with a *permesso* and a wax-taper, we enter by a staircase attributed to the time of Constantine. The passages are lined with the usual *loculi* for the dead, sometimes adapted for a single body, sometimes for two laid together. Beside many of the graves the palm of victory, or the dove, may be seen scratched on the mortar, and remains of the glass bottles or *ampullae*, which are erroneously supposed to indicate graves of martyrs, and to have contained a portion of their blood. One of the graves in the first gallery bears the names of consuls of A.D. 336, which fixes the date of this part of the cemetery.

The most interesting features here are a square chamber hewn in the rock, supposed to have been a school for catechists, with an armchair (*sedia*) cut out of the rock on either side of the entrance; and near this is the second chamber for female catechists, with plain seats in the same position. Opening out of the gallery close by is a chamber which was apparently used as a chapel; its *arcosolium* bears traces of an altar, and near it is a credence-table; the vault is richly painted—in the central compartment is our Lord seated between the rolls of the Old and New Testament. Above the arcosolium, in the place of honour, is our Saviour as the Good Shepherd, bearing a sheep upon His shoulders, and standing between other sheep and trees;—in the other compartments are the usual subjects—Daniel in the lions' den, the Three Children in the furnace, Moses taking off his shoes, Moses striking the rock, and—nearest the entrance—the Paralytic carrying his bed. A neighbouring chapel has also remains of an altar and credence-table, and well-preserved paintings—the Good Shepherd; Adam and Eve, with the tree between them; Jonah under the Gourd; and in the fourth compartment a figure described by Protestants

merely as an Orante, by Roman Catholics is considered to be the Blessed Virgin.[1] Near this chapel we can look down through an opening into the lower floor of the catacomb, which is lined with graves like the first.

In the farther part of the catacomb is a long narrow chapel which has received the name of the *cathedral* or *basilica*. It is divided into three parts, of which the farthest, or presbytery, contains an ancient episcopal chair with lower seats on either side for priests—said to be the throne where Pope S. Liberius (A.D. 359) officiated with his face to the people when he lived for more than a year hidden here.

'We see, not indeed the chair on which S. Peter sat, but the chair which was cut out of the solid tufa in the second century, and which was afterwards held in honour as the symbol and memorial of the fact that here had been set up for the first time in Rome the apostolic throne, and therefore, since the essence of a cathedral depends not on the existence of a vast and noble building, but simply on the possession of the bishop's seat, that here had been located the first and earliest cathedral of Christian Rome. Opposite we still see the column which once supported the great bowl of oil which formed the lamp that burned constantly before it, as before others of the places that were deemed holiest in Rome; and still at Monza we may see the phial, containing a little of the oil from that lamp, which, in the seventh century, while Gregory the Great occupied the pontifical throne, was carried back by John the Abbot to Queen Theodolinda, and there stored up as one of the most precious relics that the church of Monza could boast.'—*A. S. Barnes.*

A flight of steps leads down to what Northcote calls 'the Lady Chapel,' where, over the altar, is a fresco of an orante, without a nimbus, with outstretched arms, with a child in front of her. On either side of this picture, a very interesting one, is the monogram of Constantine, and the painting is referred to his time. Near this chapel is a chamber with a spring running through it, evidently used as a baptistery.

At the extremity of the catacomb, under the basilica of S. Agnes, is one of its most interesting features. Here the passages become wider and more irregular, the walls sloping and unformed, and graves cease to appear, indicating one of the ancient *arenariae*, which here formed the approach to the catacomb, and beyond which the Christians excavated their cemetery.

The graves throughout almost all the catacombs have been rifled, the bones which they contained having been distributed by the mediaeval Jews as relics throughout Christendom, and many of the sarcophagi and inscriptions removed to the Lateran and other museums.

'Vous pourriez voir ici la capitale des catacombes de toute la chrétienté. Les martyrs, les confesseurs, et les vierges y fourmillent de tout côtés. Quand on se fait besoin de quelques reliques en pays étrangers, le Pape n'a qu'à descendre ici et crier, *Qui de vous autres veut aller être saint en Pologne?* Alors, s'il se trouve quelque mort de bonne volonté, il se lève et s'en va.'—*De Brosses*, 1739.

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[1] The reasons for this belief are given in *The Roman Catacombs* of Northcote, p. 78.

Half a mile beyond S. Agnese, the road reaches the willow-fringed river Anio, in which 'Rhea Silvia changed her earthly life for that of a goddess,' and which (according to the legend which first became popular in the third century B.C.) carried the cradle containing her two babes, Romulus and Remus, into the Tiber, to be brought to land at the foot of the Palatine. Into this river we may also recollect that Sulla caused the remains of his ancient rival Marius to be thrown. The river is crossed by the **Ponte Nomentano**, a sixth-century and picturesque bridge, with 13th c. forked battlements.

'Ponte Nomentano is a solitary dilapidated bridge in the spacious green Campagna. Many ruins from the days of ancient Rome, and many watch-towers from the Middle Ages, are scattered over this long succession of meadows; chains of hills rise towards the horizon, now partially covered with snow, and fantastically varied in form and colour by the shadows of the clouds. And there is also the enchanting vapoury vision of the Alban hills, which change their hues like the chameleon, as you gaze at them—where you can see for miles little white chapels glittering on the dark foreground of the hills, as far as the Passionist Convent on the summit, and whence you can trace the road winding through thickets, and the hills sloping downwards to the lake of Albano, while a hermitage peeps through the trees.'—*Mendelssohn's Letters.*

At the predecessor of this bridge the horse that bore Nero in his flight is related to have shied at a corpse.

The hill immediately beyond the bridge is the **Mons Sacer** (not only the part usually pointed out on the right of the road, but the whole hillside), to which the famous secession of the Plebs took place in B.C. 495, amounting, according to Dionysius, to about 4000 persons. Some authors have reasonably held that this secession really occurred at the Aventine. Here they encamped upon the green slopes for four months, to the dismay of the patricians, who foresaw that Rome, abandoned by its defenders, would fall before her Volscian enemies, and that the crops would perish for want of cultivation. Here, therefore, Menenius Agrippa delivered his apologue of 'the Belly and its members,' which is said to have induced them to return to Rome; that which really decided them to do so being the concession of Tribunes to be the organs and representatives of the plebs, as the Consuls were of the patricians. The epithet Sacer is ascribed by Dionysius to an altar which the plebeians erected at the time on the hill to Ζεὺς Δειμάτιος.

A second secession to the Mons Sacer took place in B.C. 449, when the plebs with their Tribune Virginius rose against Appius Claudius after the death of Virginia, and retired hither under the advice of M. Duilius, until the Decemvirs resigned. The sacred hill is rapidly being carted away by the municipality to be used as building material.

The second turn L. beyond the bridge is the **Via delle Vigne Nuove**. We must follow this straight on for a mile, to find on our left the **Villa of Phaon**—'Suburbanum Phaontis'—which was the scene of Nero's suicide (June 9, 68). Leaving the carriage, we cross a vineyard (on right) to a farmhouse, whence a path winds toward the ruins of the villa, affording a lovely view of both Sabine and Alban hills. The Fosso della Cecchina, which made the marshy

place crossed by Nero, lies beyond us on our right. In the unearthed chambers are many fragments of columns, and a facsimile of the inscription to the faithful nurse of Nero, Claudia Ecloge, which served to identify the place.

> 'When Nero perished by the justest doom
> Which ever the destroyer yet destroy'd,
> Amidst the roar of liberated Rome,
> Of nations freed, and the world overjoy'd,
> Some hands unseen strew'd flowers upon his tomb,—
> Perhaps the weakness of a heart not void
> Of feeling for some kindness done when power
> Had left the wretch an uncorrupted hour.'
>
> —*Byron, 'Don Juan.'*

Returning, and following the main road past the castle known as **Casale dei Pazzi** (once used as a lunatic asylum) and the picturesque tomb called Torre Nomentana—as far as the seventh milestone—we reach the remains of the unearthed **Oratorio of S. Alessandro,** built on the site of the place where that Pope suffered martyrdom with his companions Eventius and Theodulus, A.D. 119, and was buried on the same spot by the Christian matron Severina.[1] The plan, disinterred 1856–57, is still perfect. The tribune and high altar retains fragments of rich marbles and alabasters; the episcopal throne also remains in its place.

The 'Acts of the martyrs Alexander, Eventius, and Theodulus,' narrate that Severina buried the bodies of the first two martyrs in one tomb, and the third separately—'Theodulum vero alibi sepelivit.' This is borne out by the discovery of a chapel opening from the nave, where the single word 'martyri' is conjectured to point out the grave of Theodulus. A baptistery has been found with its font, and another chapel adjoining is pointed out as the place where neophytes assembled to receive confirmation from the bishop. Among epitaphs laid bare in the pavement is one to a youth named Apollo, 'votus Deo' (dedicated to the priesthood?) at the age of fourteen. Entered from the church is the catacomb called 'ad nymphas,' containing many ancient inscriptions and a few rude paintings.

Mass is solemnly performed here by the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda on the festival of S. Alexander, May 3rd, when the roofless basilica, backed by the blue Sabine mountains and surrounded by the desolate and wonderfully silent Campagna, is filled with worshippers, and presents a striking scene. Beyond this a road to the left leads through beautiful woods to **Mentana**, occupying the site of the ancient Nomentum, and celebrated for the battle between the Papal troops and the Garibaldians on Nov. 3rd, 1867. The conflict took place chiefly on the hillside which is passed on the right before reaching the town. Two miles farther is **Monte Rotondo**, with an old castle of the Barberini family (once of the Orsini), from which there are beautiful views of Soracte on one side, and Monte Gennaro and the Monti Corniculani, on the other.

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[1] The bodies were removed to S. Sabina in the fifth century by Celestine I.

This place was also the scene of fighting in 1867. It is possible to vary the route in returning to Rome from hence by the lower road which leads by the Ponte Salaria. But a fine walk may be taken across country (*viâ* Osteria delle Molette) to the station at Bagni, and so back to Rome.

If we re-enter Rome by the **Porta Pia**, immediately within the gates (left) we find another villa, which formerly belonged to the Torlonia family, but which has been purchased and enlarged for the **British Embassy**. The straight road, which leads to the Quattro Fontane and Monte Cavallo, is lined on the left by the huge and hideous buildings of the **Ministero delle Finanze** commonly called the 'Debito Pubblico.'

'The Roman curses it for the millions it cost; but the stranger looks, smiles, and passes by a hideous building three hundred yards long.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

'Un amas gigantesque, un cube cyclopéen où les colonnes, les balcons, les frontons, les sculptures s'entassent, tout un monde démesuré, enfanté en un jour d'orgueil par la folie de la pierre.'—*Zola.*

As illustrative of some modern Roman ideas of building, it is related that while repairing one of the main walls towards the Via Goito a wheel-barrow, spade, and waistcoat were found inside it. But things are improving.

In laying the foundations for this building, those of the original *Porta Collina* of the Servian wall were discovered, from which the main road to the Sabines issued, and which was entered by the Gauls in 390 B.C., by Sulla, 88 B.C., and by the Democrats and Samnites, 82 B.C. Near this also was the *Campus Sceleratus*, already mentioned. Here the innocent Vestal Abbess Cornelia, declaring her innocence to the last, suffered, to gratify a superstitious whim of Domitian. The district of *Macao*, behind this, received its strange name from a gift of land which the princes of Savoy made long ago to the Jesuits for a mission in China. Here, since 1870, have arisen many of the ugliest buildings of the new town—wide, shadeless streets of featureless, ill-built, stuccoed houses, bearing pompous names blatant with Piedmontese history, and a preposterous square called the **Piazza dell' Independenza**, in the construction of which much of interest and beauty was swept away, though many of its houses tumbled down before they were finished. We recollect fifty men being killed by a collapse of this sort in 1890. Whilst some of the improvements in the old town are well executed, there is not a single point in this entirely modern Rome which calls for anything but contempt. Hastily run up, with the worst materials, and by unskilled workmen, its buildings luckily seem destined to perish within a century. The drainage is befitting; and decency is as disregarded as comfort. Yet such is the rapid increase of the Roman population that, before the roof is finished, poor families are often put into the lower apartments—without rent—to dry the walls with their lives, or meet inglorious death in the attempt.

The straight road beyond the Piazza (Via S. Martino) leads to the remains of the **Pretorian Camp**, established by Sejanus, the minister

of Tiberius. It was dismantled by Constantine, but, from three sides of it having been enclosed by Aurelian in the line of his city wall, its form is still preserved to us. Some of the most interesting specimens of Roman brickwork are to be seen here. The Pretorian Camp was an oblong of 1200 by 1500 feet; its area was occupied by a vineyard of the Jesuits till 1861, when a 'Campo Militare' was again established here. At the angle where the camp joins the Aurelian wall is the **Porta Chiusa**, a gate apparently closed in the ninth century; it gave access to the *Vivarium*, where the wild beasts were kept for the games of the Coliseum. These two establishments must have rendered the neighbourhood popular with early risers only. But, as a matter of fact, all Rome rose early.

It was within this camp that the Pretorians put up the Empire to auction after the death of Pertinax, in A.D. 193, when it was knocked down for an absurd figure to Didius Julianus, who soon paid for his purchase with his life.

Turning away from the vulgarities of the Piazza dell' Independenza in the direction of the railway station, we pass a huge fragment of the **Wall of Servius Tullius**, formed of massive blocks of peperino. Here in older days used to be a papal Custom-House or Dogana. The *Agger* behind the wall, which could be traced from the Porta Esquilina (near the Arch of Gallienus) to the Porta Collina (near the Gardens of Sallust) has been destroyed. In the time of the Empire it had become a kind of promenade, as we learn from Horace.[1] But on the occasion of a sudden pestilence during the Republic, the whole of its moat, skirting the horrible cemetery of the Esquiline (100 feet wide and 30 high) had been piled with corpses thrown in until they reached the level of the embankment, and masses of human remains—representing perhaps 24,000 corpses—were found during the excavations of 1874.

To the left, a road, three-quarters of a mile long, leads—passing under an *Arch of Sixtus V.*—to the Porta S. Lorenzo (Chap. XIII.).

A small **Obelisk** erected opposite the railway station (in memory of soldiers killed at Dogali in Africa in January 1887) was found (1883) near S. Stefano del Cacco, where it had belonged to the Temple of Isis and Serapis. It is of the red granite of Assouan, and was probably brought to Rome by Domitian. It relates to Rameses II. and his achievements.

The **Railway Station** and the adjoining buildings occupy a site which, till 1870, was one of the most delightful spots in Rome—the grounds of the *Villa Massimo Negroni*, celebrated long since for its exquisite cypress avenues and stately terrace, lined with orange-trees and noble sarcophagi.[2] In a part of this villa, north

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[1] *Sat.* i. 8, 15.

[2] The destruction of the Villa Negroni constituted one of the most flagrant instances of injustice. It was not sold from motives of avarice like the Villa Ludovisi, but forcibly expropriated 'for the needs of the city.' Only seven francs a metre was paid as compensation, though twenty francs were offered at the very same time by an eminent private individual still living in Rome. It

of the railway, stood a colossal statue of Minerva (generally called 'Roma'), which was a relic of the residence here of Cardinal Felix Peretti, who, as a boy, had watched the pigs of his father at Montalto, and who lived to mount the papal throne as Sixtus V. The pedestal of the statue bore his arms,—a lion holding three pears in its paw. In the villa, of which the last relic—its noble gateway—was finally destroyed in January 1889, lived, with her uncle by marriage, the famous Vittoria Accoramboni (wife of the handsome Francesco Peretti), who had been vainly sought in marriage by the powerful old Paolo Orsini. It was from hence that her young husband was summoned to a secret interview with her brothers on the slopes of the Quirinal, where he was murdered. Hence, also Vittoria went forth—on the very day of the installation of Sixtus V.—to her strange second marriage with the murderer of her husband, who died six months after, leaving her with one of the largest fortunes in Italy—an amount of wealth which led to her own barbarous murder a month later through the jealousy of the Orsini.

Here, after the election of her brother to the papacy, lived Camilla, sister of Sixtus V., whom he refused to recognise when she came to him in splendid attire as a princess, but tenderly embraced when she appeared in her peasant's wimple and hood. From hence her two grand-daughters were married—one to Virginio Orsini of Bracciano, the other to Marc-Antonio Colonna, a double alliance which healed the feud of centuries between the two families.

The garden-terrace of the Villa Negroni ended near a reservoir (on the spot where one turns from the Piazza to the departure side of the Central Station), which had belonged to the Baths of Diocletian. Magnificent remains of houses, built of concrete, faced with fine opus reticulatum, were discovered in 1874, and barbarously destroyed. An inscribed stone found near the south-west corner of the station marked the boundary of the property of the rich Lollia Paulina, the repudiated wife of Caligula, whose estates were later confiscated by the jealousy of Agrippina, under the Emperor Claudius. This was that Lollia Paulina described by Pliny as appearing in society in emeralds and pearls—as ear-rings, necklaces, stomacher, bracelets, and the trimming of her robe—to the value of 40,000,000 sesterces.

Far beyond the lower part of the villa stretched the Esquiline, now built over in the worst style of Chicago. Once certainly when celebrated as the *Campus Esquilinus*, the large pauper burial-ground already referred to, where bodies were thrown into pits called *puticuli*, its condition was still worse. Horace dwells on the horrors of this burial-ground, where he places the scene of Canidia's incantations:—

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was in vain that the aged Prince Massimo, who was devoted to his paternal inheritance, prayed for redress; and when the cruel seizure was completed, and the magnificent old cypress and orange trees of the villa fell under the axe of the spoiler, he died of a broken heart.

'Nec in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus
Novendiales dissipare cineres.'
—*Epod.* xvii. 47.

'Has nullo perdere possum
Nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
Protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentes.
Vidi egomet nigrâ succinctam vadere pallâ
Canidiam, pedibus nudis, passoque capillo,
Cum Saganâ majore ululantem; pallor utrasque
Fecerat horrendas aspectu.

. . . . . .

Serpentes atque videres
Infernas errare canes; lunamque rubentem
Ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulcra.'
—*Hor. Sat.* i. 8, 20.

The place was considered pestilential until its purification by Maecenas.

'Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
Conservus vili portanda locabat in area
Hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurrae, Nomentanoque nepoti.
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat; haeredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
Aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.'
—*Hor. Sat.* i. 8, 8.

Malefactors' bodies after execution were thrown here.

'Post insepulta membra different lupi,
Et Esquilinae alites.'
—*Hor. Epod.* v. 100.

'The Esquiline cemetery was divided into two sections, one for the artisans who could afford to be buried apart in Columbaria, containing a certain number of cinerary urns; one for the slaves, beggars, prisoners and others, who were thrown in revolting confusion into common pits or fosses. This latter section converted an area one thousand feet long and three hundred deep, and contained many hundred *puticuli*, or vaults, thirty feet square, thirty deep. In many cases the contents of each vault, when examined, were reduced to a uniform mass of black, viscid, pestilent, unctuous matter: in a few cases the bones could in a measure be singled out and identified. The readers will hardly believe me when I say that men and beasts, bodies and carcasses, and any kind of unmentionable rubbish of the town were heaped up in these dens. Fancy what must have been the condition of this hellish district in times of pestilence, when the mouths of the crypts must have been kept open all day.'—*Lanciani*, '*Ancient Rome.*'

Close to the Villa Negroni stood, with beautiful gardens behind it, the *Villa Strozzi*, where Alfieri wrote his 'Merope' and 'Saul.' It is here that he posted up at his entrance the eccentric notice: 'Vittorio Alfieri non riceve in casa ne persone ne ambasciate di quelli che non conosce e da quali non dipende.' A mosaic carpet (let into the wall) hung before a window, where Pope Sixtus V. had looked out. The gardens, with their curious grottoes and fountains, were first swept away by the municipality, and now the fine old villa itself has been destroyed. It stood between the Via Nazionale, Via Venti Settembre, and Via Quattro Fontane.

Opposite the station are the vast, but for the most part uninteresting, remains of the **Baths of Diocletian**, covering a space of

440,000 square yards. They could accommodate 3200 bathers. They were begun by Diocletian and Maximian about A.D. 302, and finished by Constantius and Maximinus. It is stated by Cardinal Baronius that 40,000 Christians were employed in the work; some bricks marked with crosses have occurred in the ruins. At the angles of the principal front stood two circular halls, both of which remain: one was near the Villa Strozzi, at the back of what was the Negroni garden, and is now used as a granary; the other is transformed into the Church of S. Bernardo. The modern Esedra with its fine fountain occupies the site of the ancient one.

The Baths are supposed to have first fallen into decay after the Gothic invasion of A.D. 410. In the sixteenth century the site was sold to Cardinal Bellay, ambassador of Francis I. at Rome, who built his palace among the ruins; after his death, in 1560, the property was resold to S. Carlo Borromeo. He re-leased it to his uncle, Pope Pius IV., who founded the monastery of Carthusians. These, in 1563, sold part of the ruins to Caterina Sforza, who founded the Cistercian Convent of S. Bernardo. Recalling earlier days, we find Petrarch writing to his friend Cardinal Giovanni Colonna:—

'We used, after the fatigue of wandering about the immense city, often to make a halt at the Baths of Diocletian, and sometimes to ascend to the vaulted roof of that once magnificent edifice; for nowhere is there sweeter air, a wider prospect, more silence and desirable solitude. There came to us no talk of business nor of private matters, nor of the affairs of the commonwealth, which we had often enough grieved over. And wandering among the crumbling walls, or sitting on the roof, the fragments of the ruins beneath our eyes, we used to have much talk on history, I being allowed to be the better versed in ancient, you in modern story. Much discourse, too, was held of that part of philosophy which treats of morals; and sometimes we spoke of the arts, and their inventors and beginners.' [1]

About 1520, a Sicilian priest called Antonio del Duca came to Rome, bringing with him from Palermo pictures of the seven archangels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Santhiel, Gendiel, and Borachiel), copied from some which existed in the Church of S. Angiolo. Carried away by the desire of instituting archangel-worship in Rome, he obtained leave to affix these pictures to seven of the columns still standing erect in the Baths of Diocletian, which, ten years after, Julius III. allowed to be consecrated under the title of S. Maria degli Angeli; though Pius IV., declaring that angel-worship had never been sanctioned by the Church, except under the three names mentioned in scripture, ordered the pictures of Del Duca to be taken away.[2] At the same time he engaged Michelangelo to convert the great oblong hall of the Baths (Tepidarium) into a church. The church then arranged was not such as we now see. In 1749, the desire of erecting a chapel to the Beato Nicolo Albergati led to the church being transformed under Vanvitelli, in consequence of which the former nave became a transept. The piscina of the Baths was destroyed in 1726.

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[1] See Trollope's *Homes and Haunts of the Italian Poets.*
[2] See Hemans' *Catholic Italy*, Part I.

The **Church of S. Maria degli Angeli**, still magnificent within, is now entered by a rotunda (Laconicum), which contains four monuments of some interest; on the right of the entrance is that of the artist Carlo Maratta, who died 1713; on the left, that of Salvator Rosa, who died 1673, with an epitaph by his son, describing him as 'Pictorum sui temporis nulli secundum, poetarum omnium temporum principibus parem!' Beyond, on the right, is the monument of Cardinal Alciati, professor of law at Milan, who procured his hat through the interest of S. Carlo Borromeo, with the epitaph 'Virtute vixit, memoria vivit, gloria vivet;'—on the left is that of Cardinal Parisio di Cosenza, inscribed, 'Corpus humo tegitur, fama per ora volat, spiritus astra tenet.' In the chapel on the right are the angels of Peace and Justice, by *Pettrich;* in that on the left, Christ appearing to the Magdalen, by *Arrigo Fiamingo.* Against the pier on the right is the grand statue of **S. Bruno**, by *Houdon*, of which Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) used to say, 'He would speak, if the rule of his Order did not forbid it.'

The body of the church is now a gallery of very large pictures, most of which were brought from S. Peter's, where their places have been supplied by mosaic copies. In what is now the **R. transept**, on the right, is the crucifixion of S. Peter, *Ricciolini;* the Fall of Simon Magus, a copy of *Francesco Vanni* (the original in S. Peter's); on the left, S. Jerome, with S. Bruno and S. Francis, *Muziano* (1528–92) (the landscape by *Brill*); and the miracles of S. Peter, *Baglioni.* This transept ends in the **chapel** of the Beato Nicolo Albergati, a Carthusian Cardinal, who was sent as legate by Martin V., in 1422, to make a reconciliation between Charles VI. of France and Henry V. of England. The principal miracle ascribed to him, the conversion of bread into coal in order to convince the Emperor of Germany of his divine authority, is represented in the indifferent altar-piece. In the **L. transept**, which ends in the chapel of S. Bruno, are: on the left, S. Basil by the solemnity of the Mass rebuking the Emperor Valens, *Subleyras;* and the Fall of Simon Magus, *Pompeo Battoni;*—on the right, the Immaculate Conception, *P. Bianchi;* and Tabitha raised from the Dead, *P. Costanzi.*

In the **tribune** are, R., the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, *Romanelli*, and the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, a grand fresco of *Domenichino*, painted originally on the walls of S. Peter's, and removed here with great skill by the engineer Zabaglia; on the left, the Death of Ananias and Sapphira, *Pomarancio*, and the much-admired Baptism of Christ, *Maratta.*

On the R. of the **choir** is the tomb of Cardinal Antonio Serbelloni; on the left, that of Pius IV., Giovanni Angelo Medici (1559–1565), brother of the brigand Marchese di Marignano, of Como, and uncle of S. Carlo Borromeo; a lively and mundane Pope, but the persecutor of the Caraffas (nephews of his predecessor, Paul IV.), whom he executed in the Castle of S. Angelo.

'Here, in 1896, the heir to the throne of Italy was married with great magnificence, this particular church being chosen because, as a historical

monument, it is regarded as the property of the Italian State, and is therefore not under the immediate management of the Vatican.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The enormous space of the vaulting of the church is an example of the strength of the Roman cement (*pozzolana*). Of the sixteen columns (45 feet in height, 16 feet in circumference), only the eight in the transept are of ancient Egyptian granite ; the rest are in brick, stuccoed in imitation, and were additions of Vanvitelli. Eight feet of the ancient columns are buried beneath the pavement, on which is a meridian line, traced in 1703.

'Quand Dioclétien faisait travailler les pauvres chrétiens à ses étuves ce n'était pas son dessein de bâtir des églises à leurs successeurs ; il ne pensait pas être fondateur, comme il l'a été, d'un monastère de Pères Chatreux et d'un monastère de Pères Feuillants. . . . C'est aux dépens de Dioclétien, de ses pierres et de son ciment qu'on fait des autels et des chapelles à Jésus-Christ, des dortoirs et des réfectoires à ses serviteurs. La providence de Dieu se joue de cette sorte des pensées des hommes, et les événements sont bien éloignés des intentions quand la terre a un dessein et le ciel un autre.'—*De Balzac.*

The once Carthusian convent behind the church is partly used as a barrack for the Fire-Brigade, but chiefly for the splendid Museum.

A passage through the ruins of the baths between the church and the railway station leads to the **Museo delle Terme** (open daily 10 to 4, 1 fr., Sundays 10 to 2, free), appropriated to sculpture discovered during recent excavations in the city. The nucleus of the collection was the **Museo Teverino**, removed in 1886 from the Trastevere, where it was devoted to objects found while mismanaging the embanking of the Tiber. The collection is arranged in and around the grand *Cloister* of the convent, built from designs of Michelangelo, which we enter on W. side. In the centre is one of a formerly noble group of five cypresses said to have been planted by his hand. but the old well and fountain, which they formerly overshadowed, have been replaced by new ones, and in doing so, their roots were so much injured that they never recovered it. Fresh trees have been planted. We can no longer realise here the feelings of Madame de Staël :

'Il semble que la vie ne sert ici qu'à contempler la mort—les hommes qui existent ainsi sont pourtant les mêmes à qui la guerre et toute son activité suffiraient à peine s'ils y étaient accoutumés. C'est un sujet inépuisable de réflexion que les différentes combinaisons de la destinée humaine sur la terre. Il se passe dans l'intérieur de l'âme mille accidents, il se forme mille habitudes, qui font de chaque individu un monde et son histoire.'—*Corinne.*

It will make everything easier for the visitor if, after taking his ticket at the turnstile, he makes direct for the **Cloister** and turns to his **Right**. He will then at once enter the vestibule and eight rooms devoted to the **Ludovisi Collection.** (See p. 361.)

The garden (or cloister of twenty-four bays), however, is pretty, and the surrounding arcades are filled with sarcophagi and fragments of sculpture. In the monks' cells, or little houses—*casette*—which open from the corridor, are arranged inscriptions, busts, and

a number of objects in bronze, glass, earthenware, &c., from Antemnae and other Latian sites. We may notice, in the north corridor—

Casetta B. 1st Room: N. Cloister. Altar from Ostia, with Mars, Venus, and Romulus, Remus, and the Tiber; also the Chariot of Mars. *3rd Room:* Portrait head (republican).
Casette C. and D. Inscriptions from the sacred grove of the Arvales.
Casetta E. 1st Room: Female head.
Bust of Sept. Severus from Ostia.
23. Hera, found 1878, in the Stadium on the Palatine.
1. Dionysos, with an ivy-wreath from the Palatine. 1864.
3. A slab of the Frieze from Hadrian's Mausoleum (Castle of S. Angelo). Found 1892.
12. Helmeted youth's head.
13. Hermes.
17. A girl mantled, with a pitcher beside her.
29. Sarcophagus with the story of Medea.
37. Relief of a Temple (Venus and Roma ?).
41. Mosaic of a scene on the Nile.

In Cloister—

146. R., a sleeping boy with a lantern and Phrygian capote.
145. Hermes from the Baths of Caracalla.
120. A restored pilaster covered with festooning vine-branches and masks of satyrs.
112. A colossal statue of a priestess. Fine drapery.

In N. Cloister—

70. A fragment of a frieze from the Forum of Trajan.
52. A head of Pallas. The helmet adorned with ram's heads in relief.

In the east corridor are fragmentary reliefs from the screen-wall which enclosed the **Ara Pacis** of Augustus (*q.v.*), on the site of the Palazzo Fiano in the Corso, now being explored.

'References to the Ara Pacis in ancient literature show that, at least during the Early Empire, it was regarded as a great work, and the carved and moulded fragments of it which have been found at various dates, in 1550 and 1859, show that it was rightly so regarded. It is no exaggeration to class it among the most exquisite artistic productions of the golden age. But its remains, discovered at various dates, have been scattered among various museums. You may see them in Rome, in Florence, in Paris, and while you admire each individual piece, you gain no chance of realising what was the whole to which they once belonged. Now a German archaeologist has essayed, not without the aid of conjecture, to piece the fragments together and reconstruct the original monument. It was not simply an altar, but an altar set in the midst of a little stone enclosure, forty-five feet perhaps in length and breadth, and it is the enclosing wall which has yielded all or nearly all the remains which we so much admire. This wall was as much as twenty feet in height, and was carved all over in low relief. Outside, the ornament was divided into two portions; above, a row of figures in procession, about three-quarters life-size; below, a charming design of rich foliation. Inside were pilasters with festoons between them, and behind the altar a niche for a statue.'—*Edinburgh Review*, January 1900.

The last fragment found, having a portion of a festoon, was in the choir of Il Gesù (1900), where it had been used as a gravestone. It is now here in the cloister.

The **heads of animals** near the fountain in the centre of the court come from the Forum of Trajan.

On the **upper floor** are—

Upstairs—

After viewing the '**Fasti Prenestini**' and fragment (found in the Tiber) of a group (fourth century, B.C.), representing the **Snatching of a Girl,** turn to **left** :—

Room II.—

Stuccoes (1st century A.D.) with **landscape scenes from the Villa Farnesina,** excavated 1880 : Heleuistic-Egyptian. **Cinerary Urns** from the tomb of the **Platorini** there ; head of Minatia Polla and her vase close to the window. 1st century A.D. : early.

Room III.—

1. **Pugilist resting.** (See over page.)
2. **Greek monarch.** do.
3. **Bacchus.** (Dionysos.) do. Tiber, 1885.
4. **Bifrons.**

Room IV.—

1. **Palatine Venus.**
2. Æsculapius, from the Palatine.
3. Apollo from Tiber. Fifth century.
4. Head of Venus. Fourth century.
5. **Head of Poetess.** Fifth century.

Room V.—

Stuccoes (Farnesina).
Bacchus from **Villa Hadriana.** Tivoli.

Room VI.—

Vestalis Maxima. Third century A.D., found 1883, in the House of the Vestals.
Statue of Youth : from Subiaco. Fourth century B.C. (See over page.)
Dying Persian.
Sleeping girl. Third century B.C. (See over page.) 'Admirably executed.' —*Helbig.*
Hermaphrodite, sleeping.

Room VII.—

Glass : Amber (Sicilian) jewellery : frescoes.

Room VIII.—

Similar.

Room IX.—

Gold coins (solidi) from Vestal Domus in Forum, found November 1899. Fifth century A.D.

Room X.—

Frescoes. Small black marble statuette ; seated lady ; and one of white marble, standing both headless. Elaborate drapery.

Room XI.—

Basalt copy of a bronze statue of a Greek boy, fifth century B.C. Portrait-heads. Socrates.

Room XII.—

Mosaics. Heads of Nero, Sabina, Empress of Hadrian. Clodius Albinus, and Antoninus Pius.

Room XIII.—

Charioteers; and inscription of Avillius Teres, a victorious one. Found at Castel S. Angelo, 1902.

Room XIV.—

Head of the elder Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius. Head of Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus. Caracalla. Frieze of a Columbarium (Augustan). Urna cineraria. We here meet with long galleries full of sepulchral remains. An ancient (restored) ivory table.

An exquisite basalt statue of a boy (Bacchus?) was found on the Palatine. Of still nobler character are two bronze statues (Room III.) discovered while laying the foundations of the new theatre (Via Nazionale) on the slope of the Quirinal—a realistic **resting Pugilist**, whose blood and bruises are represented in the bronze; and the splendid figure of an **athlete**, which has been described as a portrait of Philip V. of Macedon, which may rank with the finest works in the Vatican. It was found, Feb. 7, 1884, in making excavations near the Servian wall, not far from the spot where the other statue was discovered, on the Quirinal.

'This noble figure is seven feet four inches high, two feet wide at the shoulders, and represents a nude athlete, or at least a man of the athletic type, in the full development of his strength, whose features are evidently modelled from nature, in other words, it is a portrait statue. . . . The figure stands on the left leg, the right being extended a little forwards. The right arm is bent behind the back, and rests on the hip, as is the case with the Vatican Meleager and the Farnese Hercules. The left arm is raised high above the head, and was supported by a rod or a lance, the traces of which are to be seen all along the forearm. On the breast of the figure the letters

L . V . L . XXIIX

were engraved at a very late period; that is to say, many years—centuries perhaps—after the removal of the statue from Greece to Rome.'—*Lanciani*, '*Ancient Rome.*'

'The execution of this statue is unequal.'—*Helbig.*

A third bronze statue—a **Bacchus**—was found in the bed of the Tiber in 1885, while laying the foundations of the Ponte Garibaldi and is considered to be work of the second century B.C.

'The merry god is represented in the full bloom of youth, and has a decidedly feminine type, especially in the arrangement of the long, curling hair, which is parted in the middle and fastened with a band at the forehead. The band is gracefully inlaid with copper and silver. The eyeballs are made of a soft yellowish stone called palombino.'—*Lanciani.*

'Though the statue reproduces a Hellenic type of Dionysos, in the free style, it shows a singular constraint in the treatment of the nude.'—*Helbig.*

Room VI. A beautiful head of a **Sleeping girl** was found in the Villa of Nero near Subiaco, and from the same place comes the wonderful (headless) figure of a **young man kneeling** while stretching out his arms as if in defence. It is considered to be an original Greek work. A reclining Hermaphrodite was found (1879) in laying the foundations of the Costanzi Theatre. A statue and bust, with other relics now in Room II., come from the tomb of Sulpicia Platorina, found near the Farnesina: a votive bronze hand with the serpent bracelet was found near the Marmorata, 1886.

Room XII. contains a set of Mosaics, illustrating the Factiones Circenses, or four Parties, *i.e.* Reds, Greens, Blues, and Whites, of the Circus. Observe the costumes of the drivers. (Cf. *Antichi Monumenti*, by Ersilia Cäetani-Lovatelli.) Also, a number of wall-paintings from Ostia, the Aventine, and the Columbarium of the Statilii (excavated 1875) on the Esquiline. A Cinerary Urn with scenes from the Eleusinian mysteries, from the same spot. (*Cf.* Brizio, *Pitture e Sepolchri scoperti nell' Esquilino*, T. 1, 2, and *Bulletino della Commissione Archeol. Comunale*, vii. 1879.)

The hoard of **Anglo-Saxon coins** found in a ninth century house in the Atrium Vestae (1883) will be observed displayed in glass cases, likewise the splendid find of **golden 'Solidi,'** also from the Atrium Vestae, found by Comm. Boni (Nov. 17, 1899), which had been hidden under a tile therein in A.D. 472, probably when Ricimer sacked Rome. Note also a fine golden **Fibula** found by Mr. Bliss in the Stadium on the Palatine (1896).

An object of great interest (now on the right of the entrance of Room I.) is a magnificent inscription recording the revival of the **Ludi Saeculares** of 17 B.C. under Augustus, and commemorating the Carmen Saeculare of Horace, and appointing singers, twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls of patrician descent, who were to recite it on June 3. The inscription was found in many fragments, Sept. 20, 1890, near the site of the Pons Triumphalis.

'The origin of the saecular games seems to be this. In the early days of Rome the north-west section of the Campus Martius, bordering on the Tiber, was conspicuous for traces of volcanic activity. There was a pool here called Tarentum or Terentum, fed by hot sulphur springs, the efficiency of which is attested by the cure of Volesus, the Sabine, and his family, described by Valerius Maximus. Heavy vapours hung over the springs, and tongues of flame were seen issuing from the cracks of the earth. The locality became known by the name of the fiery field (*campus igniſer*), and its relationship with the infernal realms was soon an established fact in folk-lore. An altar to the infernal gods was erected on the borders of the pool, and games were held periodically in honour of Dis and Proserpina, the victims being a black bull and a black cow. Tradition attributed this arrangement of time and ceremony to Volesus himself, who, grateful for the recovery of his three children, offered sacrifices to Dis and Proserpina, spread *lectisternia*, or reclining couches, for the gods, with tables and viands before them, and celebrated games for three nights, one for each child who had been restored to health. In the republican epoch they were called *Ludi Tarentini*, from the name of the pool, and were celebrated for the purpose of averting from the state the recurrence of some great calamity by which it had been afflicted.'—*Lanciani*, '*Pagan and Christian Rome.*'

The fragments were found in making the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, near S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.

Ludovisi Collection—

Vestibule-room—

Nascita di Afrodite. Found 1887. Fifth century B.C. (The subject is a matter of doubt. Perhaps an accouchement.)
Room 2. (Direct-room) Satyr.
Room 3. Electra and Orestes. (See over page.)
Room 4. Busts of Emperors and Sarcophagi.

Room I. (Right). **Ares** reposing seated, with a Cupid at his feet, found in the portico of Octavia, and restored by Bernini—

'The head, slightly inclined towards the right shoulder, wears an expression of dreamy pensiveness. To indicate the cause of this unusual mood of the God of War the sculptor has placed a small figure of Eros, sitting as in ambush, behind the right leg of Ares. . . . The head of Ares corresponds to a type created by the second Attic School, while the body approaches the naturalism introduced into Art by Lysippos.'—*Helbig.*

'The god is sitting in a careless, easy attitude, absorbed in a dreamy reverie. The shield is resting unused at his side, his left hand inactively and almost absently holds the sword; the Cupid playing at his feet, moreover, indicates to us that it is love for Venus which has overcome the God of Battles. A mark on the left shoulder seems to indicate that Venus herself stood behind him, and that thus originally the work was a group.'—*Lübke.*

Room III. (Direct). **Electra and Orestes**, by Menelaos, pupil of Stephanos:[1]—

'This beautiful group depicts the meeting of a mother with her long-lost son, at the moment when, as Welcher says, the first agitating emotion of meeting is followed by calm and joy, and when, under the sense of happiness, the question arises, "Is it really thou?" After various interpretations had been attempted, such as Penelope and Telemachus, Theseus and Aethra, Electra and Orestes, Otto Jahn at length has given an explanation of the scene which, more than any other, elucidates the work. It is Aepytus, who returns after a long absence to avenge his mother, Merope, on her consort Polyphontes, the murderer of her first husband. In order to make sure of the offender, Aepytus has assumed to be the murderer of the son. Merope, beside herself with grief, is on the point of avenging her child on the stranger, when the former pupil is recognised by an old tutor, and the son is restored to his mother. This subject, which is dramatically treated by Euripides, and also employed by the Roman poet Ennius, is depicted in the marble work at the touching moment of recognition.'—*Lübke.*

'It is highly improbable that Menelaos himself created the group before us. He must have imitated a more ancient work, perhaps some Attic sepulchral group of the middle of the fourth century B.C. It would be difficult to decide whether the youth and the woman are meeting or parting from one another. The characterisation of both is, however, so little individualised that no compulsion exists to identify them with definite mythological personages.'—*Helbig.*

A Youth in repose. Head belongs to another statue.

Room III. (Right). Fine basin of Ranocchio Verde: five feet diameter.

85. Mars, helmeted. (Over the door) Venus and Amor. Esculapius. Copy of Cnidian Venus.

Room IV. The **Dying Gaul and his Dead Wife**, from the Horti Lamiani (ill-restored; belonging to a group to which also belonged the so-called *Dying Gladiator* in the Capitoline Museum, Pergamenian):—

'The foe is evidently approaching, and the danger of captivity and slavery admits of no delay. The death-defying warrior uses the moment to give the fatal blow to his wife, who, after the fashion of the Northern races, accompanied him to the battle. While he supports his victim with the left arm, letting her fall gently to the ground, with all the power of his uplifted right hand he plunges his short broadsword in his breast.'—*Lübke.*

'This group probably formed the centre of a cycle of statues, the right corner of which was occupied by the so-called "Dying Gladiator" of the Capitol. Like that statue, the group seems to be a copy, in marble, of a Pergamenian bronze original of the time of Attalos I.'—*Helbig.*

[1] 'This sculptor flourished about the time of Tiberius.'—*Helbig.*

78. A Juno standing.
70 Head of Jove. A Niobid.
61. A Pallas, an ill-restored copy of Athena, by Pheidias. Hygeia. Demeter.

Room V. Juno Ludovisiana. Igia. Demeter (Velata).

The recently-purchased **Ludovisi-Boncompagni** sculptures are kept together in eight rooms, entered from W. cloister. The '**Ludovisi Juno,**' much admired by Goethe—

'This work combines the unapproachable majesty of the queen of the mighty Jupiter with womanly grace and feminine dignity. The severe, commanding brow is softened into gracious loveliness by the soft, waving hair; imperishable youthful beauty blooms on the delicately rounded cheeks, and the powerful outline of the nose, lips, and chin expresses an energy of character based on moral purity, and invested with a gleam of marvellous beauty.'—*Lübke.*

It is by no means certain that this is not an idealised Roman Empress.

We may also notice the Bronze **Head of an ancient Roman**, and the beautiful Head of the (so-called) **Sleeping Fury**, belonging to a group perhaps resting at the tomb of Agamemnon; and **Venus of Cnidos** (replica), found near remains of her temple, which were discovered in the sixteenth century by Gabriele Vacca in the Vigna Verospi, afterwards incorporated with the Villa Ludovisi; a youth resting.

'It may be supposed that this statue and a companion figure were placed in front of an entrance as ideal guardians. The head does not belong to it, dating at earliest from the time of the Antonines.'—*Helbig.*

On a line with the monastery is a Prison for Women—then an Institution for Deaf, Dumb, and Blind—then (past the Grand Hotel) the **Fountain of the Terme**[1] (designed by Fontana), sometimes called Fontanone dell' Acqua Felice (Felice, from Fra Felice, the name by which Sixtus V. was known before his papacy), to which the Acqua Felice (or Alexandrina) was brought from Colonna, twenty-two miles distant in the Alban hills, in 1583, by Sixtus V. It is surmounted by a hideous statue of Moses by *Prospero Bresciano*, who is said to have died of vexation at the ridicule it excited when uncovered. The side statues, of Aaron and Gideon, are by *Giov. Batt. della Porta* and *Flaminio Vacca*. The black authentic Egyptian lions, now in the Vatican, formerly adorned this fountain. Some of the buildings round the piazza belong to the *Horrea Ecclesiae*, in which the ancient institution of imperial storehouses of grain was revived by the popes, Gregory XIII., Paul V., and Clement XI.

Opposite this, in the Via Venti Settembre, is the **Church of S. Maria della Vittoria**, built in 1605 by Carlo Maderno for Paul V. Its façade was added from the designs of Giov. Batt. Soria, by Cardinal Borghese, in payment to the monks of the adjoining Carmelite convent for a statue of the Hermaphrodite, which had been found in their vineyard. This is one of the wealthiest in marbles of all

[1] The name *Termini*, as applied to this fountain and district—a lingering Latinism—was retained till 1876.

the Roman churches, and one of the few containing the rare Breccia Quintilina (Sides of the Piers).

The name of the church commemorates an image of the Virgin, burnt in 1833, which was revered as having been instrumental in gaining victory for the Catholic imperial troops over the Protestant Frederick and Elizabeth of Bohemia at the battle of the White Mountain, near Prague. The flags and cornets taken in this battle used formerly to adorn the church. The procession after the battle is represented on the walls of the apse by *Serra*. The **3rd chapel** on the L. contains the Trinity by *Guercino;* a Crucifixion by *Guido;* and a portrait of Cardinal Cornaro, *Guido*. The altar-piece of the **2nd chapel**, R., representing S. Francis receiving the infant Christ from the Virgin, is by *Domenichino*, as are two frescoes on the side walls. In the **L. transept**, above an altar adorned with a gilt bronze-relief of the Last Supper, by *Cav. d'Arpino*, is a group representing S. Teresa transfixed by the dart of the Angel of Death, by *Bernini*. The following criticisms upon it are fair specimens of the contrast between English and French taste:—

'All the Spanish pictures of S. Teresa sin in their materialism; but the grossest example—the most offensive—is the marble group of Bernini in the Santa Maria della Vittoria at Rome. The head of S. Teresa is that of a languishing nymph, the angel is a sort of Eros; the whole has been significantly described as "a parody of Divine love." The vehicle, white marble,—its place in a Christian church,—enhance all its vileness. The least destructive, the least prudish in matters of art, would here willingly throw the first stone.'—*Mrs. Jameson's 'Monastic Orders,'* p. 421.

'La sainte Thérèse de Bernin est adorable! couchée, évanouie d'amour, les mains, les pieds nus pendants, les yeux demi-clos, elle s'est laissée tomber de bonheur, et d'extase. Son visage est maigri, mais combien noble! C'est la vraie grande dame qui a séché dans les feux, dans les larmes, en attendant celui qu'elle aime. Jusqu'aux draperies tortillées, jusqu'à la languissement des mains défaillantes, jusqu'au soupir qui meurt sur ses lèvres entr'ouvertes, il n'y a rien en elle ni autour d'elle qui n'exprime l'angoisse voluptueuse et le devin élancement de son transport. On ne peut pas rendre avec des mots une attitude si enivrée et si touchante. Renversée sur le dos, elle pâme, tout son être si dissout; le moment poignant arrive, elle gémit; c'est son dernier gémissement, la sensation est trop forte. L'ange cependant, un jeune page de quatorze ans, en légère tunique, la poitrine découverte jusqu'au dessous du sein, arrive gracieux, aimable; c'est le plus joli page de grand seigneur qui vient faire le bonheur d'une vassale trop tendre. Un sourire demi-complaisant, demi-malin, creuse des fossettes dans ses fraîches joues luisantes; sa flèche d'or à la main indique le tressaillement délicieux et terrible dont il va secouer tous les nerfs de ce corps charmant ardent, qui s'étale devant sa main. On n'a jamais fait de roman di séduisant et si tendre.'—*Taine*, '*Voyage en Italie.*'

Close by is the handsome **Church of S. Susanna**, rebuilt by *Carlo Maderna* (A.D. 1600), on the site of an oratory, 'Ad duas domos,' founded by Pope Caius (A.D. 293), in the house of his brother Gabinus, who was martyred with his daughter Susanna because she refused to break her vow of virginity by a marriage with Maximianus Galerus, adopted son of the Emperor Diocletian, to whom this family was related. The bodies of these martyrs are said to rest beneath the high altar. In 796 it was rebuilt and decorated with mosaics in which figured Charlemagne. The side

chapel of S. Laurence was presented by Camilla Peretti, the sister of Sixtus V., together with a dowry of fifty scudi, to be paid every year, on the festival of S. Susanna, to the nine best-behaved girls in the parish. The frescoes of the story of Susanna and the Elders, painted here on the side walls, merely from the analogy of names, are by *Baldassare Croce;* those in the tribune are by *Cesare Nebbia.*

Opposite this is the Cistercian **Church of S. Bernardo**, a rotunda of the Baths of Diocletian, turned into a church in 1598 by Caterina Sforza, Contessa di Santa Fiora.

Hence the Via Venti Settembre leads again to the Quattro Fontane. On the left was the small *Church of S. Caio*, which enclosed the tomb of that Pope, inscribed, 'Sancti Caii, Papae, martyris ossa.' Farther, on the left, were the great convent of the Carmelites and the *Church of S. Teresa.* Between S. Caio and S. Teresa was one of the many *Studios of Overbeck*, the venerable German devotional painter, who died in 1869. All these have been destroyed. The right of the street was bordered by the orange-shaded wall of the once beautiful Barberini garden, partially destroyed for the site of a theatre in 1882, and since additionally curtailed.

The *War Office* (Ministero della Guerra) covers an area of 15,000 square metres, which formerly belonged to the monastery of the Barberine nuns. During the excavations for its building the remains of the house of Vulcacius Rufinus, brother of Galla, and uncle of Gallus Caesar and Julian the Apostate, were discovered. On the left of the entrance hall, which was encrusted with rare marbles, an inscription was found dedicated to Vulcacius Rufinus by the township of Ravenna.

CHAPTER XII

THE ESQUILINE

Aedes Telluris—Golden House of Nero—Baths of Titus and Trajan—S. Pietro in Vincoli—Frangipani Tower—House of Lucrezia Borgia—S. Martino al Monte—S. Lucia in Selce—S. Prassede—Santissimo Redentore—Arch of Gallienus—Trophies of Marius—S. Bibiana—Temple of Minerva Medica—S. Eusebio—S. Antonio Abbate—S. Maria Maggiore.

THE Esquiline, which is the largest of the so-called 'hills of Rome,' is not a distinct hill, but rather a projection of the Campagna. 'The Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Coelian stretch out towards the Tiber, like four fingers of a hand, of which the plain whence they detach themselves represents the vast palm. This hand has seized the world.'[1]

Varro says that the name Esquiline was derived from the word *excultus*, because of the ornamental groves which were planted on this hill of Servius Tullius—such as the Lucus Querquetulanus, Fagutalis, and Esquilinus.[2] The sacred wood of the Argiletum long remained on the lower slope of the hill, where the Via S. Maria dei Monti now is. The name Esquiline, however, more probably has its origin in *es-quil-iae*, the outer dwellings.[3]

The Esquiline seems to have been especially unhealthy in ancient times, for among its temples were those dedicated to Fever, near S. Maria Maggiore—to Juno Mephitis,[4] near a pool which emitted poisonous exhalations—and to Venus Libitina, for the registration of deaths and arrangement of funerals; there was also an altar to the Evil Eye—Mala fortuna, and one to Minerva Medica. For there were no hospitals in ancient times, and sick persons were compelled to trust to gods rather than men. Besides those already mentioned, it had an altar of the ancient sun-god Janus, dedicated together with an altar to Juno by the survivor of the Horatii, and a temple of Juno Lucina, the goddess of birth and light.

> 'Monte sub Esquilio, multis incaeduus annis,
> Junonis magnae nominae locus erat.'
>
> —*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 435.

It was considered an inferior region of the city until laid out under the Empire with magnificent gardens, villas, and baths. This

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[1] Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* i. 38. [2] Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* iv. 8.
[3] The root 'quil' occurs in *in-quil-inus;* both are from 'colere.'
[4] Fest. *v.* 'Septimontio.'

hill had three heights. That which is crowned by Santa Maria Maggiore was formerly called *Cispius*, where Servius Tullius had a palace; that which is occupied by S. Pietro in Vincoli was formerly called *Oppius*, where Tarquinius Superbus lived. The third, sloping toward the Coelian, was, from its beeches (Fagus), called Mons Fagutalis. These three, together with Suburra, constituted four of the seven 'montes' of the early urban settlements, whose inhabitants were buried in the Forum, and were known as 'montani.'

The most important buildings of the Esquiline, in the later Republican and in Imperial times, were on the spur of the hill on a road leading towards the Palatine, called Carinae—the 'rich Carinae'—

> 'Passimque armenta videbant
> Romanoque Foro et lautis mugire Carinis.'
> —*Virgil, Aen.* viii. 360.

The principal street of the Carinae probably occupied the site of the Via del Coliseo. Here, close to the present Via del Coliseo, the *Aedes Telluris*, or Temple of Tellus, was erected *c.* B.C. 269[1]—a building of sufficient importance for the Senate, summoned by Antony, to assemble in it. The quarter immediately surrounding this temple acquired the name of *In Tellure*, which is still retained by several of its modern churches. Near this temple lived Pompey, in a famous though small house, which he adorned on the outside with rostra in memory of his naval victories, and which was painted within to look like a forest with trees and birds, much probably as the chambers are painted which were discovered a few years ago in the villa of Livia, at the sixth mile on the Via Salaria. Here Julia, daughter of Julius Caesar, the wife of Pompey, died. After the death of Pompey this house was bought by the luxurious Antony. The difference between its two masters is portrayed by Cicero, who describes the severe comfort of the house of Pompey contrasted with the luxuriousness of its second master, and winds up his oration by exclaiming, 'I pity even the roofs and the walls under the change.' At a later period the same house was the favourite residence of Antoninus Pius. Hard by, in the Carinae, the popular residence of Roman knights, lived the father of Cicero, and hence the young Tullius went to listen in the Forum to the orators whom he was one day to surpass. Also in the Carinae, but higher up, behind the Baths of Trajan (S. Martino ai Monti), stood the magnificent house of the wealthy Vedius Pollio, which he bequeathed to Augustus. The latter pulled it down and built the porticus of Livia on the site.

> 'Disce tamen, veniens aetas, ubi Livia nunc est
> Porticus, immensae tecta fuisse domûs.
> Urbis opus domus una fuit; spatiumque tenebat
> Quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent.
> Haec aequata solo est, nullo sub crimine regni,
> Sed quia luxuriâ visa nocere suâ.
> Sustinuit tantas operum subvertere moles,
> Totque suas heres perdere Caesar opes.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* vi, 639.

[1] Cicero, *Pro Domo Sua*, 38; Dionysius, viii. 79; Livy ii. 41.

At its western extremity the Carinae skirted the once unfashionable and plebeian quarter of the *Suburra*, occupying the valley formed by the convergence of the Esquiline, Quirinal, and Viminal—which is still teeming with a crowded population, and bisected by the Via Cavour.

At the foot of the Carinae, a stone's-throw from the Coliseum, stood the *Tigillum Sororium*, which was extant—repaired at the public expense—till the fifth century. This, 'the Sisters' Beam,' commemorated the story of the last of the Horatii, who, returning from the slaughter of the Curiatii, and being met by his sister bewailing one of the dead to whom she was betrothed, stabbed her in his anger. He was condemned to death, but at the prayer of his father his crime was expiated by his passing under the yoke of 'the Sisters' Beam.' On one side of the Tigillum Sororium was an altar to Juno Sororia; on the other, an altar to Janus Curiatius.[1]

During the empire several poets resided on the Esquiline. Virgil lived there, near the gardens of Maecenas (*i.e.* along the Agger of the Servian Wall), which covered the slopes between the Esquiline and Viminal. Propertius had a house there, as we learn from himself—

> 'I, puer, et citus haec aliqua propone columna
> Et dominum Esquiliis scribe habitare tuum.'
> —*Propert. Eleg.* iv. 23.

It is believed, but without certainty, that Horace also lived upon the Esquiline. He was, at any rate, constantly there in the villa of Maecenas, where he was also buried, and which he has described in his poems both in its original state as a desecrated cemetery, and again after his wealthy friend had magically converted it into a beautiful garden—

> 'Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubrius, atque
> Aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes
> Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.'
> —*Sat.* i. 8, 14.

The house of Maecenas, the great patron of the poets of the Augustan age, probably occupied a site near S. Martino ai Monti. It was a magnificent edifice, having a tall tower, or Belvedere, and is described by Horace, who calls it—

> 'Fastidiosam desere copiam, et
> Molem propinquam nubibus arduis:
> Omitte mirari beatae
> Fumum et opes, strepitumque Romae.'
> —*Od.* iii. 29.

Maecenas bequeathed his villa to Augustus. Tiberius at one time resided in it; to whom a little later the beautiful estate next it, called 'The Lamian Gardens,' was left by will. Caligula owned both, and was buried by his sisters in the latter after his murder.

Another, though less well known poet of this age, who lived upon the Esquiline, was Pedo Albinovanus, much extolled by Ovid, who

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[1] Liv. i. 26; Dionysius, iii. 22; Festus, *Epit.* 307.

lived at the summit of the Vicus Cyprius (probably near Via dei Zingari) in a little house—

> 'Illic parva tui domus Pedonis
> Caelata est aquilae minore pinna.'
> —*Mart.* x. *Ep.* 19, 10.

Near this was the *Lacus Orphei*, a fountain, in the centre of which was a rock, &c., surmounted by a statue of Orpheus with the enchanted beasts around him. The house of Pedo was afterwards inhabited by Pliny. Near S. Pudentiana, in Vicus Patricius, lived Maximus, of whom Martial says—

> 'Esquiliis domus est, domus est tibi colle Dianae,
> Et tua patricius culmina vicus habet:
> Hinc viduae Cybeles, illinc sacraria Vestae,
> Inde novum, veterem prospicis inde Jovem.'
> —*Mart.* vii. *Ep.* 73.

The Esquiline is being rapidly covered with squalid sky-scrapers, and much of its interest may be considered to be a thing of the past. But, till recently, there were many parts of the hill on which one might imagine oneself far away in the country. In the time of Niebuhr, the dweller amid the vineyards of the Esquiline, when he descended into the city, still said, 'I am going to Rome.'

Nero (A.D. 54–68) utilised the site of the villa of Maecenas, and covered the whole declivity of the hill toward the Carinae with the vast buildings of his Golden House, which also swallowed up the Coelian and the north-east angle of the Palatine. Titus (A.D. 79–81) and Trajan (A.D. 98–117) used part of the same site for their baths, and the ruins of these grand edifices are at last well understood.

The more imposing of the ruins still left are on the southern slope of the Esquiline, and are approached from the Via Labicana, near Via della Polveriera, or turning to the left at the foot of the street leading to S. John Lateran from the Coliseum. These are the **Baths of Titus**, or Camere Esquiline, occupying an area of about 1150 feet by 850. They were erected by Vespasian and his sons in part of the private palace of Nero, after they had given back to the people all that part of the 'Golden House' which was outside the limits of the Palatine. (The authorities provide guides and lights at 1 fr. per head.) That the chambers which are now visible were to be seen in the time of Leo X. (1513–22) we learn from Vasari, who says that Raffaelle and Giovanni da Udine were wont there to copy the arabesques to assist their work in the Vatican Loggie. After this, neglect and the falling in of the soil caused these treasures to be lost till 1774, when they were again partially unearthed; but they were only completely brought to view by the French, who began to take the work in hand in 1811, and continued their excavations for three years.

The principal remains, which are now exhibited by the dim torch of a solitary cicerone, are those of nine chambers of the house of Nero, extending for 300 feet, and having on the north a corridor

or cryptoporticus, the vault of which is covered with paintings of birds, griffins, and flowers, &c. In two of these halls are alcoves for couches, and in one is a cavity for a fountain with a trench round it, like that in the nymphaeum of the Palace of the Caesars. In one of the halls is a group representing Venus attended by two Cupids, with doves hovering over her. Near this a niche is shown as that once occupied by the Laocoön, though it was really found (January 14, 1506) in the Vigna de' Fredis, between the Sette Sale and S. Maria Maggiore. Santi Bartoli painted copies of them for Cardinal Prince Massimo, now in the writer's possession. A set of thirty engravings, published by Mirri, from drawings taken in 1776, show what the paintings were at that time, but very few now remain perfect. A group of Coriolanus and his mother, represented in Mirri's work, is now inaccessible. All the paintings are Pompeian in character, and for some time were considered the best remains of ancient pictorial art in Rome; but they are greatly faded, and are inferior to those which have since been discovered in the Valerian tombs on the Latin Way. The chambers which open beyond the nine outer halls are part of the Golden House. A small chapel, dedicated to S. Felicitas and her seven sons (evidently engrafted upon the pagan building in the sixth century), was discovered in 1813. It resembles the chapels in the catacombs, and is decorated with the conventional frescoes of the Good Shepherd, Daniel in the lions' den, Jonah, &c. There are faint remains of a fresco representing the sainted patrons.

'Tacitus, who in his boyhood must have seen the Golden House, says that "there one did not so much admire the gold and precious stones, for such things were then a usual and vulgar luxury, but fields and lakes, and the spaces and vistas that revealed themselves between the groves." Upon the fields browsed herds of choice cattle; in the woods fluttered birds of varied splendour, and tamed wild beasts of the most different species roamed about. Gilded boats and structures representing cities mirrored themselves in the largest of lakes. In front of the palace, in a projecting forecourt, the triple colonnade of which measured a thousand feet, stood a statue in bronze, compounded of gold and silver, of Nero Apollo, a hundred and twenty feet high, the work of Zenodorus the Greek, the greatest sculptor of the time, according to Pliny, a master of the art of bronze-casting, then dying out. The walls within the palace which were not covered with the finest frescoes and stuccoes were inlaid with gold, precious stones, and mother-of-pearl; the floor with the costliest of mosaics, of which one can hardly give an idea without calling to mind that in a citizen's house in a country town on Vesuvius such a mosaic floor has been found as the so-called battle of Alexander. The ceilings of the banquet-halls were covered with plates of ivory, from between the crevices of which a shower of odours was spread over the guests. The largest banqueting-hall was a rotunda, the ceiling of which—probably adorned with pictures of the stars—moved day and night at an equal pace with the vault of heaven. Baths in the palace were fed by ducts that brought in part sea-water, in part water from the sulphur springs between Rome and Tivoli. "Now I begin, finally, to live like a human being," said Nero, when the palace was inaugurated.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

Above the Baths and beside the Via Leopardi are ruins called the *Sette Sale*, being remains of the Piscina, or reservoirs (nine in number) for the Baths. In these vineyards also are three large circular ruins, adorned on the interior with rows of niches for

statues. Close to the Convent of the **Cappuccine alle Sette Sale**, now a workhouse, the remains belonging to a *Temple of Isis* were discovered in 1888, with innumerable fragments of statues, including a representation of the sacred cow Hathor. They had been used as building materials. The temple stood near the Via Labicana, where the Via Machiavelli leaves it. An arch of Isis crossed the former of these roads.

Immediately behind the Forum of Nerva, now spoiled by modern houses, stands the colossal brick tower known as the **Torre dei Conti.**

'Greatest of mediaeval fortresses within the city, the stronghold of a dim, great house, long passed away. What is left of it helps to enclose a peaceful nunnery.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The tower (858) was amplified by Innocent III. (1198–1216) as a keep for his family (Conti), now extinct. Its architect was Marchione d'Arezzo, and it was so much admired by Petrarch that he declared it had 'no equal in Rome'; he must have meant in height. It was diminished soon after the poet's visit by the earthquake of 1349. Five of the Conti have occupied the papal throne: Nicholas I., Innocent III., Gregory IX., Alexander IV., and Innocent XIII. The last-named Pope (1721–1724) boasted of having 'nine uncles, eight brothers, four nephews, and seven great-nephews'; yet—a century after—and not a Conti remained!

If we now follow up the spacious Via Cavour some way, we shall discover in a commanding position, concealed by houses, above the right of it, the church of **S. Pietro in Vincoli**, said to have been originally founded in A.D. 109 by Theodora, sister of Hermes, Prefect of Rome, both converts of the then Pope, who was the martyr S. Alexander of the basilica on the Via Nomentana. A bolder legend attributes the foundation to S. Peter himself, who is believed to have dedicated this church to his Divine Master. History, however, does not attempt to assign an earlier foundation than that in 442, by the Empress Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III., from whom the church takes its name of the *Eudoxian Basilica*, and who placed there one of the famous chains which now form its great attraction to Roman Catholic pilgrims.

'The chains, left in the Mamertine Prisons after S. Peter's confinement there, are said to have been found by the martyr S. Balbina in 126, and by her given to Theodora, another sainted martyr, sister to Hermes, Prefect of Rome, from whom they passed into the hands of S. Alexander, first Pope of that name, and were finally deposited by him in the church erected by Theodora, where they have since remained. Such is the legendary, but the historic origin of this basilica cannot be traced higher than about the middle of the fifth century, subsequent to the year 439, when Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, presented to the Empress Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius the younger, two chains, believed to be those of S. Peter, one of which was placed by her in the Basilica of the Apostles at Constantinople, and the other sent to Rome for her daughter Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III., who caused this church, hence called Eudoxian, to be erected, as the special shrine of S. Peter's chains.'—*Hemans.*

One chain had been sent to Rome by Eudoxia the elder, and the other remained at Constantinople, but the Romans could not rest satisfied with the possession of half the relic; and within the walls

of this very basilica, Leo I. (440–61) beheld in a vision the miraculous and mystical uniting of the two chains, since which they have both been exhibited here, and the day of their being soldered together by invisible power, August 1st, has been kept sacred in the Latin Church!

The church is at present entered by an ugly atrium, which was the work of Francesco Fontana in 1705; but Meo del Caprino (1475) had already done almost all that was possible to destroy the features of the venerable basilica, under the Cardinal Titular of the Church, Giulio della Rovere, the same who, as Pope Julius II., commenced to destroy old S. Peter's and eighty-seven tombs of his predecessors. By Pintelli the present doric capitals were added to the columns in the nave, and the architrave above them was exchanged for a series of narrow round-headed arches.

But, in spite of alterations, the interior is still imposing. Two long lines of ancient fluted doric columns (ten on each side), of marmor Hymettium (probably from Trajan's Baths), divide the nave from the aisles, and lead the eye to the high altar, supposed to cover the remains of the seven Maccabean brothers. The tribune, which contains an ancient episcopal throne, is adorned with frescoes illustrative of the life of S. Peter, by *Giacomo Coppi*, a Florentine of the sixteenth century. Beneath these is the tomb of Giulio Clovio, the great miniature painter of the sixteenth century, who was a canon of this church.

On the left of the entrance is the tomb of Antonio Pollajuolo, the famous worker in bronze, and his brother Pietro. The fresco above, which is ascribed to Pollajuolo, refers to the translation of the body of S. Sebastian, as 'Depulsor Pestilitatis,' from the catacombs to this church,—one of the most picturesque stories of the Middle Ages. The plague of A.D. 680 was ushered in by an awful vision of the two angels of good and evil, who wandered through the streets by night, side by side, when the one smote upon the door where death was to enter, unless arrested by the other. The people continued to die by hundreds daily. At length a citizen dreamt that the sickness would cease when the body of S. Sebastian should be brought into the city, and when this was done the pestilence was stayed. In the fresco the whole story is told. In the background the citizen tells his dream to Pope Agatho, who is seated among his cardinals. On the right the angels of good and evil (the bad angel represented as a devil) are making their mysterious visitation, on the left a procession is bringing in the relics, and the foreground is strewn with the corpses of the dead. The general invocation of S. Sebastian in Italy, and the frequent introduction of his figure in art, have their origin in this story.

At the entrance of the L. aisle is a fine bas-relief of S. Peter throned, delivering his keys to an angel, who acknowleges the supremacy of the apostle by receiving them on his knees. This work was executed in 1465, and serves as a monument to the Cardinal de Cusa, Bishop of Brixen, whose incised gravestone lies beneath.

Over the **2nd altar** is a most interesting mosaic of 680, representing in old age the S. Sebastian whom we are accustomed to see as a beautiful youth, wounded with arrows—which he evidently survived:—

'A single figure in mosaic exists as an altar-piece in S. Pietro in Vincoli. It is intended for S. Sebastian, whose relics were removed to the church by Pope Agathon, on occasion of the plague in 680, and doubtless executed soon after this date. As a specimen of its kind it is very remarkable. There is no analogy between this figure and the usual youthful type of S. Sebastian which was subsequently adopted. On the contrary, the saint is represented here as an old man with white hair and beard, carrying the crown of martyrdom in his hand, and dressed from head to foot in true Byzantine style. In his countenance there is still some life and dignity. The more careful shadowing also of the drapery shows that, in a work intended to be so much exposed to the gaze of the pious, more pains were bestowed than usual; nevertheless, the figure, upon the whole, is very inanimate; the ground is blue.'—*Kugler.*

The **1st altar** in the **R. aisle** has a picture of S. Augustine by *Guercino;* then come tombs of Cardinals Margotti and Agucci, from designs of *Domenichino,* who has introduced a portrait of the former in his monument. At the end of this aisle is a beautiful picture of S. Margaret and the dragon by *Guercino;* the saint is inspired, and displaying no sign of fear—an earthly impulse only appearing in the motion of her hand, which seems pushing back the dragon.

'S. Margaret was daughter of a priest of Antioch named Theodosius, and was brought up as a Christian by her nurse, whose sleep she watched upon the hills, while meditating upon the mysteries of the gospel. The governor of Antioch fell in love with her and wished to marry her, but she refused, and declared herself a Christian. Her friends thereupon deserted her, and the governor tried to subdue her by submitting her to horrible tortures, amid which her faith did not fail. She was then dragged into a dungeon, where Satan, in the form of a terrible dragon, came upon her with his inflamed and hideous mouth wide open, and sought to terrify and confound her; but she held up the cross of the Redeemer, and he fled before it. She finally suffered death by decapitation. Her legend was certainly known in the fifth century: in the fourteenth century she was one of the favourite saints, and was specially invoked by women against the pains of childbirth.

'"Mild Margarete, that was God's maide;
Maid Margarete, that was so meeke and milde."'
—See *Jameson's* '*Sacred and Legendary Art,*' v. 1.

Here is the glory of the church—the **Moses of Michelangelo,** forming part of the decorations of the unfinished and most unsatisfactory monument of Julius II., of which the design is in the collection of the Uffizi. It became 'the tribulation of the sculptor's life.'

'This Pope, whom nature had intended for a conqueror, and destiny clothed with the robe of a priest, takes his place by the side of the great warriors of the sixteenth century, by the side of Charles V., of Francis I., of Gonsalvo, of Cortes, of Alba, of Bayard, and of Doria. It is difficult to imagine Julius II. murmuring prayers, or saying mass in pontifical robes, and performing, in the midst of all those unmanly functions and thousand passive forms, the spirit-deadening part which is assigned to the popes, while his soul was on fire with great-hearted designs, and while in the music of the psalms he seemed to hear the thunder of cannon. He wished to be a prince of the Church; and with the political instinct of a prince he founded his state in the midst of the most difficult wars against France, and unhesitatingly conquered and took possession of Bologna, Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, and Urbino. . . .

'The greatest Pope since Innocent III., and the creator of a new political spirit in the Papacy, he wished, as a second Augustus, to glorify himself and his creation. He took up again the projects of Nicholas V. Rome should become his monument. To carry out his designs he found the genius of Bramante and Raffaelle, and above all, that of Michelangelo, who belonged to him like an organ of his being. S. Peter's, of which he laid the foundation-stone, the paintings of the Sistine, the loggie of Bramante, the stanze of Raffaelle, are memorials of Julius the Second.'—*Gregorovius*, '*Grabmäler der Päpste.*'

Most of all Julius II. sought immortality in his tomb, for which the original design was gigantic. Eighteen feet high, and twelve wide, it was intended to contain more than forty statues, which were to include Moses, S. Peter and S. Paul, Rachel and Leah, and chained figures of the Provinces, while those of the Heaven and the Earth were to support the sarcophagus of the Pope. This project was cut short by the death of Julius in 1513, when only four of the statues were finished, and eight designed.[1] Of those which were finished, three statues, the Moses, the Rachael, and the Leah, were afterwards used for the existing memorial, which was put together under Paul III. by the Duke of Urbino, heir of Julius II.—in this church of which his uncle had been a cardinal.

'The eye does not know where to rest in this the masterpiece of sculpture since the time of the Greeks. It seems to be as much an incarnation of the genius of Michelangelo as a suitable allegory of Pope Julius. Like Moses, he was at once lawgiver, priest, and warrior. The figure is seated in the central niche, with long-flowing beard descending to the waist, with horned head, and deep-sunk eyes, which blaze, as it were, with the light of the burning bush with a majesty of anger which makes one tremble, as of a passionate being, drunken with fire. All that is positive and all that is negative in him is equally dreadful. If he were to rise up, it seems as if he would shout forth laws which no human intellect could fathom, and which, instead of improving the world, would drive it back into chaos. His voice, like that of the gods of Homer, would thunder forth in tones too awful for the ear of man to support. Yes! there is something infinite which lies in the Moses of Michelangelo. Nor is his countenance softened by the twilight of sadness which is stealing from his forehead over his eyes. It is the same deep sadness which clouded the countenance of Michelangelo himself. But here it is less touching than terrible. The Greeks could not have endured a glance from such as Moses, and the artist would certainly have been blamed, because he had thrown no softening touch over his gigantic picture. That which we have is the archetype of a terrific and quite unapproachable sublimity. This statue might take its place in the cell of a colossal temple, as that of Jupiter Ammon; but the tomb where it is placed is so little suited to it, that regarded even only as its frame it is too small.'—*Gregorovius.*

On either side of the principal figure are niches containing Michelangelo's statues of Rachel and Leah,—emblematic of active and contemplative life. Those above, of the Prophet and the Sibyl,

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[1] 'Des huit figures ébauchées il y en a deux aujourd'hui au musée du Louvre (les deux esclaves). Lorsque Michel-Ange eut renoncé à son plan primitif il en fit don à Roberto Strozzi. Des mains de Strozzi elles passèrent dans celles de François Ier, et puis dans celles du connétable de Montmorency, qui les plaça à son château d'Ecouen, d'où elles sont venues au Louvre. Quatre autres *prisonniers* sont placés dans la grotte de Buontalenti au jardin du Palais Pitti, à Florence. Un groupe, représentant une figure virile en terrassant une seconde, se voit aujourd'hui dans la grande salle del *Cinquecento*, au Palais vieux de Florence, où elle fut placée par Cosme Ier.'—*F. Sabatier.*

are by Raffaelle de Montelupo, his best pupil; on the summit is the Madonna with the infant Jesus by Scherano da Settignano. The worst figure of the whole is that, by Maso dal Bosco, of the Pope himself, who seems quite overwhelmed by the grandeur of his companions, and who lies upon a pitiful sarcophagus, leaning his head upon his hand, and looking down upon the Moses. He is represented with the beard which he was the first pope to reintroduce after an interval of many centuries,—and it is said to have been from his example that Francis I., Charles V., and others, adopted it also.

And after all, Julius II. was not buried here, and the tomb is merely commemorative. He was a popular pope, and his death filled Rome with unfeigned sorrow, but he rests beneath a plain marble slab near his uncle Sixtus IV., in the chapel of the Sacrament at S. Peter's.

Close to the Moses is the entrance to the chapel in which the chains are preserved, behind a bronze screen—the work of Pollajuolo. They are of unequal size, owing to many fragments of one of them (first whole links, then only filings) having been removed in the course of centuries by various popes and sent to Christian princes who have been esteemed worthy of the favour![1] The longest is about five feet in length. At the end of one of them is a collar, which is said to have encircled the neck of S. Peter. They are exposed on the day of the 'station' (the first Monday in Lent) in a reliquary presented by Pius IX., adorned with statuettes of S. Peter and the Angel, to whom he is represented as saying, 'Ecce nunc scio vere.'[2] On the following day a priest gives the chains to be kissed by the pilgrims, and touches their foreheads with them, saying, 'By the intercession of the blessed Apostle Peter, may God preserve you from evil. Amen.'

'Peter, therefore, was kept in prison; but prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God for him. And when Herod would have brought him forth, the same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers bound with two chains; and the keepers before the door kept the prison. And, behold, the angel of the Lord came upon him, and a light shined in the prison; and he smote Peter on the side, and raised him up, saying, Arise up quickly. And his chains fell off from his hands.'—*Acts* xii. 5–7.

Other relics preserved here are portions of the crosses of S. Peter and S. Andrew, and the body of S. Costanza.

The sacristy, opening out of this chapel, contains a number of pictures, including, very appropriately, the Deliverance of S. Peter from Prison, by *Domenichino*. Here, till a few years ago, was preserved the famous and beautiful small picture known as the Speranza of *Guido*. In the last years of their possession it was sold by the canons to an Englishman, and is replaced by a copy.

In this church Hildebrand was crowned Pope as Gregory VII. (1073). Stephen IX. was also proclaimed here in 939. The

[1] The wife of Oswy, king of Northumberland, received a golden key containing filings of the chains from Pope Vitalianus, in A.D. 672 (?).
[2] *Acts* xii. 11.

adjoining convent, turned into a College of Engineers by the new Government, was built from designs of Giuliano San Gallo. Its courtyard contains a picturesque well (with columns), bearing the arms of Julius II., by *Simone Mosca*. The arcades were decorated in the present century with frescoes by *Pietro Camosci*, as a votive offering for his recovery from cholera, to S. Sebastian, 'depulsori pestilitatis.'

Opposite S. Pietro in Vincoli is a convent of Maronite monks, in whose garden is a tall palm-tree, perhaps the finest in Rome. In the view from the portico of the church (somewhat spoilt by building of late years) it forms a conspicuous feature, and the combination of the old tower, the palm-tree, and the distant Capitol, standing out against the golden sky of sunset, is one familiar to Roman artists.

The tall machicolated **Tower** on the right once belonged to the Frangipani family, who obtained their surname of 'bread-breakers' from the generosity which they showed in the distribution of food to the poor during a famine in the eleventh century. The tower is now used as a belfry to the adjoining church of **S. Francesco di Paola**, being the only mediaeval fortress tower here applied to this purpose. The adjoining building was the **House of Lucrezia Borgia**, and the balcony over the gateway on the other side is pointed out as that in which she used to stand meditating. Here Caesar Borgia and his unhappy brother, the Duke of Gandia, supped with Lucrezia and their mother Vanozza, the evening (June 14, 1497) before the murder of the duke, of which Caesar was accused by popular belief. The duke's groom, who had ridden on the same horse behind his master, was found mortally wounded in the Piazza Giudea, in the future Ghetto. It used to be worth while to descend under the low-browed arch from the church piazza, and look back upon this lofty house, with its dark, winding staircase,—a most picturesque bit of street architecture, which looked better the farther you descended; but, with the prevailing want of taste which has characterised recent municipal changes, the staircase, after a short distance, has been destroyed. This flight of steps led from the Carinae down into the Suburra.

Following the narrow lane behind S. Pietro, ascending, we reach on the left, **S. Martino ai Monti**, the church of the Carmelites, which, though of uninviting exterior, is of the highest interest. It was built in A.D. 500 by S. Symmachus, and dedicated to the saints Silvestro and Martino, on the site of an Oratory founded by S. Sylvester in the time of Constantine, within the Baths of Trajan. After repeated alterations, it was modernised in 1650 by Filippini, General of the Carmelites. The **nave** is separated from the aisles by twenty-four ancient columns, forming thirteen bays; on the **Frieze**, on a gold ground, are sculptured scenes from the Old and New Testament. The **aisles** are painted with Campagna landscapes by *Gaspar Poussin*, having figures, relating to Elijah (venerated as the Founder of the Order), introduced by *Nicholas Poussin*. Especially noticeable are representations of old S. Peter's and the

Lateran. The roof is an addition by S. Carlo Borromeo. The fine crypt is the work of *Pietro da Cortona*.

The columns, of different marbles, with Corinthian capitals, are magnificent, and the effect of the raised choir, with winding staircases to the crypt below, is highly picturesque. The altar, with ciborium in the form of a tempietto, is perhaps the most beautiful in Rome. On the walls are frescoes by *Cavaluccio* (ob. 1795), who is buried in the left aisle. The collection of incised gravestones deserves attention: they comprise those of a knight (L. of Nave) in chain and plate armour of 1347; Cardinal Diomede Caraffa, nephew of Pius IV., strangled in S. Angelo, with a curious epitaph; and various generals and remarkable monks of the Carmelite order. Beneath the high altar rest the bodies of Popes Sergius, Sylvester, Martin I., Fabian, Stephen I., Soter, Ciriacus, Anastasius, and Innocent I., with several saints not papal, removed hither from the catacombs. In the crypt, part of the Baths of Trajan, the Council (A.D. 324) of Sylvester and Constantine was held, as represented in the fresco in the left aisle of the upper church. The back of the ancient chair of Sylvester still remains, green with age and damp. In the chapel on the left, where S. Sylvester used to celebrate mass, is an ancient mosaic of the Madonna. In front of the papal chair is the grand sepulchral figure of a Carmelite, who was General of the Order in the time of S. Teresa. An urn contains the intestines of the 'Beato' Cardinal Giuseppe-Maria de Tommasis, who died in 1713. His body is preserved beneath an altar in the left aisle of the upper church, and is dressed in his cardinal's robes.

'In 1650 was reopened, beneath SS. Martino e Silvestro, the long-forgotten oratory formed (according to Anastasius) by Sylvester among the halls of Trajan's Thermae—or, more probably, in an antique palace adjacent to those imperial baths—and called by Christian writers "Titulus Equitii," from the name of a Roman priest then proprietor of the ground. Now a gloomy, time-worn, and sepulchral subterranean, this structure is in form an extensive quadrangle, under a high-hung vault, divided into four aisles by massive square piers; the central bay of one aisle adorned with a large red cross, painted as if studded with gems; and ranged round this, four books, each within a nimbus, earliest symbolism to represent the Evangelists. Among the much-faded and dimly-seen frescoes on these dusky walls are figures of the Saviour between SS. Peter and Paul, besides other saints, each crowned by a large nimbus.'—*Hemans*, '*Ancient Sacred Art*.'

Here is preserved a mitre, possibly the most ancient extant, and said to be that of S. Sylvester, who lived in the fourth century, and was the first (?) Latin bishop to wear the phrygium worn by the priests of pagan temples. The mitre is so low as to rise only just above the crown of the head. Long after its first dedication to S. Sylvester, this church was dedicated to S. Martin, the holy Bishop of Tours.

Near the north-east corner of S. Martino, interesting remains of a private house were discovered in 1883, containing not only a *Lararium*, where the statue of Fortune still occupied a central position, with seventeen statuettes and busts of domestic deities around it; but a *Mithraeum*, or underground cell, for the secret

mysteries (Taurobolium, &c.) of Mithras, with a remnant of the seven torches (sticks of firewood coated with tar) which were kept burning before the image of Mithras Tauroktonos. A hall, beautifully decorated in stucco, had evidently been used as a library.[1] In 1888, a shrine of Mercury was found at the angle of the Via di S. Lucia in Selci (Clivus suburanus) and the Via dei Quattro Cantoni (Vicus sobrius), whence the shrine dedicated by Augustus 10 B.C. was called that of Mercurius Sobrius, the god of cautious business folk.

Leaving S. Martino by the other door, near the tribune, we emerge at the top of the steep street called **S. Lucia in Selci**—so named from being paved—*selciata*—with polygonal blocks of basalt. The street is the same as that described by Martial in going to visit the younger Pliny as—

> 'Altum vincere tramitem Suburrae.'
> —*Lib.* x. *Ep.* 19, 5.

And again—

> 'Alta Suburrani vincenda est semita clivi.'
> —*Lib.* v. *Ep.* 23, 5.

The work of destruction is constantly going on in this quarter, but here is, or was, a whole group of convents—in the hollow the convent of S. Francesca di Paola, with several others; just above (in the Via Quattro Cantoni) the convent of the Oratorians, or S. Filippo Neri. At this point also are two mediaeval towers, one till recently enclosed within the convent walls of S. Lucia in Selci, the other on the opposite side of the street. These belonged to the mediaeval fortress of the *Capocci*.

On the left, as we mount the street Via S. Maria ai Monti, is the (20, a) **House of Domenichino** (Domenico Zampieri), whose residence here is commemorated by an inscription. A little farther we reach, on the right, the picturesque tenth-century west door (a high narrow arch resting upon ionic columns, sadly spoilt and its ancient brickwork beplastered of late years) of the **Church of S. Prassede**, which leads into the atrium of the church. This is seldom open, but we can enter by a door in the north aisle (Via S. Prassede) beyond it.

S. Prassede was sister of S. Pudentiana, and daughter of Pudens and his wife Claudia,[2] with whom S. Paul lodged, and who were

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[1] See Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*.

[2] 'Cornelius Pudens (the early convert of S. Paul mentioned in the First Epistle to Timothy) was married, according to Christian tradition, to a lady of the name of Claudia, and this is supported by the mention of the two names at the end of the Second Epistle to Timothy, "There salute thee . . . Pudens and Linus and Claudia." Now there is extant among the epigrams of Martial, one (iv. 13) which records the marriage of a distinguished Roman of the name of Pudens to a foreign lady (*peregrina*) named Claudia. From another epigram (xi. 54) we learn that she was a Briton. This Pudens and Claudia may well have been the same as those whose salutations are sent by S. Paul. There are certain other facts which make this more probable. Tacitus (*Agric.* 14) records that one Cogidunus, a British king in the time of Claudius, was rewarded with certain lands in recognition of his fidelity to

among his first converts (see Chap. X.). She gave shelter in her house to a number of persecuted Christians, twenty-three of whom were discovered and martyred in her presence. She then buried their bodies in the catacombs of her grandmother, S. Priscilla, but collecting their blood in a sponge, placed it in a well in her own house, where she was eventually buried herself. An oratory is said to have been erected on this site by Symmachus, A.D. 499, when it is mentioned in the acts of a Council. In A.D. 822 the original church was destroyed, and another erected by Paschal I., of whose time are the low tower, the porch, the terra-cotta cornices, and the mosaics. During the absence of the popes at Avignon, S. Prassede was one of the many churches which fell almost into ruin, and it has since suffered terribly from injudicious modernisations, first in the fifteenth century from Rosellini under Nicholas V., afterwards under S. Carlo Borromeo in 1564, and quite recently.

The interior is a basilica in design, the **nave** being separated from the aisles by twenty-two granite columns, many of which have been boxed up in stucco pilasters, decorated with absurd frescoes of apostles; but their debased corinthian capitals are visible, carved with figures of birds (the eagle, cock, and dove) in strong relief against the acanthus leaves. The nave is thus divided into four bays by arches rising from square pilasters; the roof is coffered.

From the **R. aisle** is entered the famous chapel, called, from its unusual and mysterious splendour, the **Orto del Paradiso**—originally dedicated to S. Zeno, then to the Virgin, and finally to the great relic which it contains. Women are never allowed to enter this shrine except upon Sundays in Lent, but they can see the relic through a grating. Men are admitted by the door which is flanked by two columns of rare black and white granite and porphyry, supporting a richly-sculptured third century marble cornice, above which are two lines of mosaic heads in **circlets**—in the outer, the Saviour and the twelve apostles; in the inner, the Virgin between S. Stephen and S. Laurence, with eight female saints; at the angles S. Pudens and S. Pastor. In the **interior** of the chapel four granite columns support a lofty groined vault, which, together with the upper part of the walls, is entirely covered with mosaic figures (ninth century), relieved upon a gold ground.

'Here are SS. Peter and Paul before a throne, on which is the cross, but no seated figure, the disciple holding a single golden key,[1] the apostle, a scroll;

Rome. Now a marble dug up at Chichester, in 1723, bears an inscription telling how the king, Tiberius Claudius Cogidunus, had permitted a temple to be erected in honour of Neptune and Minerva, on land that had been presented by Pudens, the son of Pudentianus. This inscription shows us that this British king had adopted as his own the name of his patron, Claudius the emperor. In such a case his daughter would have been called Claudia according to Roman usage, and the occurrence in this inscription of the name of Pudens in addition to that of the father of Claudia suggests at once that we have here the Pudens and Claudia of Martial's epigram, and perhaps also of S. Paul's epistles.'—*A. S. Barnes*, '*S. Peter in Rome.*'

[1] 'Ciampini gives an engraving of this figure without the key; a detail, therefore, to be ascribed to restorers:—surely neither justifiable nor judicious.'—*Hemans.*

S. John the Evangelist, with a richly-bound volume; SS. James and Andrew, the two daughters of Pudens, and S. Agnes, all in rich vestments, and holding crowns; the Virgin Mary (a veiled matronly figure), and S. John the Baptist standing beside her; under the arch of a window, another half-figure of Mary, with three other females all having the nimbus, one crowned, one with a square halo to indicate a person still living; above these, the Divine Lamb on a hill, from which the four rivers issue, with stags drinking of their waters, above the altar, the Saviour, between four other saints—figures in part barbarously sacrificed to a modern tabernacle that conceals them. On the vault a colossal half-figure of the Saviour, youthful but severe in aspect, with cruciform nimbus, appears in a large circular halo supported by four archangels, solemn forms in long white vestments, that stand finely distinct in the dim light. Within a niche over the altar is another mosaic of the Virgin and Child, with the two daughters of Pudens, in which Rumohr observes ruder execution, indicating origin later than the ninth century.'—*Hemans, 'Ancient Christian Art.'*

The special relic (1223) preserved here (one of the principal objects of pilgrimage in Rome) is the column to which our Saviour is reputed to have been bound, said to have been given by the Saracens to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, cardinal of this church, and legate of the crusade, because, when he had fallen into their hands and was about to be put to death, he was rescued by a marvellous intervention of celestial light. It is of blood jasper (Diaspro sanguigno of Cyprus). And the peculiarity of its formation has given rise to the mineralogical term, 'Granito della Colonna.' A disc of porphyry in the pavement marks the grave of forty martyrs collected by Paschal I. (817). The mother of that pope is also buried here, and the inscription commemorating her observes an ancient ecclesiastical usage in allowing her the title of 'episcopa': '*Ubi utique benignissimae suae genitricis, scilicet Dominae Theodorae, Episcopae corpus quiescit.*' In this chapel Paschal I. saw the spirit of his nephew being dragged to heaven by an angel, through the little window, while he was saying a mass for his soul.

The high altar covers the entrance to a small crypt, in which stand two ancient sarcophagi, containing the remains of the sisters Prassede and Pudentiana. An altar here, richly decorated with mosaic, is shown as that which existed in the house of Prassede. Above is a fresco, referred to the twelfth century, representing the Madonna between the beatified sisters. At the end of the left aisle is a large slab of granite (nero-bianco), upon which S. Prassede is said to have slept, and above it a picture of her asleep. In the centre of the nave is the well where she collected the blood, with a statue of her in the act of squeezing it out of a sponge.

The chapel at the head of the L. aisle is that of S. Carlo Borromeo, who was cardinal of this church, and it contains his episcopal throne (a wooden chair) and a table, at which, like S. Gregory, he used to feed and wait upon twelve poor men daily. The pictures in this chapel, by *Louis Stern*, represent S. Carlo in prayer, and in ecstasy before the Sacrament. In the cloister is an old orange-tree which was planted by him, and which is still flourishing.

Opposite the side entrance of the Orto del Paradiso is the tomb of Cardinal Cetive (1474), with his sleeping figure and the reliefs of

SS. Peter and Paul, S. Prassede, and S. Pudentiana. This will recall Browning's quaint forcible poem of 'The Bishop who orders his tomb at S. Praxed's Church'—

> 'Saint Praxed's ever was the church for peace.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And then how I shall lie through centuries,
> And hear the blessed mutter of the mass,
> And see God made and eaten all day long,
> And feel the steady candle-flame, and taste
> Good strong thick stupefying incense-smoke!'

Other tombs of more interest are those of Cardinal Anchera, who was assassinated outside the Porta S. Giovanni in 1286—an altar-tomb, designed by one of the Cosmati. It reposes in a chapel close to the entrance. A bust here, of Monsignor Santoni, is said to have been executed by Bernini when only ten years old.

Two pictures in side chapels are interesting in a Vallombrosan church, as connected with saints of that order,—one representing S. Pietro Aldobrandini passing through the furnace at Settimo; and another the martyrdom of Cardinal Beccaria, put to death at Florence (whither he was sent by Alexander IV. to make peace between the Guelfs and Ghibellines)—and consigned to an unpleasant place by Dante—

> '——Quel di Beccaria,
> Di cui segò Fiorenza la gorgiera.'
> —*Inferno*, xxxii.

Six stairs of rosso-antico lead to the **tribune**, which is covered with mosaics of A.D. 817–824. Those on the arch represent the heavenly Jerusalem. Within the tribune is the Saviour with a cruciform nimbus—the hand of the First Person of the Trinity holding a crown over His head—and S. Peter and S. Paul bringing in the beatified sisters of the Church; on the left, Pope Paschal I.,[1] with a model of his church; on the right, S. Zeno. Above these figures is the Adoration of the Lamb, and beneath their feet the Jordan; below all, is the Lamb with the sheep issuing from the mystic cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and six verses recording the work of Paschal I.

'The arrangement of saints at S. Prassede (817) is altogether different from that at Ravenna, but equally striking. Over the grand arch which separates the choir from the nave is a mosaic representing the New Jerusalem, as described in the Revelation. It is a walled enclosure with a gate at each end, guarded by angels. Within is seen the Saviour of the World, holding in His hand the orb of sovereignty, and a company of the blessed seated on thrones: outside, the noble army of martyrs is seen approaching, conducted and received by angels. They are all arrayed in white, and carry crowns in their hands. Lower down, on each side, a host of martyrs press forward with palms and crowns, to do homage to the Lamb, throned in the midst. None of the martyrs are distinguished by name, except those to whom the church is dedicated—S. Prassede and her sister Pudentiana.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

While Pope Gelasius II. (1119) was celebrating mass in this church, he was attacked by armed bands of the rival houses of

[1] With a square nimbus, denoting representation in his lifetime, as at S. Cecilia and S. Maria in Navicella.

Leone and Frangipani, and was only rescued by the assistance of his nephew Gaetano, after a conflict lasting some hours. Hence, in 1630, Moriandi, abbot of S. Prassede, was suddenly carried off and put to torture (which resulted in his death), ostensibly on account of irregularities in his convent, but really because he had been heard to speak against Urban VIII. (Barberini).

In the **sacristy** is preserved a picture by *Giulio Romano* of the Flagellation—especially appropriate in the church of the Colonna.

Here the curious campanile of the old church (built 1110 and adorned with rude frescoes) may be entered, and a loggia whence the great **relics** of the church are exhibited at Easter, including portions of the crown of thorns, of the sponge, of the Virgin's hair, and a miniature portrait of our Saviour, said to have belonged to S. Peter, and to have been left by him with the daughters of Pudens.

The **Monastery** attached to the church, founded by Paschal I., was first occupied by Basilian, but since 1198 has belonged to Vallombrosan, monks. Nothing remains of the mosaic-covered chapel of S. Agnes, built by the founder within its walls.

Where the Via S. Prassede crosses the road leading from S. Maria Maggiore to the Lateran, is the modern gothic church of **Il Santissimo Redentore**, belonging to the Redemptorists.

A little beyond this, swamped by modern buildings, and attached to the church of S. Vito, from which it has sometimes been named, is the characterless **Arch of Gallienus** (occupying the site of the Porta Esquilina in the wall of Servius), dedicated to Gallienus (A.D. 253–260) and his Empress Salonina, by Marcus Aurelius Victor, evidently a court-flatterer of the period, who was prefect of Rome, and possessed gardens on this spot. The original structure had three arches; only that in the centre remains, but traces of another may be seen on the side next the church. Gallienus, who was famous for the extravagance of his architectural projects, had intended to erect a statue of himself as the sun, 119 feet high, on the top of the Esquiline. He was a cruel and self-indulgent emperor, who excited the indignation of the Romans by leaving his old father, Valerian, to die a captive in the hands of the Persians, so that the inscription, '*Clementissimo principi cuius invicta virtus sola pietate superata est*,' is singularly false, even for the time.

From the centre of the arch hung the chain and keys of the Salsicchia gate of Viterbo, removed at the same time as the great bell of the Capitol. These interesting memorials of Middle-Age warfare were taken down in 1825.

Passing under the arch, we enter upon the Via Carlo Alberto, the main artery leading to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Here, till 1876, stood the humble convent of the *Monache Polacche*, where the long-suffering Madre Makrena, the sole survivor of the terrible persecution of the nuns at Minsk, lived in the closest retirement after her escape in 1845.

The story of the cruel sufferings of the Polish-Basilian nuns of Minsk reminds one of the worst persecutions of the early Christians under Nero

and Diocletian. Makrena Miaczylslawska was abbess of a convent of thirty-eight nuns, whom the apostate bishop Siemasko first tried to compel to the Greek faith in the summer of 1838. Their refusal led to their being driven, laden with chains, to Witepsk, in Siberia, where they were forced to hard labour, many of them being beaten to death, one roasted alive in a hot stove, and another having her brains beaten out with a stake by the abbess of the Czernice (apostate nuns), on their persisting in their refusal to change their religion. In 1840 the surviving nuns were removed to Potock, where they were forced to work at building a palace for the bishop Siemasko, and where nine of them perished by a falling scaffold, and many others expired under the heavy weights they were compelled to carry, or under the lash. In 1842 their tortures were increased tenfold, eight of the sisters having their eyes torn out, and others being trodden to death. In 1843 those who still survived were removed to Miadziolу, where the 'prototype Skrykin' said that he would 'drown them like puppies,' and where they were dragged by boats through the shallows of the half-frozen Dwina, up to their necks in water, till many died of the cold. In the spring of 1845, Makrena, with the only three nuns who survived with the use of their limbs (Eusebia Wawrzecka, Clotilda Konarska, and Irene Pomarnacka), scaled the walls of their prison, while the priests and nuns who guarded them were lying drunk after an orgie, and, after wandering for three months in the forests of Lithuania, made good their escape. The nuns remained in Vienna; the abbess, after a series of extraordinary adventures, arrived in Rome, where she was at first lodged in the convent of the Trinità de' Monti. The story of the nuns of Minsk was taken down from her dictation at the same time by a number of eminent ecclesiastics authorised by the pope, and the authenticity of her statements verified; after which she retired into complete seclusion in the Polish convent on the Esquiline, where she long filled the humble office of portress. Her legs were eaten into the bone by the chains she wore in her prison life. The story of the persecution at Minsk may be read in 'La Récit de Makrena, Miaczylslawska,' published at Paris, by Lecoffre, in 1846; in a paper by Charles Dickens in the *Household Words* for May 1854; and in 'Pictures of Christian Heroism,' 1855.

Nearly opposite the site of this convent, retained as the ornament of a hideous modern square, is the ruin erroneously called **The Trophies of Marius**, from the trophies, now on the terrace in front of the Capitol, which were found here. This ruin is a fragment of the castellum or reservoir of the Aqua Julia, built by Severus. It was a most picturesque and beautiful object before 1880, but now stands in a square of unspeakable hideousness, but of which the Romans of to-day are falsely said to be proud.

Though the existing ruin is misnamed, the trophies erected in honour of the victories which Marius gained over the Cimbri were really set up near this; and, curiously enough, on this site also Marius was defeated at the 'Forum Esquilinum' by Sulla, who suddenly descended upon Rome from Nola with six legions, and entering by the Porta Esquilina, met his adversary here, and forced him to flee to Ostia.

Beyond this, on the right, was the entrance of the *Villa Palombara*, occupying a great part of the site of the Baths of Titus. Here the Marchese Massimiliano Palombara built a room for Francesco Giuseppe Bona, a forerunner of Cagliostro, to make gold in. Till 1874 the *Porta Magica* remained, adorned with cabalistic signs and Latin and Hebrew verses, having led to the hall where those who believed in the *lapis philosophorum* held their secret

meetings.[1] It may still be seen in the garden of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele.

'The Marquis Massimiliano Palombara was conservator of Rome in 1651 and 1677. One morning, in 1680, he saw an unknown person enter the gate of his villa from the Via Merulana, and examine attentively the ground, apparently looking for some mysterious plant. Surprised by the servants, the pilgrim declared that he was in search of an herb of marvellous virtue, and that, knowing how much interested the proprietor of the villa was in the art of making gold, he wished to demonstrate to him that the work, though difficult, was not impossible.

'It is easy to imagine how eagerly the Marquis welcomed him, and how anxiously he watched his proceedings. The pilgrim pulverised the herb gathered in the garden, threw it into the crucible, which was full of a mysterious liquor, and promised his host that on the next morning not only would the process be completed, but that the secret should be revealed to him.

'When the morning came and nothing was seen of the pilgrim, the Marquis, fearing that something had happened to him, forced open the door of his room, but neither here nor in the adjoining laboratory were there any signs of him. The guest had, however, liberally kept his promise, for not only from the broken crucible had flowed upon the pavement a long stream of the purest gold, but on the table lay a roll of parchment, upon which were traced and written various enigmas, which, says Cancellieri, no one has been able up to this time to explain, nor ever will.

'The Marquis Palombara caused a memorial of the mysterious pilgrim, and the recipes left by him for the manufacture of gold, to be cut in marble, and exposed to the eyes of the public.'—*Lanciani*, '*New Tales of Old Rome*.'

Modern alterations have recently destroyed nearly all the old landmarks in this district. On the left, close to the trophies of Marius, is a flight of steps leading to the entrance to the courtyard of the **Church** (now parochial) and former **Monastery of S. Eusebio**, built upon the site of the house of the saint, a priest of noble family, martyred by starvation under Constantius, A.D. 357. His body rests under the high altar, with that of S. Orosus, a Spanish priest, who suffered at the same time. The vault of the church is painted by *Mengs*, and represents the apotheosis of the patron saint. The campanile dates from 1220. Two columns of breccia corallina adorn the altar. In this convent (which was conceded to the Jesuits in 1825 by Leo XII.) English clergymen about to join the Roman Catholic Church used frequently to 'make a retreat' before their reception.

Close to the railway, at some distance on the left, is the desolate **Church of S. Bibiana**.

In the time of Julian the Apostate, there dwelt in Rome a Christian family, consisting of Flavian, his wife Dafrosa, and his two daughters, Bibiana and Demetria. All these died for their faith. Flavian was exiled, and died of starvation; Dafrosa was beheaded; the sisters were imprisoned (A.D. 362) and scourged, and Demetria died at once under the torture. Bibiana glorified God by longer sufferings. Apronius, the prefect of the city, astonished by her beauty, conceived a guilty passion for her, and placed her under the care of one of his creatures named Rufina, who was gradually to bend her to his will. But Bibiana repelled his proposals with horror, and her firmness excited him to such fury, that he commanded her to be bound to a column and scourged to compliance. 'The order was executed with all

[1] See Silvagni, '*La Corte e la Societa Romana nei Secoli xviii. e xix.*'

imaginable cruelty; rivers of blood flowed from each wound, and morsels of flesh were torn away, till even the most barbarous spectators were stricken with horror. The saint alone continued immovable, with her eyes fixed upon heaven, and her countenance radiant with celestial peace—until her body being torn to pieces, her soul escaped to her heavenly Bridegroom, to receive the double crown of virginity and martyrdom.'

After the death of Bibiana, her body was exposed to dogs for three days in the Forum Boarium, but remained unmolested; after which it was stolen at night by John the priest, who buried it here.

The church, founded in the fifth century by Olympia, a Roman matron, was modernised by Bernini for Urban VIII., and has no external appearance of antiquity. The interior, with nave and aisles divided by eight ancient columns of granite and marble, is adorned with frescoes; those on the right are by *Agostino Ciampelli*, those on the left are considered by Lanzi as being the best works of *Pietro da Cortona*. They portray in detail the story of the saint:—

1. Bibiana refuses to sacrifice to idols.
2. The death of Demetria.
3. Bibiana is scourged at the column.
4. The body of Bibiana is watched over by a dog.
5. Olympia founds the church, which is dedicated by Pope Simplicius.

The statue of the saint at the high altar is considered the masterpiece of *Bernini*. It is dignified, graceful, and of fine technique; but would hardly be recognised as his work were it not a little affected.

'This statue is one of his earliest works; and it is said that when Bernini, in advanced life, returned from France, he uttered, on seeing it, an involuntary expression of admiration. "But," added he, "had I always worked in this style, I should have been a beggar." This would lead us to conclude that his own taste led him to prefer simplicity and truth, but that he was obliged to conform to the corrupted predilection of the age.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The remains of the saint are preserved beneath the altar, in a splendid sarcophagus of Oriental alabaster, adorned with a leopard's head. A column of rosso-antico is shown as that to which S. Bibiana was bound during her flagellation. The *fête* of the martyred sisters is observed with great solemnity on December 2nd. S. Bibiana is the S. Swithin, the rain-bringer of Italy.

'Il est touchant de voir, la jour de la fête, le Chapitre entier de la grande et somptueuse basilique de Sainte-Marie-Majeure venir processionnellement à cette modeste église et célébrer de solennelles et pompeuses cérémonies en l'honneur de ces deux vierges et leur mère: c'est que si ces trois femmes étaient faibles et ignorées selon le monde, elles sont devenues, par leur foi, fortes et sublimes; et l'Eglise ne croit pouvoir trop faire pour glorifier une pareille grandeur.'—'*Impressions d'une Catholique à Rome.*'

On this site were the Horti Epaphroditani, while next these, where runs Via Bixio, lay the *Horti Lamiani*, in which the Emperor Caligula was hastily buried after his assassination, in the Palatine Cryptoporticus, A.D. 41, though his remains were afterwards disinterred by his sisters, burnt, and his ashes taken to the mausoleum of Augustus. Here he had received Philo's interesting and successful embassy on behalf of the Jews of Alexandria. These gardens were probably the property of Aelius Lamia, to whom Horace

addressed one of his odes.[1] At an earlier period Aelius Tubero lived here celebrated for his virtue, his poverty, and his little house, where sixteen members of the Aelian Gens dwelt harmoniously together.[2] He married the daughter of L. Aemilius Paulus, 'who,' says Plutarch, 'though the daughter of one who had twice been consul and had twice triumphed, did not blush for the poverty of her husband, but admired the virtue which had made him poor.' The Meleager of the Vatican, the Discobolus of Myron (Lancellotti palace), and the Nozze Aldobrandini, now in the Vatican Library, and a host of other fine works, were found in the Horti Lamiani. A beautiful bed of gilt brass inlaid with 430 cameos and gems was found in a chamber belonging to the villa in 1879.

Around and beyond the trophies of Marius a repulsive new town has arisen since 1880. Instead of bearing Roman names, the streets here are for the most part called after princes having far too indirect an interest at Rome. Many ancient fragments have been destroyed, but here and there an old building, difficult fortunately to remove, has been allowed to remain, the most conspicuous being that generally known as the **Temple of Minerva Medica**, and so called from a false impression that the Giustiniani Minerva, now in the Vatican, was found there.[3]

The earlier topographers give this building the name of Terme di Galluccie, which has been interpreted to refer to baths in the Gardens of Gallienus (A.D. 53–68), *i.e.* the Horti Liciniani. The ruin, which formerly stood in a vineyard of exquisite beauty, and was painted by every artist who came to Rome, is a **decagonal nymphaeum with a vaulted brick dome**, enclosing nine huge niches for statues, and a clear storey of ten windows; those of Aesculapius, Antinous, Hercules, Adonis, Pomona, and (the Farnese) Faun have been found on the site. Until the making of a railway amid its vineyards and gardens, this ruin was one of the most attractive in Rome, and its crown of lentiscus and other shrubs made it indescribably picturesque. Now it is desolate in quite another sense. Much of its vault fell in 1828.

Near this is, or was, a *Columbarium of the Arruntii.*

The *Columbarium* of the servants of the Statilian family (connected with the imperial house by the marriage of Statilia Messalina to Claudius) was discovered near this, on the site of the Horti Tauriani, in 1875 (Via Principe Eugenio). No less than 566 inscriptions, and a vast number of objects in terra-cotta, marble, and precious metals, were then found.

Between S. Maggiore and S. Eusebio, fronting to the Via Carlo Alberto, is a peculiar round-arched (Cosmatesque) doorway—rare in Rome, formerly on the level of the street, but reached by steps since the lowering of the street in 1876. Crouching sphinxes support it, which probably found their models (1269) in the Temple of Isis and Serapis. It forms the entrance to the **Church of S.**

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[1] I. 26. [2] Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* iii. 177.
[3] It was found in the gardens of the Convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva.

Antonio Abbate, said to have been made in one of the halls of the Palace of Junius Bassus, consul in the second half of the fourth century, whose rich sarcophagus is in the crypt of S. Peter's. The interior is decorated with coarsely executed frescoes illustrating the life of the saint—his birth, his confirmation by a bishop, and his temptation by the devil. Next to it was lodged S. Francis and his companions when in Rome.

'S. Antonio, called "the patriarch of monks," became a hermit in his twentieth year, and lived alone in the Egyptian desert till his fifty-fifth year, when he founded his monastery of Phaim, where he died at the age of 105, having passed his life in perpetual prayer, and often having tasted no food for three days at a time. In the desert Satan was permitted to assault him in a visible manner, to terrify him with dismal noises; and once he so grievously beat him that he lay almost dead, covered with bruises and wounds. At other times the fiends attacked him with terrible clamours, and a variety of spectres, in hideous shapes of the most frightful wild beasts, which they assumed to dismay and terrify him; till a ray of heavenly light breaking in upon him, chased them away, and caused him to cry out, "Where wast Thou, my Lord and Master? Why wast Thou not with me?" And a voice answered, "Anthony, I was here the whole time; I stood by thee, and beheld thy combat; and because thou hast manfully withstood thy enemies I will always protect thee, and will render thy name famous throughout the earth."'—*Butler's 'Lives of the Saints.'*

Hither, as long as the Papal rule lasted, in the week following the feast of S. Anthony (January 17th), horses, mules, and cows were brought to be blessed as a preservative against accidents (not against ill-treatment) to them for the year to come. On the 23rd the horses of the Pope, Prince Borghese, and other Roman grandees (about 2.30 P.M.), were sent for this purpose. All the animals were sprinkled with holy water by a priest, who received a gift in proportion to the wealth of their master, and recited over each group the formula—

'Per intercessionem beati Antonii Abbatis, haec animalia liberentur a malis, in nomine Patris et Spiritus Sancti. Amen!'

'S. Anthony the abbot is the patron of the four-footed creation, and his feast is a saturnalia for the usually hard-worked beasts and for their attendants and drivers. Gentlefolk must be content to-day to stay at home or go on foot, for there are not wanting solemn stories of how unbelievers who have obliged their coachman to drive out on this day have been punished by great misfortunes. The Church of S. Anthony stands in a large piazza, which usually looks like a desert, but to-day it was enlivened by a varied throng: horses and mules, their tails and manes splendidly interlaced with ribbons, are brought to the small chapel standing somewhat apart from the church, where a priest armed with a large asperge plentifully besprinkles the animals with the holy water, which is placed before him in tubs and pails, sometimes apparently with a sly wish to excite them to gambol. Devout coachmen bring larger or smaller wax tapers, and their masters send gifts and alms in order to secure their valuable and useful animals a year's exemption from disease and accident. Horned cattle and donkeys, equally precious and serviceable to the owners, have their share in the blessing.'—*Goethe.*

'At the blessing of the animals, an adventure happened which afforded us some amusement. A countryman, having got a blessing on his beast, putting his whole trust in its power, set off from the church door at a grand gallop, and had scarcely cleared a hundred yards before the ungainly animal tumbled down with him, and over its head he rolled into the dirt. He soon got up, however, and shook himself, and so did the horse, without either seeming to

be much the worse. The priest seemed not a whit out of countenance at this: and some of the standers-by exclaimed, with laudable steadfastness of faith, "That but for the blessing, they might have broken their necks."'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'Un postillon italien, qui voyait mourir son cheval, priait pour lui, et s'écriait: "O Sant' Antonio, abbiate pietà dell' anima sua!"'—*Madame de Staël.*

The convent has been expropriated by the Government, and is now a workhouse. Its church is closed. Some curious inscriptions have been recently found near this relating to a lawsuit of A.D. 226, instituted by the *collegium fullonum*, or corporation of bleachers, against the *curator aquarum*, or superintendent of water-supplies, on account of a supply of water to which they claimed to be entitled.

Where the Via Leopardi leaves the monotonous Via Merulana is seen the early reticulated oblong hall found in 1874, and known as the **Auditorium of Maecenas.** At its northern end it is curvilinear, and formed in seven successive tiers, like a tiny theatre. In front of this are remains of a 'suggestum,' or platform, conjectured by some to have served for a reciter, upon which to face his audience and the statues in the beautiful walls above them. In the niches, painted in fresco against blue sky, are seen exquisite plants and birds, below which appears a parapet, as though the artist intended one to fancy oneself standing in windows overlooking luxurious gardens. The pictures are apparently by the same artist who decorated Livia's villa at Prima Porta. Some archaeologists regard the building as an auditorium, therefore; while others consider it to have been a handsome greenhouse for rare plants. Possibly both conjectures are correct.

Facing the Via Merulana, nearly opposite the Auditorium, is the vast **Palazzo Brancaccio**, the largest, gloomiest, and most sumptuous private residence erected since 1870. Its beautiful gardens cover that greater part of the Esquiline known as Mons Oppius, and most of the site of the Baths of Trajan. They command views over the Coliseum to the old churches of the Coelian, and themselves enclose several picturesque ruins—remnants of the Golden House of Nero, and the reservoir which served the baths of Titus and Trajan, known as the *Sette Sale.* Amid the universal destruction of beauty and picturesqueness at Rome, the good taste and wealth of an American lady—Mrs. Field—has here made the old vineyards of the Esquiline more beautiful than they were before. The palace occupies the site of the house of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, one of the last upholders of the rights of the Vestal Virgins in the fourth century. A statue was found here in 1591 of Caelia Concordia, the last abbess, or last but one, inscribed: 'Fabia Aconia Paulina sets up this portrait statue of Caelia Concordia, the Superior of the Vestals, not only as a testimonial to her virtues, her chastity, and her devotion to the gods, but as a token of gratitude for the honour conferred by the Vestals upon her husband, Praetextatus, to whom they have dedicated a statue.' [1]

[1] This statue is usually stated to have been found in the Atrium Vestae; but the senatorial personage found there must belong to a much earlier day

The district between S. Maria and the Lateran is covered with the contemptible buildings of modern Rome, which have engulfed also the beautiful Villa Wolkonski.

'They are destined to a graceless and ignoble ruin. Ugly cracks in the miserable stucco show where the masonry is already parting, as the hollow foundations subside, and walls on which the paint is still almost fresh are shored up with dusty beams lest they should fall and crush the few paupers who dwell within. Filthy, half-washed clothes of beggars hang down from the windows, drying in the sun as they flap and flutter against pretentious moulded masks of empty plaster. Miserable children loiter in the high-arched gates, under which smart carriages were meant to drive, and gnaw their dirty fingers, or fight for a cold boiled chestnut one of them has saved. Squalor, misery, ruin and vile stucco, with a sprinkling of half-desperate humanity—those are the elements of the modern picture—that is what the "great development" of modern Rome has brought forth and left behind it.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

We now enter the Piazza of S. Maria Maggiore, in front of which stands a beautiful corinthian column, called **Colonna della Vergine**. This is the last remaining column of the Basilica of Maxentius, and is forty-seven feet high without its base and capital. It was brought hither in 1613. The figure of the Virgin on the top is by Berthelot, and was placed here by Paul V., who, to provide 10,000 pounds of metal required for it, melted down the dome, four dolphins, and two peacocks, which belonged to the precious fountain of Symmachus (A.D. 500) in the atrium of the old S. Peter's!

The **Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore**, frequently named from its founder the **Liberian Basilica**, was founded A.D. 352, by Pope Liberius, and John,[1] a Roman patrician, to commemorate a miraculous fall of snow (hail?), which covered this spot of ground and no other, on the 5th of August, when the Virgin, appearing in a vision, showed them that she had thus appropriated the site for a new temple.[2] This legend is commemorated every year on the 5th of August, the festa of La Madonna della Neve, when, during a solemn high mass in the Borghese Chapel, showers of white rose-leaves are thrown down constantly through two holes in the vaulting, 'like a leafy mist between the priests and worshippers.'

This church, in spite of many alterations, is in some respects internally the most beautiful and harmonious building in Rome, and retains much of the character which it received when rebuilt between 432 and 440 by Sixtus III., who thus commemorated the Council of Ephesus, at which the heresy of the Nestorians was condemned, who had refused the solemn title of 'Deipara' to the Virgin, declaring that Christ was born, in fact, not a God but a man! Sixtus dedicated the church to S. Maria Mater Dei, and established

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than that of Gratian. The head appears to follow a Greek model, and no trace of an inscription belonging to it has been discovered. But the style absolutely precludes any sane attribution of the statue to the famous leader of the Pagan Faction.

[1] His flat tombstone is in the centre of the nave.

[2] This story is the subject of two of Murillo's most beautiful pictures in the Academy at Madrid. The first represents the vision of the Virgin to John and his wife; in the second they tell what they have seen to Pope Liberius.

it as one of the four patriarchal basilicas, whence it is provided with the 'porta santa,' or holy-door, formally opened by the Pope, with great solemnity, four times in a century.

On the little terrace on the right of the church is (removed from the piazza and now ill seen) a **Cross** on a pedestal formed by a culverin reversed, and inscribed 'In hoc signo vinces'—a memorial of the absolution given by Clement VIII. in 1595 to Henry IV. of France, on his being received back into the Roman Catholic Church, and the cessation of the civil wars.

'It was erected by Charles d'Anisson, Prior of the French Antonines. . . . Though apparently erected by private enterprise, the kings of France regarded it as an insult of the Curia, an official boast of their submission to the Pope, and they lost no opportunity of showing their dissatisfaction in consequence. Louis XIV. found an occasion for revenge. The gendarmes who had escorted his ambassador, the Duc de Crequi, to Rome, had a street brawl with the Pope's Corsican body-guards; and although it was doubtful which side was to blame, Louis obliged Pope Alexander VII. to raise a pyramid on the spot where the affray had taken place, with a humiliating inscription.

'The revenge could not have been more complete: so bitter was it, that Alexander VII. drew up a violent protest against it, to be read and published only after his death. His successor, Clement IX., a favourite with Louis XIV., obtained leave that the pyramid should be demolished, which was done in June 1668, with the consent of the French ambassador, the Duc de Chaulnes. Whether by stipulation or by the goodwill of the Pope, the inscription of the column of Henry IV. was made to disappear at the same time. We have found it concealed in a remote corner of the convent of S. Antonio. The column itself, and the canopy which sheltered it, fell to the ground, February 15, 1744; and when Benedict XIV. restored the monument in the following year, he severed for ever its connection with these remarkable historical events by dedicating it Deiparae Virgini.'—*Lanciani.*

The **campanile** was erected by Gregory XI. in 1378, on his return from Avignon, and is the highest tower in Rome. The west front was added under Benedict XIV. (Lambertini) in 1741 by Ferdinando Fuga, destroying a portico of the time of Eugenius III. (1145), of which the only remnant is an architrave, inserted into which is an inscription, quoted by its defenders in proof of the existence of Mariolatry in the twelfth century:—

'Tertius Eugenius Romanus Papa benignus
Obtulit hoc munus, Virgo Maria, tibi,
Quae Mater Christi fieri merito meruisti,
Salva perpetua Virginitate tibi.
Es Via, Vita, Salus, totius Gloria Mundi,
Da veniam culpis, Virginitatis Honos.'

In this portico is a statue by Lucenti, of Philip IV. of Spain, who gave great treasures to the church. In the upper storey are preserved the mosaics which once decorated the old façade, one of them representing the miracle which led to the foundation of the building.

'To 1300 belong the mosaics on the upper part of the façade of S. Maria Maggiore (now inserted in the loggia), in which, in two rows, framed in architectural decorations, may be seen Christ in the act of benediction, and several saints above, and the legend of the founding of the church below—both well-arranged compositions. An inscription gives the name of the otherwise unknown master, "Philippus Rusuti." This work was formerly attributed to the Florentine mosaicist Gaddo Gaddi, who died 1312.'—*Kugler.*

Five doors, if we exclude the walled-up Porta Santa, lead into the magnificent **nave** (280 feet long, 60 broad), with its avenue of forty-four columns of marmor Hymettium (from Athens), carrying a frieze of small mosaic pictures from the Old Testament, of A.D. 440—unbroken, except where six of the subjects have been cut away to make room for transeptal arches in front of the two great side chapels. These pictures evince so full a classic Roman flavour as to have lately given rise to a fresh hypothesis respecting their date. (*Cf.* the volume on this subject by Dr. J. P. Richter and Miss A. Taylor.) Good morning light needed for seeing them. The **mosaics** increase in splendour as they approach the tribune, in front of which is a grand **baldacchino** by Fuga, erected by Benedict XIV., supported by four porphyry columns enwreathed with gilt leaves, and surmounted by four marble angels by Pietro Bracci. The porphyry bath beneath the altar rests upon a slab of Nero-Bianco marble. The **pavement** is of Cosmatesque mosaic, and its crimson and violet hues temper the white and gold of the walls. The flat **roof** (by Sangallo), panelled and coffered, is gilded with the first gold brought to Spain from South America, and presented to Alexander VI. by Ferdinand and Isabella.

'The mosaics above the chancel arch are valuable for the illustration of Christian doctrine: the throne of the Lamb as described in the Apocalypse, SS. Peter and Paul beside it (the earliest instance of their being thus represented); and the four symbols of the Evangelists above; the Annunciation; the Angel appearing to Zechariah; the Massacre of the Innocents;[1] the Presentation in the Temple; the Adoration of the Magi; Herod receiving the Head of S. John the Baptist; and, below these groups, a flock of sheep, type of the faithful, issuing from the mystic cities, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. We see here one curious example of the nimbus, round the head of Herod, as a symbol of power, apart from sanctity. In certain details these mosaics have been altered, with a view to adapting them to modern devotional bias, in a manner that deserves reprobation; but Ciampini (*Monumenta Vetera*) shows us in engraving what the originals were before this alteration, effected under Benedict XIV. In the group of the Adoration the Child *alone* occupied the throne, while opposite (in the original work) was seated, on another chair, an elderly person in a long blue mantle veiling the head—concluded by Ciampini to be the senior among the Magi; the two others, younger, and both in the usual Oriental dress, with trousers and Phrygian caps, being seen to approach at the same side, whilst the mother *stood* beside the throne of the Child—her figure recognisable from its resemblance to others in scenes where she appears in the same series. As this group is now before us, the erect figure is left out; the seated one is converted into that of Mary, with a halo round the head, though in the original even such attribute (alike given to the Saviour and to all the angels introduced) is *not* assigned to her.'—*Hemans*, '*Ancient Christian Art.*'

The vault and face of the **tribune** is covered with mosaics by Jacopo da Turrita (1292), the same who executed those at the Lateran basilica. The choir is lit by four pointed windows.

'A general affinity with the style of Cimabue is observable in some mosaics executed by contemporary artists. Those in S. Maria Maggiore are inscribed with the name of Jacobus Torriti, and executed between 1287 and 1292. They are surpassed by no contemporary work in dignity, grace, and decorative beauty of arrangement. In a blue, gold-starred circle is seen Christ

[1] Herod is represented with a nimbus, proving its use—adopted from pagan art—to indicate majesty.

enthroned with the Virgin; on each side are adoring angels, kneeling and flying, on a gold ground, with S. Peter and S. Paul, the two S. Johns, S. Francis, and S. Anthony (the same in size and position as at S. J. Lateran) advancing devoutly along. The upper part is filled with graceful vine branches, with symbolical animals among them. Below is Jordan, with small river-gods, boats, and figures of men and animals. Farther below are scenes from the life of Christ in animated arrangement. The group in the centre of the circle, of Christ enthroned with the Virgin, is especially fine: while the Saviour is placing the crown on His mother's head, she lifts up her hands with the expression both of admiration and of modest remonstrance.[1] The forms are very pure and noble; the execution careful, and very different from the Roman mosaics of the twelfth century.'—*Kugler.*

Built into the wall of the apse are some magnificent **reliefs** by Mino da Fiesole, which, with others now in the sacristy, once formed part of a reredos behind the high altar.

In front of and beneath the **high altar** Pius IX. prepared a monument for himself, by constructing a splendid chamber or 'confessio' approached by winding staircases, and panelled with precious alabaster and Fiore di Persico; but, as his death approached, his wishes changed, and he desired to be buried 'with the poor' at S. Lorenzo. A fine statue of Pius IX. has, however, been placed here, directly in front of the altar.

'His private virtues made him a model to the Christian world, while his political weakness made him the sport of his enemies. The only stable thing in him was his goodness, everything else was in perpetual vacillation. He hesitated through a pontificate of thirty-two years, he out-reigned the "years of Peter," and he lost the temporal power.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

On the **right** of the western entrance is the tomb of the Rospigliosi Pope, Clement IX. (1667–69), the work of Rainaldi. His body rests before the high altar, surrounded by a number of the members of his family. **Left** of the entrance is the tomb of Nicholas IV., Masci (1287–92), erected to his memory three hundred years after his death by Sixtus V. while still a cardinal. He is represented giving benediction, between two figures—Justice and Religion; a work of Leonardo da Sarzana; two fine panels of alabaster.

The 2nd chapel L. has noble columns of verde-antico.

'It is well to know that this pope, a mere upstart from the dust, sought to support himself through the mighty family of Colonna, by raising them too high. His friend, the Cardinal Giacomo Colonna, contributed with him to the renewal of the mosaics which are in the tribune of S. Maria Maggiore, and one can see their two figures there to this day. It was in this reign that Ptolemais, the last possession of the Christians in Asia, fell into the hands of the Mohammedans; thus ending the era of the Crusades.'—*Gregorovius.*

Behind this tomb, near the walled-up Porta Santa, is a good tomb of two bishops of Arles (1489), brothers, of the fifteenth century; and in the same aisle are many other monuments of the sixteenth century, some of them fine in their way, chiefly erected in honour of canons and lawyers.

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[1] This mosaic will bring to mind the beautiful lines of Dante:—

'L'amor che mosse già l' eterno padre
Per figlia aver di sua Deità trina
Costei che fu del figlio suo poi madre
Dell' universo quì fa la regina.'

Nearly on a line with the baldacchino (south aisle) is the entrance to the **Borghese Chapel**, built by Flaminio Ponzio for Paul V. in 1611, gorgeous with verde-antico columns and alabasters plundered from the Temple of Minerva in the Forum Transitorium. Over its magnificent altar of jasper and lapis-lazuli is preserved one of the numerous pictures attributed to S. Luke (and announced to be genuine in a Papal bull attached to the walls!), much revered from the belief that it stayed the notorious plague which decimated the city during the reign of Pelagius II. (590), and that under Innocent VIII. it brought about the overthrow of the Moorish dominion in Spain, otherwise the ruin of that country.

'On conserve à Sainte-Marie-Majeure une des images de la Madonne peintes par S. Luc, et plusieurs fois on a trouvé les anges chantant les litanies autour de ce tableau.'—*Stendal.*

'The scheme of decorations in this gorgeous chapel is remarkable, as testifying to the development which the theological idea of the Virgin, as the Sposa or personified Church, had attained in the time of Paul V.—the same pope who in 1615 promulgated the famous bull relative to the immaculate Conception.

'First, and elevated above all, we have the "Madonna della Concezione," "Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception," in a glory of light, sustained and surrounded by angels, having the crescent under her feet, according to the approved treatment. Beneath, round the dome, we read in conspicuous letters the text from the Revelation:—SIGNUM . MAGNUM . APPARUIT . IN . COELO . MULIER . AMICTA . SOLE . ET . LUNA . SUB . PEDIBUS . EJUS . ET . IN . CAPITE . EJUS . CORONA . STELLARUM . DUODECIM. Lower down is a second inscription expressing the dedication:—MARIAE . CHRISTI . MATRI . SEMPER . VIRGINI . PAULUS . QUINTUS . P.M. The decorations beneath the cornice consist of eighteen large frescoes, and six statues in marble, above life-size. We have the subjects arranged in the following order:—

'1. The four great prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, in their usual place in the four pendentives of the dome.

'2. Two large frescoes. In the first the Vision of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Heretics bitten by serpents. In the second S. John Damascene and S. Ildefonso miraculously rewarded for defending the majesty of the Virgin.

'3. A large fresco, representing the four Doctors of the Church who had especially written in honour of the Virgin: viz., Irenaeus and Cyprian, Ignatius and Theophilus, grouped two and two.

'4. S. Luke, who painted the Virgin, and whose Gospel contains the best account of her.

'5. As spiritual conquerors in the name of the Virgin, S. Dominic and S. Francis, each attended by two companions of his Order.

'6. As military conquerors in the name of the Virgin, the Emperor Heraclius and Narses, the general against the Arians.

'7. A group of three female figures, representing the three famous saintly princesses, who in marriage preserve their virginity—Pulcheria, Edeltruda, (our famous Queen Etheldreda) and Cunegunda.

'8. A group of three learned Bishops, who had especially defended the immaculate purity of the Virgin—S. Cyril, S. Anselm, and S. Denis (?).

'9. The miserable ends of those who were opposed to the honour of the Virgin. 1. The death of Julian the Apostate, very oddly represented; he lies on an altar, transfixed by an arrow, as a victim; S. Mercurius in the air. 2. The death of Leo IV., who destroyed the effigies of the Virgin. 3. The death of Constantine IV., also a famous iconoclast.

'The statues which are placed in niches are—

'1-2. S. Joseph, as the nominal husband, and S. John the Evangelist, as the nominal son, of the Virgin; the latter, also, as prophet and poet, with reference to the passage in the Revelation xii. 1.

'3-4. Aaron, as priestly ancestor (because his wand blossomed), and David, as kingly ancestor, of the Virgin.

'5-6. S. Dionysius the Areopagite, who was present at the death of the Virgin, and S. Bernard, who composed the famous "Salve Regina" in her honour.

'Such is this grand systematic scheme of decoration, which, to those who regard it cursorily, is merely a sumptuous confusion of colours and forms, or at best a "fine example of the Guido school and Bernini." It is altogether a very complete and magnificent specimen of the prevalent style of art, and a very comprehensive and suggestive expression of the prevalent tendency of thought in the Roman Catholic Church from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In no description of this chapel have I seen the names and subjects accurately given: the style of art belongs to the *decadence*, and the taste being worse than questionable, the prevailing *doctrinal* idea has been neglected, or never understood.'—'*Legends of the Madonna*,' lxxi.

On the R. is the tomb of Clement VIII. (1592–1605), the Florentine, Ippolito Aldobrandini, the builder of the new palace of the Vatican, and punisher of the Cenci. He is represented in the act of benediction. The bas-reliefs on his monument commemorate the principal events of his reign—the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, and the taking of Ferrara, which he seized from the heirs of Alphonso II.

On the L. is the tomb of Paul V. (1605–21), Camillo Borghese, in whose reign S. Peter's was finished, as every traveller learns from the gigantic inscription over its portico—who founded the Borghese family, and left to his nephew, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, a fortune which enabled him to buy the Borghese Palace and to build the Borghese Villa; both of which his present representative has lost.

'It is a truly herculean figure, with a grandly developed head, while in his thick neck, pride, violence, and sensuality seem to be united. He is the first pope who wore the beard of a cavalier, like that of Henry IV., which recalls the Thirty Years' War, which he lived through, as far as the battle of the White Mountain. In this round, domineering, pride-swollen countenance appears the violent, imperious spirit of Paul, which aimed at an absolute power. Who does not remember his famous quarrel with Venice, and the rôle which his far superior adversary Paolo Sarpi played with such invincible courage? The bas-reliefs of his tomb represent the reception given by the pope to the envoys of Congo and Japan, the building of the citadel of Ferrara, the sending of auxiliary troops to Hungary to the assistance of Rudolph II., and the canonisation of S. Francesca Romana and S. Carlo Borromeo.'—*Gregorovius*.

The frescoes in the octagonal **cupola** are by *Cigoli*; those around the altar by the Cav. d'Arpino; those above the tombs and on the arches by *Guido*, except the Madonna, which is by *Lanfranco*. The beloved Princess Borghese (*née* Lady Gwendoline Talbot) was buried in front of the altar, Oct. 30, 1839, half Rome following her to the grave.

The funeral of Princess Borghese proved the feeling with which she was regarded. Her body lay upon a car which was drawn by forty young Romans, and was followed by all the poor of Rome, the procession swelling like a river in every street and piazza it passed through, while from all the windows as it passed flowers were showered down. In funeral ceremonies of great personages at Rome an ancient custom is observed, by which, when the body is lowered into the grave, a chamberlain, coming out to the church door, announces to the coachman, who is waiting with the family carriage, that his master or mistress has no longer need of his services; and the coach-

man thereupon breaks his staff of office and drives mournfully away. When this formality was fulfilled at the funeral of Princess Borghese, the whole of the vast crowd waiting outside the basilica broke into tears and sobs, and kneeling by a common impulse, prayed aloud for the soul of their benefactress.

The chapel has lately been the scene of a miraculous story, with reference to a visionary appearance of the Princess Borghese which has obtained great credit among the people, by whom she is already looked upon as a Saint.

The **6th Chapel** (L.) is dedicated to S. Carlo Borromeo. The **7th** (back to the Tribune) has the tomb of Prospero di Santa Fiora (1589), flanked by two mosaic inscriptions. Here is also the tomb of Platina, the Librarian of the Vatican.

The **1st** chapel in the **right aisle** is that of the Patrizi family, and close by is the sepulchral stone of their noble ancestor, Giovanni Patricino, whose bones were found beneath the high altar, and deposited here in 1700. The **2nd** chapel has a grand porphyry font, and is in fact the baptistery (*q.v.*). The next chapel is that of Santa Croce, containing ten porphyry columns, and walls panelled with Breccia Corallina. Then comes the **Chapel of the Holy Sacrament**, built by Fontana for Sixtus V. while still Cardinal of Montalto, and a gem of renaissance architecture. Gregory XIII., who was then on the throne, visiting this gorgeous chapel when it was nearly completed, immediately decided that one who could build such a temple was sufficiently rich, and he suppressed the cardinal's pension. Fontana, who advanced a thousand scudi for the completion of the work, had the delicacy never to allow the cardinal to imagine that he was indebted to him. The chapel, restored 1870, is adorned with statues by Gianbattista Pozzo, Cesare Nebbia, and others. Under the altar is a presepio—one of the best works of Bernini; and opposite to it, in the confession, a beautiful statue of S. Gaetano (founder of the Theatines, who died in 1547), with two little children. On the right is the splendid tomb of Pius V., Michele Ghislieri (1566–72), the bare-footed, bare-headed energetic Dominican monk of S. Sabina, who in his short six years' reign beheld, amongst other events, the victory of Lepanto, the fall of the Huguenots in France, and the massacre of S. Bartholomew, events which were celebrated at Rome with festas and thanksgivings. The figure of the pope, a monk wasted to a skeleton (by Leonardo da Sarzana), sits in the central niche, between statues of S. Dominic and S. Peter Martyr. A number of bas-reliefs by different sculptors represent the events of his life. Some are by the Flemish artists Nicolas d'Arras and Egidius.

On the left is the tomb of Sixtus V. (1585–90), Felice Perretti, who as a boy kept his father's pigs at Montalto; who as a young man was a Franciscan monk preaching in the Apostoli, and attracting crowds by his eloquence; who then rose to be Bishop of Fermo, soon after to be cardinal, and was lastly raised to the Papal throne. This he occupied only five years, a time which sufficed for this prince of the Church, who loved rebuilding, to renew Rome almost entirely, at irreparable cost to her ancient monuments.

'If anything can still the spectator to silence and awaken him to great recollections, it is the monument of this astonishing man, who, as a child, herded swine, and as an old man commanded people and kings, and who filled Rome with so many works, that from every side his name, like an echo, rings in the traveller's ear. We never cease to be amazed at the wonderful luck which raised Napoleon from the dust to the throne of the world, as if it were a romance or a fairy story. But if in the history of kings these astonishing changes are extraordinary accidents, they seem quite natural in the history of the popes, they belong to the very essence of Christendom, which does not appeal to the person, but to the spirit; and while the one history is full of ordinary men, who, without the prerogative of their crown, would have sunk into eternal oblivion, the other is rich in great men, who, placed in a different sphere, would have been equally worthy of renown.'—*Gregorovius.*

The famous Pope Honorius III. (Cencius Savelli, 1216–29), who founded the Dominican and confirmed the Franciscan order, is buried, without a monument, before the altar of the Presepio.

In a little chapel on the left of the entrance of this—which is, as it were, a transept of the church—is a fine picture of S. Jerome by *Spagnoletto*, and in the chapel opposite a sarcophagus of two early Christian consuls, richly carved with Christian subjects—Daniel in the den of lions, Zaccheus in the sycamore tree, Martha at the raising of Lazarus, &c.

At the end of the right aisle, near its door, is one of the finest gothic monuments in Rome, the work of Giovanni Cosmati, being the tomb of Cardinal Rodrigo Consalvi, Archbishop of Toledo and Bishop of Albano, *c.* 1299.[1] Arms—Paly of 6, gules, argent, erminy, sable.

'A recumbent statue, in pontifical vestments, rests on a sarcophagus, and two angels draw aside curtains as if to show us the dead; in the background is a mosaic of Mary enthroned, with the Child, the apostle Matthias, S. Jerome, and a smaller kneeling figure of Consalvi, in pontifical robes; at the apex is a tabernacle with cusped arch, and below the epitaph, "Hoc opus fecit Joannes Magister Cosmae civis Romanus," the artist's record of himself. In the hands of S. Matthias and S. Jerome are scrolls; on that held by the apostle the words, "Me tenet ara prior;" on S. Jerome's, "Recubo presepis ad antrum," these epitaphs confirming the tradition that the bodies of S. Matthias and S. Jerome repose in this church, while indicating the sites of their tombs. Popular regards have distinguished this tomb; no doubt in intended honour to the Blessed Virgin, lamps are kept ever burning, and vases of flowers ranged, before her mosaic image.'—*Hemans*, '*Mediaeval Christian Art.*'

Near the other end of the right aisle, entered through the chapel of the Patrizi, is the **Baptistery**, which contains a vast porphyry vase, found underground in the Forum, used as a font. Hence we reach the **Sacristia**, in the inner chamber of which are some exceedingly beautiful bas-reliefs by *Mino da Fiesole* belonging to the broken-up ciborium. One depicting the Madonna is signed.

One of the greatest of the Christmas ceremonies is the procession at 5 A.M. in honour of the chief relic of the church—the **Santa Culla**—*i.e.* the cradle in which our Saviour was carried into Egypt; not, as is frequently imagined, the manger, which is allowed to

[1] There are two other well-known works of Giovanni Cosmati—the tomb of Guglielmo Duranti at S. Maria sopra Minerva, and that of Don Stefano Surdi at S. Balbina.

have been of stone, and of which a single stone only is supposed to have found its way into Rome, and to be preserved here in the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. The 'Santa Culla' is kept in a magnificent reliquary, six feet high, adorned with bas-reliefs and statuettes in silver. On the afternoon of Christmas Eve the public can visit the relic at an altar in a little chapel near the Sacristy. On the afternoon of Christmas Day it is also exposed, but upon the high altar, where it is less easily seen.

'Le Seigneur Jésus a voulu naître dans une étable; mais les hommes ont apporté précieusement le petit berceau qui a reçu le salut du monde dans la reine des cités, et ils l'ont enchâssé dans l'or.

'C'est bien ici que nous devons accourir avec joie et redire ce chant triomphant de l'Eglise: *Adeste, fideles, laeti triumphantes; venite, venite in Bethlehem.*'—'*Une Chrétienne à Rome.*'

Among the many other relics preserved here are two little bags containing the brains of S. Thomas à Becket.[1]

It was in this church that Pope S. Martin I. (650) was celebrating mass in the seventh century, when a guard sent by the Exarch Olympius appeared on the threshold with orders to seize and put him to death. At the sight of the pontiff the soldier was stricken with blindness, a miracle which led to the conversion of Olympius and many other persons.

S. Maria Maggiore was the scene of the seizure of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) by Cencius.

'On Christmas Eve, 1075, the city of Rome was visited by a terrible tempest. Darkness brooded over the land, and the trembling spectators believed that the day of final judgment was about to dawn. In this war of the elements, however, two processions were seen advancing to the church of S. Maria Maggiore. At the head of one was the aged Hildebrand, conducting a few priests to worship at the shrine of the Virgo Deipara. The other was preceded by Cencius, a Roman noble. At each pause in the tempest might be heard the hallelujas of the worshippers, or the voice of the pontiff, pouring out benedictions on the little flock which knelt before him, when Cencius grasped his person, and some yet more daring ruffian inflicted a wound on his forehead. Bound with cords, stripped of his sacred vestments, beaten, and subjected to the basest indignities, the venerable minister of Christ was carried to a fortified mansion within the walls of the city, again to be removed at daybreak to exile or death. Women were there, with women's sympathy and kindly offices, but they were rudely put aside; and a drawn sword was already aimed at the pontiff's bosom, when the cries of a fierce multitude, threatening to burn or batter down the house, arrested the aim of the assassin. An arrow, discharged from below, reached and slew him. The walls rocked beneath the strokes of the maddened populace, and Cencius, falling at his prisoner's feet, became himself a suppliant for pardon and for life. . . . In profound silence, and with undisturbed serenity, Hildebrand had thus far submitted to these atrocious indignities. The occasional raising of his eyes towards heaven alone indicated his consciousness of them. But to the supplication of his prostrate enemy he returned an instant and a calm assurance of forgiveness. He rescued Cencius from the exasperated besiegers, dismissed him in safety and in peace, and returned, amidst the acclamations of the whole Roman people, to complete the interrupted solemnities of S. Maria Maggiore.'—*Stephen's* '*Lectures on Eccles. Hist.*'

Leaving the church by the door behind the tribune, we find ourselves at the top of the slope of the Esquiline overlooking Via

[1] His skull is shown at Marsala. (Cf. *Sicily*, by A. Hare and St. C. Baddeley, 1905.)

Cavour, and in front of an **Obelisk** erected here by Fontana for Sixtus V., brought from Egypt by Claudius, and one of two which were erected by Domitian at the entrance to the mausoleum of Augustus. The inscriptions (1587) on three of its sides are worth notice: 'Christi Dei in aeternum viventis cunabula laetissime colo, qui mortui sepulchro Augusti tristis serviebam.'—'Quem Augustus de virgine nasciturum vivens adoravit, sed deinceps dominum dici noluit adoro.'—'Christus per invictam crucem populo pacem praebeat, qui Augusti pace in praesepe nasci voluit.'

To the left of the Piazza of S. Maria is seen a vegetable market, often shaded by spacious umbrellas, in which pottery and meat, as well as oranges and green things, are sold. From the L. of the market is Via di S. Prassede, with the church bearing that title.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BASILICAS OF THE LATERAN, SANTA CROCE, AND S. LORENZO

Via di S. Giovanni—The Obelisk and Baptistery—Basilica and Cloisters—Mosaic of the Triclinium—Scala Santa—Palace of the Lateran—Villa Massimo Arsoli—SS. Pietro e Marcellino—Villa Wolkonski—(Porta Furba—Tombs of the Via Latina—Basilica of S. Stefano)—S. Croce in Gerusalemme—Amphitheatrum Castrense—Porta Maggiore—(Tomb of S. Helena—Tor dei Schiavo—Cervelletta—Ceryara)—Porta and Basilica of S. Lorenz—Catacomb of S. Hippolytus.

BEHIND the Coliseum the Via di S. Giovanni ascends directly the slope of the Coelian. In mediaeval times this road is absurdly said to have been avoided by the popes, on account of the scandal attaching to the legend of Joan, the famous papessa, who is related to have astonished her attendants by giving birth to a child near S. Clemente, during a procession from the Lateran, and to have died of shame and terror immediately afterwards. Joan is stated to have been educated at Athens, to have skilfully obtained her election to the Papal throne, disguised as a man, and to have taken the name of John VIII., and reigned more than two years. The legend first appears in the thirteenth century, and was gladly believed by the credulous until the fifteenth. In the Cathedral of Siena the heads of all the popes in terra-cotta (down to Alexander III.) decorate the frieze above the arches of the nave, and among them was that of Pope Joan, inscribed 'Johannes VIII., Femina de Anglia,' till 1600, when it is said to have been changed into a head of Pope Zacharias by the Grand Duke, at the request of Pope Clement VIII.

On the left of this street is S. Clemente (described Chap. VII.). On the right of it, a long wall flooded by cascades of Banksia roses in spring, and a villa adorned with terra-cotta ornaments, belonged to the favourite residence of the Marchese Campana, the learned archaeologist of Etruria, and prime benefactor of the Etruscan museum at the Vatican, imprisoned and exiled by the Papal Government in 1858, on an accusation of having tampered with the revenues of the Monte di Pietà. This beautiful villa was 'improved away' in 1889.

Beyond the turn of the road (R.) leading past the new military hospital (Villa of Aurelius) to S. Stefano Rotondo (Chap. VII.), bas-reliefs of the Saviour's head (from the Acheiro-poëton in the Sancta Sanctorum) between two candelabra, appearing upon the different buildings, announce the property of the Lateran Chapter.

The **Piazza di San Giovanni** is surrounded by a remarkable group of buildings. In front stand the obelisk and Basilica of the Lateran. On the right, a hospital for women, capable of containing 600 patients,

and the Baptistery; on the left, beyond the modern palace (museums), are seen the buildings which enclose the Scala Santa, and some broken arches of the Neronian aqueduct. In the centre of the piazza is the **Obelisk of the Lateran**, 115 feet high, the oldest object in Rome, being 400 years older than the obelisk of the Piazza del Popolo, and referred by Egyptologists to the year 1449 B.C., when it was raised in memory of Thothmes III. and IV. It was brought from the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis to Alexandria by Constantine, and removed thence by his son Constantius to Rome, where it was used to adorn the Circus Maximus (A.D. 357). Thence it was moved to its present site in 1588 by Fontana for Sixtus V. The obelisk was found broken into three pieces, and in order to piece them together, some part had to be cut off, as well as some of the base injured by fire; but it is still the tallest in the city. The obelisk stands on the site of a Roman street, which passes under the transept of the Lateran, dividing the house of the Laterani from a Depot of the Equites Singulares (Imperial body-guard), which occupied the site of the Corsini Chapel. The Osteria del Cocchio (formerly 'della Sposata') is perhaps the oldest left in Rome. Behind it are seen two arches of the Neronian aqueduct.

An octagonal building of rather mean exterior is the **Baptistery of the Lateran**, sometimes called S. Giovanni in Fonte, a fourth-century structure, perhaps on the site of the Nympheum of the Domus Faustae (Lateranorum). It owes its interior, as we see it, to Sixtus III. (440). Of his time are the eight porphyry columns which form a colonnade round the interior, supporting a cornice from which rise the eight small columns of white marble which sustain the dome. In the centre is the font of green basalt in which Rienzi is related to have bathed on the night of August 1, 1347, before his public appearance as a knight, when he summoned Joan I. of Naples and Louis of Hungary to appear before him for judgment, regarding the cruel murder of Andrew, the latter's brother. The cupola is decorated with scenes from the life of John the Baptist by *Andrea Sacchi*. On the walls are frescoes portraying the life of Constantine by *Geminiano*, *Carlo Maratta*, and *Andrea Camassei*. This building has served as the model of most of the ancient baptisteries in Italy.

On the right is the **Chapel of S. John the Baptist** added by Pope Hilary (461–468). Between two serpentine columns is a figure of S. John the Baptist by Donato di Formello.

The bronze doors came from the Baths of Caracalla.

The opposite **chapel of S. John the Evangelist**, restored by Sixtus V., has fine bronze doors which belonged to the old palace, and were made in 1203 for Cardinal Cencio by Master Albert of Lausanne. The soffit has a mosaic of A.D. 468. The statue of S. John is after a design of Giovanni della Porta.

Close by is the entrance to the **Oratory of S. Venanzio**,[1] built in

[1] S. Venantius was a child martyred at Camerino under Decius in 250. Pope Clement X., who had been Bishop of Camerino, had a peculiar veneration for this saint.

640 by John IV., and dedicated to S. Venantius from a filial feeling towards his father, who bore the same name. Nothing, however, remains of this time but the Byzantine **mosaics**. Those in the apse represent the Saviour in the act of benediction with angels, and below Him the Virgin (an aged woman) in adoration,[1] with S. Peter and S. John Baptist, S. Paul and S. John the Evangelist, S. Venantius and S. Domnus—and another figure unnamed, probably John IV. (a Dalmatian), holding the model of a church. On the face of the chancel arch are eight Slavonic saints, with their names (Paolinianus, Telius, Asterius, Anastasius; to left, Maurus, Septimius, Antiochianus, Cajanus), the symbols of the evangelists, and the cities Bethlehem and Jerusalem; also the verses—

> 'Martyribus Christi Domini pia vota Johannes
> Reddidit antistes, sanctificante Deo.
> At sacri fontis similis fulgente metallo,
> Providus instanter hoc copulavit opus:
> Quo quisquis gradiens et Christum pronus adorans,
> Effusasque preces impetrat ille suas.'

The next chapel, called the **Cappella Borgia** and used as the burial-place of that family, was once an open portico, but this character was destroyed by building up the intercolumniations. On its façade are a number of fragments of ancient friezes, &c. Over the inner door is a bas-relief of the Crucifixion (1494).

Another chapel, containing the altar of SS. Cyprian and Justina, is also decorated with fifth-century mosaics.

The piteous modernisation of this ancient group of chapels is chiefly due to the folly of Urban VIII. The Baptistery is used on Easter Eve for the ceremony of adult baptism, the recipients being called Jews. A countrified lane, Via della Ferratella, leads hence direct to the Baths of Caracalla, with picturesque glimpses of the walls, which, in their acute angle at this part, had a (now closed) gate known as *Porta Metronia*.

The **Lateran** derives its name from a rich patrician family, whose head, Plautius Lateranus, was put to death by Nero on accusation of having taken part in the conspiracy of Piso.[2] Septimus Severus gave large sums to the Lateranus of his day that he might repair the family palace here. According to one version of this obscure conspiracy, Plautius Lateranus, on account of his superior strength, was to hold the tyrant down, while the other conspirators were to despatch him. The plot (if there was one) became divulged, and torture and execution followed, among the victims of the emperor being his former tutor, Seneca, the poet-philosopher, and his nephew, Lucan, the author of 'Pharsalia.' From Lateranus no word escaped, and he was praised for receiving his doom in silence. Remains of this villa were rediscovered within the apse of the

[1] This figure of the Virgin is of interest, as introducing the Greek classical type under which she is often afterwards represented in Latin art.

[2] It was near the Lateran, on the site of the gardens (?) of Plautius Lateranus, that the famous statues of the Niobides, attributed to Scopas, now at Florence, were found.

church in 1876. It ultimately became an imperial residence, and a portion of it being given by Maximianus to his daughter Fausta, second wife of Constantine, became, under the name of 'Domus Faustae,' her property till her Imperial husband beheaded her and his son without a trial. It was this, or a part of it, which was given by Constantine to Pope Miltiades in 312—a donation which was confirmed to S. Sylvester, in whose pontificate the first church was built here, 'Ecclesia Urbis et Orbis,' dedicated to S. Salvatore, and consecrated on 9th November 324, Constantine, it is averred, having laboured with his own hands at the work. This basilica was overthrown by an earthquake in 896, but was restored and amplified by Sergius III. (904–911), being then dedicated to S. John the Baptist. Nothing remains of the Constantinian basilica except a few portions of walls which sustain the roof of the nave: these are hidden beneath the oval paintings between the windows. The second basilica (enriched by Nicholas IV. in 1290), whose glories are alluded to by Dante—

. . . . 'Quando Laterano
Alle cose mortali andò di sopra.'—*Paradiso*, xxxi.

was of the greatest interest, but was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1308. It was rebuilt, only to be again burnt down in 1361, when it remained for four years in ruins, in which state it was seen and mourned over by Petrarch. The fourth restoration of the basilica was due to Urban V. (1362–70), but it has since undergone a series of incessant mutilations and modernisations which have deplorably injured it. The west front retains the inscription 'Sacrosancta Lateranensis ecclesia, Omnium urbis et orbis Ecclesiarum Mater et Caput;' the Chapter of the Lateran still takes precedence even over that of S. Peter's; and every newly-elected Pontiff comes hither, or ought to do so, for his coronation.

'In the Lateran is the true Pontifical throne, on the platform of which are written the words *Haec est papalis sedes et pontificalis*. Over its front is inscribed the decree, Papal and Imperial, declaring it to be the mother and mistress of all churches.'—*A. P. Stanley*, '*Christian Institutions*.'

In 1313 Henry of Luxemburg was crowned at the Lateran as Henry VII., under the protection of the Colonnesi, Robert, king of Naples and the Orsini forcibly preventing his approach to S. Peter's.

The east end of the church has two quaint campanili (rebuilt by Pius IV.) above the end of the north transept. The church is entered from this transept by a portico. The transept—rich in colour from its varied marbles, and frescoes of the legendary history of Constantine—is the finest part of the basilica, which, as a whole, is far inferior to S. Maria Maggiore. In the chapel nearest the entrance, a curious kneeling statue of Nicholas IV.—(Masci) (1287–92)—has been brought here from the Portico Leonino. Over the next door is the fine monument of Innocent III. (1216) by Giuseppe Lucchetti, 1891, a graceful tribute of Leo XIII. to his favourite predecessor. The nave, with its double aisles, is of grand proportions, but has been hideously modernised by *Borromini*, who

has enclosed all its ancient columns, except two near the tribune, in tawdry plaster piers,[1] in front of which are clumsy statues of the apostles, given by the great Roman families; the roof is of the sixteenth century; the **tabernacle**, erected by Urban V. in the fourteenth century, is ugly and ill-proportioned. Four granite columns support a gothic canopy, decorated at its angles with canopied statuettes. Between these, on either side, are three much restored frescoes by *Berna da Siena*, those in the central panels representing the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the Saviour as a shepherd feeding His flock with corn. The skulls of SS. Peter and Paul are said to be preserved here. The altar encloses the greater part of a famous wooden table, saved from the conflagration of 1308, upon which S. Peter is supposed to have celebrated mass in the house of Pudens.[2] Formerly there were two archaic heads of SS. Peter and Paul, to which precious jewels were presented. In 1438, Niccola di Valmontone, a canon of the church, and two minor clerics, who had all been found guilty of stealing precious stones from the heads of S. Peter and S. Paul, and which they had sold, were executed in the Piazza of the Lateran, the canon being hanged on an elm-tree, while the right hands having been cut from his two inferior confederates, they themselves were burned at the stake, beside a truncated mediaeval tower which stood near the site of the obelisk. Their hands were nailed close to the tail of the bronze (Capitoline) wolf, which occupied then a niche in the tower.

In the **confession**, in front of the altar, lies the bronze slab of Martin V., Oddone Colonna (1417–24), the wise and just pope who was elected at the Council of Constance to put an end to the schism which had long divided the Papacy, and which had almost reduced the Lateran and the Church itself to ruins. Martin somewhat restored the Papal prestige, and his reign marks the opening of a fresh architectural era in the city. The slab displays his figure in low relief, and is a fine work of *Simone di Ghini* (who worked with Antonio Filarete), and was one of the makers of the bronze doors at S. Peter's. It bears the appropriate surname which was given to this admired Pontiff—'Temporum suorum felicitas.'

The **choir and tribune**, which, until recent years, dated from the time of Nicholas IV. (1287–92), has been enlarged, and its famous mosaic—now scarcely more than a reproduction—much injured by removal. This was the work of the architect Vespignani, one of the latest of the destroying vandals. Above the arch is a grand mosaic head of the Saviour, attributed to the time of Constantine (?)—of great interest, as commemorating the vision of the Redeemer, who is said to have appeared here on the day of the consecration of the church by Sylvester and Constantine, looking down upon the people, and hallowing the work with His visible presence. The

[1] There are two fine columns in each pier. Nothing was spared in the restoration but the ancient pavement, restored in the fourteenth century, and the roof by Giacomo della Porta, dating from 1550.

[2] See *S. Pudentiana*, ch. x.

head, which is grand and sad in expression, is surrounded by six-winged seraphim. Below is an ornamental cross, above which hovers a dove—from whose beak, running down the cross, flow the waters which supply the four rivers of Paradise. The disciples, symbolised under the form of harts (panting for the water-brooks) and sheep, flock to drink of the waters of life. In the distance is seen the New Jerusalem, within which the Phœnix, the bird of eternity, is seated upon the Tree of Life, guarded by an angel with a two-edged sword. Beside the cross, stand on the left, the Virgin with her hand resting on the head of the kneeling Pope, Nicholas IV.; S. Peter with a scroll inscribed, 'Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi;' S. Paul with a scroll inscribed, 'Salvatorem expectamus Dominum Jesum.' On the right S. John the Baptist, S. John the Evangelist, S. Andrew (all with their names). Between the first and second of these figures are others, on a smaller scale, of S. Francis and S. Anthony of Padua. All these persons are represented as walking in a flowery Paradise, in which the souls of the blessed are disporting, and in front flows the Jordan. Below, between the windows, are figures of prophets, and (very small) those of two Franciscans, who were the artists of the lower portion of the mosaic, as is shown by the inscriptions, 'Jacobus Turriti, pictor, hoc opus fecit;'—'Fra Jacobus de Camerino socius magistri.'

The steps of the throne in which the Popes were installed have a rich enamelled border. On each step are the emblems of an asp, a dragon, a lion, and basilisk, in reference to the 91st Psalm.

To the rear of the tribune, until the death of Pius IX., was all that remained internally of the architecture of the tenth century. This was in the vaulted ambulatory called '**Portico Leonino**,' from its founder, Leo I. (440). It was carried on low marble and granite columns with ionic and corinthian capitals. Here were collected various relics of the ancient basilica. On either side of the entrance were mosaic tablets, which relate to the building of the church. Then, on the right, was the kneeling statue of Nicholas IV. (1288). On the left, in the centre, was an altar, above which stood an ancient crucifix, and on either side stood tenth-century statues of SS. Peter and Paul. But, beyond the tribune, Vespignani has annihilated all that was ancient or interesting, and constructed a commonplace three-sided corridor, in which a few of those old monuments have been symmetrically arranged. The statues of SS. Peter and Paul are placed against the inner wall. On the opposite wall is a small marble picture (found 1756) of the fifth or sixth century of the Domus Lateranus: the Porta Asinaria (?) is seen. Here also may be noted leaden pipes stamped with the name of Sextius Lateranus, the consul of A.D. 157. The monument of Andrea Sacchi (1661) is in the northern corridor.

On the right we come to the entrance to the **sacristy** (whose inner bronze doors date from 1196), which used to contain an Annunciation by *Sebastiano del Piombo*, and a sketch by *Raffaelle* for the Madonna called 'Della Casa d'Alba,' now at S. Petersburg. On the left, at the end of the passage, is a handsome cinquecento ciborium. On

each side the aforesaid door now are placed the 'Tabula Magna Lateranensis,' mosaic tablets with golden inscriptions on a blue ground, given by Nicholas IV., and containing the list of relics belonging to the church. The most interesting and authentic of these is the little scourge with which S. Gregory the Great used to whip his choristers—perhaps into the Gregorian mode.

Near this, opening from the transept, is the **Cappella del Coro**, with handsome wooden stallwork. It contains a portrait of Martin V., by *Scipione Cäetani*.

The **altar of the Sacrament**, which closes the transept, has four grand fluted bronze columns, said to have been brought from Jerusalem by Titus, and to be hollow and filled with earth from Palestine.[1] They are the only ones of the kind in existence, and, it is said, were given to the Church by Constantine as 'pharocantharoi' (pillars supporting lights), to stand on either side the altar. Their capitals and the cornice and pediment of the altar date from the time of Clement VIII. (1592–1605), and are made of bronze deliberately collected in the Etruscan tombs of Corneto, Cervetri, and Civita Castellana. The gilded bronze of the Last Supper conceals a cedar table said to have been used on that occasion. In the left aisle of the church the **Cappella Corsini** was erected in 1729 in honour of S. Andrea Corsini, from designs of Alessandro Galilei. It is in the form of a Greek cross, and ranks next to the Borghese Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore in the richness of its marble decoration. A great portion of the walls is lined with the rare marble called *fior di Persico*. The mosaic altar-piece, representing S. Andrea Corsini, is a copy from a *Guido* in the Barberini Palace. The founder of the chapel, Clement XII., Lorenzo Corsini (1730–40), is buried in a splendid porphyry sarcophagus which he took from the Pantheon. Above it is a bronze statue by Maini of the pope.[2] Opposite is the tomb of Cardinal Neri Corsini, with a number of statues by the Bernini school. A letter of Fr. Vettori (January 1733) to Gori relates that, while the chapel is being made, there has been found a marble pedestal inscribed on three sides; presently another came to light, and then a number of amphorae and other objects, all dating from A.D. 197, and relating to the Equites Singulares, or Imperial Bodyguard of Severus. Hence, their depôt is conjectured to have been located here to the east of the little street (or Vicus) which runs beneath the transept, so that the mansion of the Laterani in later days occupied the opposite side of it.

Beneath the chapel is a vault lined with sarcophagi of the Corsini. Its altar is surmounted by a magnificent Pietà by Antonio Montauti.

Against the second pier of the **R. aisle**, counting from the great door, will be found (under glass) part of a very interesting fresco by

[1] These columns are mentioned in the thirteenth-century list of Lateran relics, which says that *all* the relics of the Temple at Jerusalem brought by Titus were preserved at the Lateran.

[2] There is a curious mosaic portrait of Clement XII. in the Palazzo Corsini at Florence.

Giotto, originally one of many paintings which he executed after the Jubilee (1300) for the loggia of the adjoining Papal palace, whence the benediction and 'plenary indulgence' were given in the jubilee-year. It represents Boniface VIII. (Benedetto Caëtani, 1294–1303), the founder of the Jubilee, between two deacons. Notice the single coronet on the tiara, or triregno.

On the third pier of the R. aisle is the gravestone of Sylvester II. (999–1003), brought from the other side of the church, who, on account of his great learning, acquired from the Moors, was considered to be a magician. By some authors he is credited with having first introduced Arabic numerals.

Of the many tombs of mediaeval popes which formerly existed in this basilica,[1] none remain except the memorial slab and epitaph of Sylvester II. (Gerbert, 999–1003). This pope is said (by the chronicler Martin Polonus de Corenza) to have been a kind of magician, who obtained first the archbishopric of Rheims, then that of Ravenna, and then the Papacy, by the aid of the devil, to whom, in return, he promised to belong after death. When he ascended the throne, he asked the devil how long he could reign, and the devil, as is his custom, answered by a double entendre, 'If you never enter Jerusalem, you will reign a long time.' He occupied the throne for four years one month and ten days, when, one day, as he was officiating in the basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, he saw that he had passed the fatal threshold, and that his death was impending. Overwhelmed with repentance, he confessed his backslidings before the people, and exhorted them to lay aside pride, to resist the temptations of the devil, and to lead a good life. After this he begged of his attendants to cut his body in pieces after he was dead, as he deserved, and to place it on a common cart, and bury it wherever the horses stopped of their own accord. Then was manifested the will of the Divine Providence, that repentant sinners should learn that their God preserves for them a place of pardon even in this life—for the horses went of their own accord to S. John Lateran, where he was buried. 'Since then,' says Platina, 'the rattling of his bones, and the sweat, or rather the damp, with which his tomb becomes covered, has always been the infallible sign and forerunner of the death of a pope!'[2]

The monument of Pope Alexander III., the enemy of Frederick Barbarossa (1159–81), on the fourth pier, was executed by the Chigi Pope, Alexander VII. Opening from this aisle are several chapels. The second is that of the family of Torlonia (1850), and contains a marble Pietà by Tenerani, with some handsome modern ornaments. The third chapel is that of the Massimi (designed by Giacomo della Porta), which has the Crucifixion by *Sermoneta* as an altar-piece. Beyond this, in the right aisle, are several remarkable tombs of cardinals, among which is the monument of Conte Gastiano, who

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[1] Sergius III. ob. 911; Agapetus II. ob. 956; John XII. ob. 964; Sylvester II. ob. 1003; John XVIII. ob. 1009; Alexander II. ob. 1073; Paschal II. ob. 1118; Calixtus II. ob. 1124; Honorius II. ob. 1140; Celestine II. ob. 1143; Lucius II. ob. 1145; Anastasius IV. ob. 1154; Alexander III. ob. 1159; Clement III. ob. 1191; Celestine III. ob. 1198; Innocent V. ob. 1276—were buried at S. John Lateran, besides those later popes whose tombs still exist.

[2] The superstition arose from the words of the epitaph—

'Iste locus mundi Silvestri membra sepulti
Venturo Domino conferat ad sonitum,'

being imagined to apply to the next pope, rather than to the Judge of the World.

died in 1287. Nearer to the transept is that of Antonio, Cardinal of Portugal, 1447. In the left aisle is the effigy of Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi, the friend of S. Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), a renowned leader of the Guelphs.

Near the end of the nave was buried the unfortunate Pope John X., who was seized by order of Guido, Duke of Tuscany, and his wife Marozia, at the Lateran Palace in 928, and dragged through the streets to S. Angelo, where he was suffocated with a cushion in a dungeon. His tomb has disappeared.

Entered from the last door in the left aisle (which the sacristan will open) is the beautiful twelfth-century Cloister, recently restored by Leo XIII., designed by Pietro Vassalletto and his son.[1] It is surrounded by low arches carried on exquisite coupled inlaid and spiral columns, above which is a lovely frieze of coloured marbles. The Vassalletti have inserted this as a beautiful mask to the plain bare cloister of the ninth century, as can easily be observed. So do periods vary in taste that the Renaissance architects called this cloister 'una Gabbia di Grillo' (a mere grasshopper's cage). The court thus enclosed was, till 1888, a garden of roses; in the centre is a well (adorned with crosses) of the ninth century, called the "Well of the Woman of Samaria.' In the cloister is a collection of architectural and traditional relics: the canopy of a papal throne, 'Opus Magistri Deodati Cosmati,' bearing the crowned shield of Colonna; an ancient white marble throne;[2] a candelabrum resting on a lion, and several other exquisitely wrought details from the earlier editions of basilica; a porphyry slab upon which the soldiers are said to have cast lots for the seamless robe; columns which were rent by the earthquake at the Crucifixion; a slab resting on pillars, shown as a measure of the height of Jesus, making it six feet;[3] and a smaller slab, also on pillars, of which it is said that it was once an altar, at which the officiating priest doubted of the Real Presence, when the wafer fell from his hand through the stone, leaving a round hole, which still remains. Both these slabs formerly stood in the piazza near the site of the obelisk, and are shown in sixteenth-century sketches.

Five General Councils have been held at the Lateran, viz.:—

I.—March 19, 1123, under Calixtus II., with regard to Investiture.
II.—April 18, 1139, under Innocent II., to condemn the doctrines of Arnold of Brescia and Peter de Bruys, and to oppose the anti-pope Anacletus II.
III.—March 5, 1179, under Alexander II., to condemn the doctrines of Waldenses and Albigenses, and to end the schism caused by Frederick Barbarossa.

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[1] The school of the Vassalletti lasted for four generations, and produced the episcopal throne at Anagni, 1263; a screen at Segni, 1185; the lion of the Apostoli, the canopy of SS. Cosma and Damiano, 1153, &c.

[2] This is thought to be one of the thrones brought from the theatres of Greece by Hadrian and used in the podium of the Colisseum. There is another at S. Gregorio, and a third at S. Stefano Rotondo.

[3] 'Ces monuments, consacrés par la tradition, n'ont pas été jugés cependant assez authentiques pour être solennellement exposés à la vénération des fidèles.'—*Gourmeris.*

IV.—Nov. 11, 1215, at which 400 bishops assembled under Innocent III., to condemn the Albigenses, and the heresies of the Abbot Joachim.

V.—May 3, 1512, under Julius II. and Leo X., at which the Pragmatic Sanction was abolished, and a Concordat concluded between the Pope and Francis I. for the destruction of the liberty of the Gallican Church.

It is in the basilica of the Lateran that the Church places the first meeting between S. Francis and S. Dominic.

'Une nuit, pendant que Dominique dormait, il lui sembla voir Jésus-Christ se préparant à exterminer les superbes, les voluptueux, les avares, lorsque tout à coup la Vierge l'apaisa en lui présentant deux hommes; l'un d'eux était lui-même; quant à l'autre, il ne le connaissait pas; mais le lendemain, la première personne qu'il aperçut, en entrant au Lateran, fut l'inconnu qui lui était apparu en songe. Il était couvert de haillons et priait avec ferveur. Dominique se précipita dans ses bras, et l'embrassant avec effusion: "Tu es mon compagnon," lui dit-il; "nous courons la même carrière, demeurons ensemble, et aucun ennemi ne prévaudra contre nous." Et, à partir de ce moment, dit la légende, ils n'eurent plus qu'un cœur et qu'une âme dans le Seigneur. Ce pauvre, ce mendiant, était saint François d'Assise.'—*Gournerie*, '*Rome Chrétienne*.'

Issuing from what should be the west door, but is the east, of the basilica, we find ourselves in a spacious **portico**, one of five doors in which is a Porta Santa. At the south end is appropriately placed an ancient marble statue of Constantine, found in his Thermae (Colonna Gardens), wearing the dress of a Roman warrior, once bearing the *labarum*, or standard of the cross. The massive travertine façade of the basilica, built by Alessandro Galilei in 1734, has a fine effect at a distance, but the statues of Christ and the apostles which line the parapet are too large for its proportions. Here the sovereign pontiff used to give his benediction. The central bronze **doors** were those of the Curia as rebuilt by Diocletian, though they date from before his time. They were brought here by Alexander VII. from the Church of S. Adriano in the Forum. Recent changes have swept away the picturesqueness, ploughed up the green lawns, cut down the ancient avenues, and fringed one of the most beautiful open spaces in Rome with the most ill-favoured of its modern buildings. Until late years we looked down from this portico upon one of the most characteristic prospects in Rome. On our right loomed the Alban Hills, blue in morning, or purple in evening, light, sprinkled with their white towns—Albano, Rocca di Papa, Marino, Frascati, Colonna; opposite rose the dreamy Sabine Mountains, majestic with shadows of amethyst, and silvered with thin snow; in the middle distance the long, golden lines of aqueduct stretched far away over the plain till they were lost in rosy haze. Nearer still, beautiful avenues of trees led across green lawns to the lonely basilica of Santa Croce, while on the left were the fruit gardens of the Villa Wolkonski, interspersed with fragments of the Neronian Aqueduct and guardian pines.

The road at our feet is the Via Appia Nuova, which immediately passes through the modern gate known as the **Porta San Giovanni** (built in the sixteenth century by Gregory XIII.). Nearer to us, on the right, hidden almost by ilex, and deeply sunk in the ground, is a well-preserved ancient gateway, the finest—if we except the

Porta Maggiore (which, of course, was merely incorporated)—in the Aurelian Wall. It was bricked up by Ladislaus, king of Naples, in 1408. By this gate, known as the **Porta Asinaria**, from a family of Asinarii (?), Belisarius entered Rome in 536, while the Gothic garrison fled by the Porta del Popolo (Flaminia); and Totila, through the treachery of the Isaurian Guard, in 546. Here also, in 1084, Henry IV. entered Rome with his anti-pope Guibert. A few years after, the name of the gate itself was changed to Porta Perusta, in consequence of the injuries it received from Robert Guiscard, who came to the rescue of the lawful pontiff, Gregory VII., and burnt half Rome. Beyond the Porta Asinaria, on the outside of the wall, may be seen some third-century remains.

The broad open space which we see beneath the Church steps was the favourite walk of the earlier popes.

'The splendid Palace of the Lateran reflected the rays of the evening sun, as Francis of Assisi with two or three of his disciples approached it to obtain the Papal sanction for the rules of his new Order. A group of churchmen in sumptuous apparel were traversing with slow and measured steps its lofty terrace, then called "the Mirror," as if afraid to overtake him who preceded them, in a dress studiously simple, and with a countenance rapt in earnest meditation. Unruffled by passion, and yet elate with conscious power, that eagle eye and those capacious brows announced him the lord of a dominion which might have satisfied the pride of Diogenes and the ambition of Alexander. Since the Tugurium was built on the Capitoline, no greater monarch had ever called the seven hills his own. But, in his pontificate, no era had occurred more arduous than that in which Innocent III. saw the mendicants of Assisi prostrate at his feet. The interruption was as unwelcome as it was abrupt; as he gazed at the squalid dress and faces of his suitors, and observed their bare and unwashed feet, his lip curled with disdain, and sternly commanding them to withdraw, he seemed again to retire from the outer world into some of the deep recesses of that capacious mind. Francis and his companions betook themselves to prayer; Innocent to his couch. There (says the legend) he dreamed that a palm-tree sprouted up from the ground beneath his feet, and, swiftly shooting up into the heavens, cast her boughs on every side, a shelter from the heat and a refreshment to the weary. The vision of the night dictated the policy of the morning, and assured Innocent that, under his fostering care, the Franciscan palm would strike deep her roots, and expand her foliage on every side, in the vineyard of the Church.'—*Stephen's 'S. Francis of Assisi.'*

The Palace of the Lateran was the residence of the popes for nearly 1000 years. Almost all the events affecting the private lives of a vast line of ecclesiastical sovereigns happened within its walls. Dante, speaking of a war between Boniface VIII. and the Colonnesi, calls it 'the War of the Lateran.'[1] Plundered in each successive invasion, stricken formerly with malaria during the autumn months, bitterly cold in winter, and often burnt, it was finally destroyed by that great enemy of Roman antiquities, Sixtus V., in order to make the present building, which he never inhabited.

The fact is that the Lateran was a fortified city of itself, which was entered from one of the arches of the Neronian Aqueduct, called the 'Arco di S. Basilio.' This held the entrance to the Via S. Giovanni. The bronze horse and Aurelius (then mis-reckoned Constantine) stood inside it, facing the approaching pilgrim.

[1] *Inf.* xxviii. 8.

The only remnants preserved of this famous building are the private chapel of the popes, and the terminal apse of their dining-hall, known as the **Triclinium**, which contains a copy, erected by Benedict XIV., of the ancient mosaic of the time of Leo III., which formerly existed here, and the remains of which are preserved in the Vatican.

'In this mosaic, Hallam ("Middle Ages") sees proof that the authority of the Greek Emperor was not entirely abrogated at Rome till long after the period of Papal aggrandisement by Pepin and his son, but he is warranted by no probabilities in concluding that Constantine V., whose reign began A.D. 780, is intended by the emperor kneeling with S. Peter or Pope Sylvester.'—*Hemans, 'Ancient Christian Art.'*

Professor Bryce considers that the theory of the mediaeval empire is unmistakably set forth in two paintings, one of them in Rome, the other in Florence (a fresco in the chapter-house of S. M. Novella).

'The first of these is the famous mosaic of the Lateran triclinium, constructed by Pope Leo III. about A.D. 800, and an exact copy of which may still be seen over against the façade of S. John Lateran. Originally meant to adorn the state banqueting-hall of the popes, it is now placed in the open air, in the finest situation in Rome, looking from the brow of a hill across the green ridges of the Campagna to the olive groves of Tivoli and the glistering crags and snow-capped summits of the Umbrian and Sabine Apennine. It represents in the centre Christ surrounded by the apostles, whom He is sending forth to preach the gospel; one hand is extended to bless, the other holds a book with the words "Pax vobis." Below and to the right Christ is depicted again, and this time sitting: on His right hand kneels Pope Sylvester, on His left the Emperor Constantine; to the one He gives the keys of heaven and hell, to the other a banner surmounted by a cross. In the group on the opposite, that is, on the left side of the arch, we see the Apostle Peter seated, before whom in like manner kneel Pope Leo III. and Charles the Emperor, the latter wearing, like Constantine, his crown. Peter, himself grasping the keys, gives to Leo the pallium of an archbishop, to Charles the banner of the Christian army. The inscription is "Beatus Petrus dona vitam Leoni PP. et victoriam Carulo regi dona;" while round the arch is written, "Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis."

'The order and nature of the ideas here symbolised are sufficiently clear. First comes the revelation of the gospel, and the divine commission to gather all men into its fold. Next, the institution, at the memorable era of Constantine's conversion, of the two powers by which the christian people is to be respectively taught and governed. Thirdly, we are shown the permanent Vicar of God, the apostle who keeps the keys of heaven and hell, re-establishing these same powers on a new and firmer basis. The badge of ecclesiastical supremacy he gives to Leo as the spiritual head of the faithful on earth; the banner of the Church militant to Charles, who is to maintain her cause against heretics and infidels.'—'*Holy Roman Empire,*' ch. vii.

A banquet in the Triclinium was the orthodox close to the day of Il Possesso, when a newly-elected pope came to take possession of the Lateran, riding (from twelfth to eighteenth centuries) upon a white mule which was the (imposed) gift of the king of Naples, who sometimes led it, as a vassal, on foot. He passed from S. Angelo, where the Jews addressed him through their Rabbi, to the Campo dei Fiori, thence to the Circus Maximus, the Forum, the Basilica of Constantine, the Coliseum, S. Clemente, and so to the Lateran, where he received a girdle and twelve seals of precious stones, tokens of

the Apostolic power and the Christian virtues. But he had been obliged to pay fees amounting to £3000, and was expected to scatter £1500 in gold, silver, and copper to the people on his way.

'In the great festal procession, which wound its way through the decorated streets as the Pope went to take possession of the Lateran, the magistrate and the city prefect, now no more than a powerless shadow, took part. Boniface rode a snow-white palfrey covered with a hanging made of Cyprus plumes, the crown of Sylvester on his head, and wearing the most solemn pontificals; beside him, clad in scarlet, walked two vassal kings, Charles and Charles Martel, holding the bridle of his horse. Only half a year before the same kings had walked beside a Pope who wore a hermit's tunic, and rode upon an ass. They might now remind themselves how little they had been humbled by the service they had then rendered. The shade of the poor spiritualist assuredly stood in warning before Boniface VIII. and the two kings, when, at the Lateran banquet, they had the honour of carrying the first dishes to the Pope and then took their humble place among the cardinals at table, where "the goblets of Bacchus" sparkled amid costly viands.'—*Gregorovius*, bk. x. ch. v.

On arrival of the Pontiff at the Lateran Piazza (that is, within the wall of the Neronian aqueduct), now nearly vanished, by the gate of S. Basil (made of two of the arches of the Aqueduct), the clergy received him with solemn song, and proceeded to set him upon an ancient marble seat, called Sella Stercoraria, a symbol of personal abasement. From this the cardinals at once raised him, and taking silver money from the lap of one of the chamberlains, he scattered it to the surrounding throng. Thence he proceeded to the Basilica, and from behind the altar offered prayers. There he also received the homage of the Chapter, and after that entered (from the north aisle) the palace, receiving the keys and the staff—symbols of power to govern, to bind and to unloose—while the great officers kissed his feet. After distributing another largess, he was conducted to the Sancta Sanctorum, where the mitre was proffered to him. Later the Senate tendered the oaths of homage, and partook of the banquet in the Triclinium, at which the Pope sat apart.

In the building behind the Triclinium, attached to a convent of Passionist monks, and erected by Fontana for Sixtus V., is preserved the Scala Santa. This celebrated staircase, supposed to be that of the house of Pilate, ascended and descended by the Saviour, is said by Megistus to have been brought from Jerusalem by Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, and has been regarded with especial reverence by the Roman Church for 1000 years. In 879 it was injured by an earthquake, but was re-erected in the old Lateran palace, whence it was removed to its present site on the demolition of that venerable building. Clement XII. caused the steps to be covered by a wooden casing, which has since been repeatedly worn out by the knees of ascending pilgrims. Apertures are left through which the marble steps can be seen; two of them are said to be stained with the blood of the Saviour!

At the foot of the stairs, within the atrium, are fine sculptures of *Giacometti*, representing the 'Ecce Homo,'—and the 'Kiss of Judas,' purchased and placed here by Pius IX.

On the left is a statue of Christ by *Meli*; on the right a beautiful

kneeling statue of Pius IX.—a striking and touching likeness, by *Sosnowski*.

Between these statues the pilgrims kneel to commence their ascent of the Scala Santa. The effect of the staircase (especially on Fridays in Lent, and most of all on Good Friday), with the figures ascending on their knees in the dim light, and the dark vaulted ceilings covered with faded frescoes, is exceedingly picturesque.

'Reason may condemn, but feeling cannot resist the claim to reverential sympathy in the spectacle daily presented by the Scala Santa. Numerous indulgences have been granted by different popes to those who ascend it with prayer at each step. Whilst kneeling upon these stairs, public penance used to be performed in the days of the Church's more rigorous discipline; thus the saintly matron Fabiola there appeared a penitent before the public gaze, in sackcloth and ashes, A.D. 390. . . . There is no day on which worshippers may not be seen slowly ascending those stairs; but it is during Holy Week the concourse is at its height; and on Good Friday I have seen this structure completely covered by the multitude, like a swarm of bees settling on flowers!'—*Hemans*, '*Ancient Sacred Art*.'

'Brother Martin Luther went to accomplish the ascent of the Scala Santa—the Holy Staircase—which once, they say, formed part of Pilate's house. He slowly mounted step after step of the hard stone, worn into hollows by the knees of penitents and pilgrims. An indulgence for a thousand years—indulgence from penance—is attached to this act of devotion. Patiently he crept half-way up the staircase, when he suddenly stood erect, lifted his face heavenward, and, in another moment, turned and walked slowly down again.

'He said that, as he was toiling up, a voice, as if from heaven, seemed to whisper to him the old, well-known words, which had been his battle-cry in so many a victorious combat,—"The just shall live by faith."

'He seemed awakened, as if from a nightmare, and restored to himself. He dared not creep up another step; but, rising from his knees, he stood upright, like a man suddenly loosed from bonds and fetters, and, with the firm step of a free man, he descended the staircase, and walked from the place.'—'*Schönberg-Cotta Chronicles*.'

'Did the feet of the Saviour actually tread these steps? Are these reliques really portions of His cross, crown of thorns, &c., or is all this fictitious? To me it is all one.

'"He is not here; He is risen!" said the angel at the tomb. The worship of the bodily covering which the spirit has cast off belongs to the soul still in the larva condition; and the ascending of the Scala Santa on the knees is too convenient a mode for obtaining the forgiveness of sins, and at the same time a hindrance upon the only true way.'—*Frederika Bremer*.

Still more striking is it sometimes on a cloudy day to see a barefooted woman in grey with scallop-shell wending her way hither across the cold dark stones of the Piazza. She is completing, it may be, the last stage of a hundred or more miles from her home, to fulfil a vow, or to obtain exaltation, or to imitate S. Francis, who did likewise.

Ascending one of the lateral staircases—no *foot* must touch the Scala Santa—we reach the outside of the **Sancta Sanctorum**, a chapel held so intensely sacred that none but the Pope may officiate at its altar, and that it is *never* open to others, except on the morning before Palm Sunday, when the canons of the Lateran come hither to worship, in solemn procession, with torches and a veiled crucifix, and, even then, none but clergy are allowed to pass its threshold. The origin of the sanctuary is lost in antiquity, but it

was the private chapel of mediaeval popes in the old palace, and is known to have existed already, dedicated to S. Laurence, in the time of Pelagius I. (578–590), who deposited here some relics of S. Andrew and S. Luke. It was restored by Honorius III. in 1216, and almost rebuilt by Nicholas III. in 1278 by the Cosmati.

It is permitted to gaze through a grating upon the picturesque glories of the interior, which are chiefly of the thirteenth century. The altar is in a recess, supported by two porphyry columns. Above it is a beautiful silver tabernacle, presented by Innocent III. (1198–1216), to contain the great relic which invests the chapel with its peculiar sanctity—a portrait of our Saviour (placed here by Stephen III. in 752), held by the Roman Church as authentic—to have been begun by S. Luke and finished by an angel, hence the name by which it is known, 'Acheiropoëton,' or the 'picture made without hands.' Like the Santissimo Bambino, this picture has been made a processional one, and is used as a charm during grave crises in the Church.

'The different theories as to the acheiropoëton picture and the manner in which it reached this city, are stated with naïveté by Maroni—*i.e.* that the apostles and the Madonna, meeting after the Ascension, resolved to order a portrait of the Crucified, for satisfying the desire of the faithful, and commissioned S. Luke to execute the task; that after three days' prayer and fasting, such a portrait was drawn in outline by that artist, but, before he had begun to colour, the tints were found to have been filled in by invisible hands; that this picture was brought from Jerusalem to Rome, either by S. Peter or by Titus (together with the sacred spoils of the Temple), or else expedited hither in a miraculous voyage of only twenty-four hours by S. Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, who desired thus to save such a treasure from the outrages of the Iconoclasts; and that, about A.D. 726, Pope Gregory II., apprised of its arrival at the mouth of the Tiber by revelation, proceeded to carry it thence, with due escort, to Rome; since which advent it has remained in the Sancta Sanctorum.'—*Hemans*, '*Mediaeval Christian Art*.'

Pius IX. is said to have carried it in procession after the publication of Renan's 'Life of Christ.'

Above the altar is, in gilt letters, the inscription, 'Non est in toto sanctior urbe locus.' Higher up, under gothic arches, and between spiral columns, are pictures of popes and martyrs, but these have been so much retouched as to have lost their interest. The gratings here are those of the relic chamber, which contains the reputed sandals of our Saviour, fragments of the true cross, &c. On the ceiling is a grand mosaic—the head of our Saviour within a nimbus, sustained by six-winged seraphim—ascribed to the ninth century. The sill in front of the screen is covered with money, thrown in as offerings by the pilgrims. A bust of S. Paul was stolen hence by the French in 1799, which was covered with gems and intaglios, including a cameo head of Nero, possibly once worn by the murderer of the apostle himself.

The chapel was once much larger. Its architect was probably Deodatus Cosmati. An inscription near the door tells us, 'Magister Cosmatus fecit hoc opus.'

Here, in the time when the Lateran palace was inhabited (*i.e.* until 1580), the feet of twelve sub-deacons were annually washed by

the pope on Holy Thursday. On the Feast of the Assumption the sacred picture used to be borne in triumph through the city, halting in the Forum, where the feet of the pope were washed in perfumed waters on the steps of S. Maria Nuova (S. Francesca Romana), and the 'Kyrie Eleison' was chanted a hundred times. This custom was abolished by Pius V. in 1566.

The **Modern Palace of the Lateran** occupies part of the site of the old palace, in which the popes lived from the time they gave up the Palatine (seventh century) until 1305, when they went to Avignon. It was called the 'Patriarchium.' After returning from Avignon, the popes transferred their residence to the Vatican. Sixtus V. erected a new palace, and perhaps intended to live in it. Finding the locality too cold, he turned his attention to the Quirinal Hill, and this is the origin of a third papal palace in Rome. It was built from designs of Fontana by Sixtus V., and is a feeble copy of the Borghese. In 1693 Innocent XII. turned it into a hospital—in 1843 Gregory XVI. appropriated it as a museum. The present entrance is in the centre of the eastern front. Parts of the palace are shown Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from 10 to 3 (entrance 1 lira), but the cold which pervades it makes it a dangerous place. The best time to choose for visiting this museum is one of the coldest days of mid-winter, as the transition from the outer air is then less felt. Though the statues seem to say otherwise, clothes are nowhere more needed.

The ground-floor is the principal receptacle for antiquities found in Rome in the last few years; it contains a number of very beautiful sarcophagi and bas-reliefs. Entering the corridor, on the opposite side of the court, in a room on the **right**, the most remarkable objects are:—

1st Room (**Museo Profano**)—

R. *Wall.* Relief of the Abduction of Helen. Greek. (Villa Palombara.)
L. *Wall.* High relief of two pugilists, 'Dares and Entellus.' (A.D. 100?)
* Relief of **an Emperor followed by lictors**, found near Forum of Trajan. Restored by Thorwaldsen.
Bust of Marcus Aurelius.
Statuette of **Nemesis**, deriving from an Attic original.
Fountain-Relief.

2nd Room—

Beautiful architectural fragments, chiefly from the Forum of Trajan.
Also a sixteenth-century chimney-piece.

3rd Room—

Entrance Wall. Statue of Aesculapius, found at Tivoli.
R. *Wall.* * Statue of Antinous, found at Ostia. Bought from the Braschi family by Gregory XVI. for 12,000 scudi. Antinous is represented as a god of flowers.
Wall of Egress. Sarcophagus of a child, with a relief representing pugilists.

4th Room—

Entrance Wall. Greek relief of Medea and the daughters of Pelias. Found in the Corso, 1814. Medea has persuaded the girls that by cutting up their father and boiling him, they will confer perpetual youth upon him.

'The wicked enchantress is seen approaching with solemn step, wearing the Phrygian cap and the Asiatic sleeved jacket, and is preparing to cast the magic charm from her mysterious casket into the caldron, which she assures the unsuspecting maidens will restore youth to their aged father, when he has been thrown piecemeal into the caldron. In contrast to her, the two daughters appear in the light garments of Greek maidens, lovely and graceful, like the most refined figures of Attic art. One, quickly deluded, is bending forward to adjust the caldron, while the other, who in the composition forms a contrast and at the same time the symmetrical balance to Medea, is thoughtfully resting her right hand with a dagger against her cheek, as though a doubt were arising in her mind as to the good result of such a horrible design.'—*Lübke.*

Above (one of a number of busts), 762. Beautiful head of a Bacchante. Statue of Germanicus (?). All the family of the Drusi may be recognised by the hair growing low on the neck. Found at Veii. 1819.

R. *Wall.* Statue of Mars. Head and body belong to different statues.

Wall of Egress. Copy of the Faun of Praxiteles (639).

Centre. A fine vase of Lumachello.

A passage is crossed to the 5*th Room*—

Centre. 1. Sacrifice of Mithras, found near the Scala Santa, 1853.
2. A stag of basalt, found in the garden of Caesar at Porta Portese.
3. A cow. Legs badly restored.

R. *Wall.* Sepulchral urn, with a curious relief representing children and cock-fighting.

6*th Room*—

A noble statue of Tiberius with Corona Civica.

An interesting collection of statues from Cervetri (Caere), including a grand imperfect (seated) statue of Claudius; Octavia, daughter of Claudius—and others less certain.

Between the Windows. Drusilla, sister of Caligula, and, on the wall, part of her epitaph. She holds an Acerra for incense.

7*th Room*—

R. *Wall.* Statue found 1822 near S. Lucia in Selce, restored as a Faun dancing; really Marsyas stepping back in a contest with Athene about a flute, as is shown by a bronze found at Patras. After Myron.

Facing Entrance. **A statue of* **Sophocles** (the gem of the collection), found at Terracina, 1839. Masterly drapery. Given by the Antonelli family.

8*th Room*—

Statue of Poseidon, found at Porto in 1824—the legs and arms restored. Head of a youthful Pan. Nose and upper lip restored.

9*th Room*—

Architectural fragments from the Via Appia and Forum. In the centre a triangular base found west of the column of Phocas, 1844, with Bacchic reliefs. Pillars from which Raffaelle took designs.

A Greek portrait head, helmeted.

10*th Room*—

A series of interesting reliefs, found 1848 on the Via Labicana at the tomb of the Haterii at Centocelle, representing the preparations for the funeral solemnities of a great Roman lady—probably wife of a physician.

Entrance Wall. The building of the sepulchre. A curious crane for raising heavy stones is introduced — a wheel worked by men treading.

R. *Wall.* The body of the dead on the funeral bed, surrounded by burning torches, the hired mourners tearing their hair and beating their breasts. A flutist sits in front of the bed.

Wall of Egress. Monument of **Gens Haterii,** showing several Roman buildings which the funeral procession would pass—among them the Coliseum and the Arch of Titus—inscribed, 'Arcus in sacra via summa.' Five buildings are shown.

This last relief is considered of great importance, as indicating by the different monuments the route which a well ordered funeral procession leaving the Forum ought to pursue. The temple of Jupiter Stator and the Coliseum are well seen.

A second passage is crossed to the 11*th Room*—

Containing several fine sarcophagi, Dionysos and Ariadne. In the centre is a Roman version of the Ephesian Diana (?). The turreted head-dress is a sign of empire, the bees of fertility.

A Greek Relief. 5th cent. B.C.

12*th Room*—

Entrance Wall. (682) Sarcophagus, with the story of Orestes. The Eumenides are prominent; at the door of the grave rises the ghost of Agamemnon. Iphigeneia is in the boat.

R. *Wall.* Sarcophagus decorated with Cupids bearing garlands and masks of Gorgons. Notice the race of different animals.

Wall of Egress. Sarcophagus representing the destruction of the children of Niobe.[1] The middle group is full of beauty. All three come from a vineyard beyond the Porta Viminalis (1839). On the lid are the attributes of Apollo and Artemis.

13*th Room*—

No. 354 comes from the House of the Laterani (1875), found under the Apse of the Basilica. Torso of a man in armour.

Entrance Wall. Statue of C. Caelius Saturninus.

Centre. Sarcophagus of P. Caecilius Vallianus, representing a funeral banquet; the wife, according to the established rule, is seated at the feet of the corpse.

Relief: Orestes and Pylades. The former swooning, helpless, after an attack of mania.

14*th Room*—

L. *Wall.* Unfinished 2nd century statue of a captive Dacian, with sculptor's copy-points remaining, intended to guide the workman. This statue is identified by the Dacian figures on the Arch of Constantine. Curious mosaics of Roman food, from a floor found 1833 in Vigna Lupi on the Aventine, signed Heraclitos.

15*th Room*—

This and the next room are devoted to objects found in the excavations at Ostia (1852–68).

Head of a girl (2nd cent.). Of beautiful marble.

Niche with mosaic of Sylvanus, the tree-god.

16*th Room*—

Centre. 2nd cent. reclining statue of Atys, from Ostia; found in the Temple of Cybele. Bronze statuette of Aphrodite.

R. *Wall.* 1st century frescoes of the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, from a tomb at Ostia. Rape of Proserpina.

The **Christian Museum** represents one of the most precious of the services which Pius IX. rendered to Rome, and one of its richest mines

[1] The greater number of Roman sarcophagi belong to the third and fourth centuries A.D., or somewhat later.

of instruction. It was arranged by Padre Marchi and the G. B. di Rossi. It is now in the charge of Professor Orazio Marucchi. In the first hall is a feeble statue of Christ by *Sosnowsky*, and in the wall behind it three mosaics, two from the catacombs, that in the centre—of Christ with SS. Peter and Paul—from the old S. Peter's. Hence we ascend a staircase lined with Christian sarcophagi. At the foot are two statues of the Good Shepherd.

The sarcophagus on the left side of the stairs which tells the story of Jonah is a fine example. The noble corridor above is also lined with sarcophagi. The best are on the left; of these the most remarkable are, the 1st, the marriage at Cana; 7th, a sarcophagus with a canopy supported by two pavonazzetto columns, and, on the wall behind, frescoes of the Good Shepherd, &c.; 8th, a sarcophagus with the Christian monogram in detached relief; in the middle of gallery, the Good Shepherd repeated several times among vines, with cherubs gathering the grapes. At the raised end of the corridor is the seated bearded statue of **Hippolytus**, Bishop of Porto in the third century (the upper part a restoration), found in his crypt on the left of the Via Tiburtina opposite S. Lorenzo 1551, and moved hither by Pius IX. from the Vatican Library; upon the chair is engraved the celebrated Paschal Calendar, which is supposed to settle the unorthodoxy of those early Christians who kept Easter at the same time as the Jews; also a list of the saint's works. The cycle begins with A.D. 222 and ends with 234.

Hence a door on the right of a corridor leads to—

The 1st Hall, containing the huge and coarse mosaic pavement —with portraits of twenty-eight athletes—found in the Baths of Caracalla in 1822.

The 2nd Hall has a collection of ancient frescoes.

The 3rd Hall contains—

Entrance Wall. **Carlo Crivelli*, 1482: Madonna, highly finished.
**Carlo Crivelli*: Madonna and Saints—an altar-piece. 1481.
Antonio da Murano: Madonna and Saints. 1464.
L. *Wall. Benozzo Gozzoli*: Assumption of Madonna with Angels, and a predella of the history of the Virgin, strongly recalling his master, Fra Angelico.
Filippo Lippi (?). A Triptych: The Coronation of the Virgin. On the right the donor, Carlo Marsuppini of Arezzo, is presented by two Olivetan monks; on the left another is presented. Brought to Rome from Arezzo.
Wall of Egress. Giovanni Sanzio, father of Raffaelle: S. Jerome, in tempera.
Luca Signorelli: SS. Laurence and Benedict—very peculiar, as scarcely showing their faces, but magnificent in colour.
Cola dell' Amatrice: The Assumption. 1515.
Luca Signorelli: SS. Agnes and Emerentiana.
Lo Spagna: Madonna and Child, with Saints.

4th Hall—

Entrance Wall. **Marco Palmezzano da Forli*: Madonna with SS. J. Baptist and Jerome—a grand picture. 1510.
**Marco Palmezzano*, 1537: Madonna with SS. Peter, Dominic, and Anthony of Padua on the right, and SS. J. Baptist, Laurence, and Francis on the left.

Wall of Egress. Cesare da Sesto: The Baptism of Christ.
Venetian School: The Entombment.
Window Wall. Giulio Romano: Cartoon for the stoning of Stephen.

5th Hall—

Entrance Wall. Sassoferrato: Sixtus V. as Cardinal.
Cavaliere d'Arpino: The Annunciation.
Left Wall. Domenichino (?): Sixtus V. as Pope.
Wall of Egress. Lawrence: George IV. of England—rather out of place.
Window Wall. Vandyke: Male Portrait.

Several other halls are filled with modern pictures of recent martyrdoms, &c., chiefly presents to Leo XIII.

The 10th Hall, called the Hall of Council, is surrounded by fresco portraits of popes and pictures allegorical of their arms, &c.

At the end of a corridor, a custode will admit to two rooms filled with a beautiful set of terra-cotta reliefs, busts, and statues by *Pettrich*, illustrative of North American Indian life. Some of the busts are marvellous in vigour and character.

The walls of the open galleries on this floor of the palace have been covered with early Christian inscriptions from the catacombs, which have been thus arranged in arches:—

1–3. Epitaphs of martyrs and others of temp. Damasus I. (366 to 384).
4–7. Dated inscriptions from 238 to 557.
8–9. Inscriptions relating to doctrine.
10. Inscriptions relating to popes, presbyters, and deacons.
11–12. Inscriptions relating to simple ecclesiastics.
13. Inscriptions of affection to relations and friends.
14–16. Symbolical.
17. Simple epitaphs from different catacombs.

On the third floor of the palace are casts from the bas-reliefs on the Column of Trajan.

Before leaving the Lateran altogether, we must mention amongst its early institutions, the famous school of music which existed here throughout the Middle Ages.

'Gregory the Great, whose object it seems to have been to render religion a thing of the senses, was the founder of the music of the Church. He instituted the school for it in the Lateran, whence the Carlovingian monarchs obtained teachers of singing and organ-playing. The Frankish monks were sent thither for instruction.'—*Dyer's 'Hist. of the City of Rome.'*

Opposite the palace was formerly the entrance of the Villa Massimo Arsoli, which had a casino beautifully decorated with scenes taken from the great Italian poets by the modern German artists Schnorr, Kock, Ph. Veit, Overbeck, and Führich. This interesting little building was destroyed in 1886 and its frescoes broken up.

In the Via Tasso further remains of the *Monuments of the* **Equites Singulares** (an imperial bodyguard) were discovered in 1886. In a great hall, 90 feet long, were forty-three inscribed pedestals of statues, mostly thank-offerings from retired officers—'missi honesta missione.' Their burial-place was beyond Torre Pignatara.

Leading from the Piazza di San Giovanni to S. Maria Maggiore is the long Via Merulana, where, in the hollow (L.)—hemmed in by

modern monstrosities—is the strange-looking **Church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino** (seldom open), in which is preserved a miraculous painting of the Crucifixion: the figure upon the cross is supposed to move the eyes when regarded by the favoured faithful. This picture, a small replica of the magnificent Guido at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, is (or was) shown, behind a grille, by a nun of S. Teresa, veiled from head to foot in blue, like an immovable pillar of blue drapery.

'SS. Pietro e Marcellino stands in the valley behind the Esquiline, in the long, lonely road between S. Maria Maggiore and the Lateran. SS. Peter Exorcista and Marcellinus are always represented together in priestly habits, bearing their palms. Their legend relates that in the persecution under Diocletian they were cast into prison. Artemius, keeper of the dungeon, had a daughter named Paulina, and she fell sick; and S. Peter offered to restore her to health, if her father would believe in the true God. And the jailer mocked him, saying, "If I put thee into the deepest dungeon, and load thee with heavier chains, will thy God deliver thee? If He doth, I will believe in Him." And Peter answered, "Be it so, not out of regard to thee; for it matters little to our God whether such an one as thou believe in Him or not, but that the name of Christ may be glorified, and thyself confounded."

'And in the middle of the night Peter and Marcellinus, in white shining garments, entered the chamber of Artemius as he lay asleep, who, being struck with awe, fell down and worshipped the name of Christ; and he, his wife, daughter, and three hundred others, were baptized. After this the two holy men were condemned to die for the faith, and the executioner was ordered to lead them to a forest three miles from Rome, that the Christians might not discover their place of sepulture. And when he had brought them to a solitary thicket overgrown with brambles and thorns, he declared to them that they were to die, upon which they cheerfully fell to work and cleared away a space fit for the purpose, and dug the grave in which they were to be laid. Then they were beheaded (June 2), and died encouraging each other.

'The fame of SS. Pietro e Marcellino is not confined to Rome. In the reign of Charlemagne they were venerated as martyrs throughout Italy and Gaul; and Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, who married his daughter Emma, is said to have held them in particular honour. Every one, I believe, knows the beautiful story of Eginhard and Emma,—and the connection of these saints with them, as their chosen protectors, lends an interest to their solitary deserted church. In the "*Roma Sotterranea*" of Bosio there is an ancient fragment, found in the catacombs, which represents S. Peter Exorcista, S. Marcellinus, and Paulina standing together.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

Opposite this is the modern **Capuchin Church of S. Antonio** (by Caramini), inaugurated December 1887, built entirely by the Franciscan friars of Germany, who each gave the price of two masses weekly. There are 13,000 friars, and about 26,000 francs was paid weekly.

A narrow lane behind the Scala Santa until recently formed the approach to the **Villa Wolkonski** (open Wednesday and Saturday after 12),[1] now a mere rag of a once lovely garden, intersected by the broken arches of the Aqua Claudia, which possessed exquisite views over the Campagna to the Alban and Sabine mountains. Of all this beauty it has been deprived since 1889.

'The villa itself is not a palace, but a dwelling-house built in the delightfully irregular style of Italian architecture. The staircase is quite open, and

[1] A permesso, obtained through a banker, is sometimes asked for.

can be seen from the outside. Through the garden lengthways run the ruins of an aqueduct, which they have turned to account in various ways, building steps outside the arches, putting seats at the top, and filling the vacant places in the ivy-mantled walls with statues and busts. Roses climb up as high as they can find support, and aloes, Indian fig-trees, and palms run wild among capitals of columns, ancient vases, and fragments of all kinds. As for the roses, there are millions of them, in bushes and trees, arbours and hedges, all flourishing luxuriantly; but never more lovely and poetic than when clinging to the dark cypress-trees. The beauty here is of a serious and touching type, with nothing small and "pretty."'—*Letter from Fanny Hensel, née Mendelssohn.*

In the Villa was the *Columbarium* of an architect called Tiberius Claudius Vitalis, built by another architect named Eutychius.

Those who are in Rome in the summer will be entertained by the following scene outside Porta S. Giovanni. Long tables with cloths upon them are arranged along the wall, with basins of water and little looking-glasses, and by another table are barbers with their shaving materials. Here the workmen coming in from the country make an *al fresco* toilette, and, thus beautified, breakfast at the *Osteria di Faccia Fresca.* They may also see what is far more entertaining—the thoroughly Pagan celebration here of S. John's day, *i.e.* the summer solstice. No monk or priest is seen out and about on that day; and every one eats pork or snails.

About a mile beyond the Porta S. Giovanni, a road branches off on the left to the **Porta Furba**, an arch of the Aqua Felice, founded on the line of the Claudian and Marcian aqueducts. Artists may find a picturesque subject here in a pretty fountain with a portion of the decaying aqueducts. Beyond the arch is the olive-covered mound called **Monte del Grano**, the burial-place of Alexander Severus, his wife, and mother, and in which the Capitoline Sarcophagus and the **Portland Vase** were found. Beyond this, the Via Casilina passes on the left the vast ruins called **Sette Bassi** (Villa of Septimius Bassus), perhaps of Hadrian's date.

The direct road leads to Albano. At about two miles from the gate, a field track turns left to the **Via Latina**, of which a certain portion finely paved with polygonal blocks remains bare. This, like several of the other great Consular roads, was a favourite burial-place of the great families:—

'Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.'
—*Juvenal, Sat.* i. 171.

The **tomb of the Valerii** (R.) belonged to the ancient clan whose lands extended from here to Marino. The bricks are of the date of Aurelius. It consists of a sacellum and subterranean chamber decorated with exquisite stucco reliefs. The **tomb of the Pancratii** (L.) has a frieze and vaulting covered with low reliefs of the utmost beauty, with winged figures of Victory in very high relief at the springing of the vault. The stucco reliefs are white upon a coloured ground. The second chamber is splendidly decorated with illustrations of the Trojan War. The view, looking back upon Rome, or forward to the long line of broken arches of the Claudian Aqueduct, seen between these ruined sepulchres, is most striking.

Close by (3rd milestone) have been discovered remains of a villa of the Servilii, which afterwards belonged to the Anicii. Here also, in 1858 (on the left of the Via Latina), Signor Fortunati discovered the long buried and forgotten **Basilica of S. Stefano.** It is recorded by Anastasius Bibliothecarius that this basilica, the enlargement of an oratory in the Anician Villa here, was founded in the time of Leo I. (440–461), by Demetrias, daughter of Anicius Hermogenianus, prefect of the city, 368–370, and of Tyrania Juliana, a friend of Augustine and Jerome. The foundress escaped from the siege by the Goths with her mother to Carthage, where she became a nun. Her church was restored by Leo III. The remains are interesting, though they do little more than show perfectly the substruction and plan of the ancient building. An inscription by Leo III. (795–816) in praise of Demetrias has been found amongst the ruins. The original church previous to that date had but a nave and a portico.

Not far from this (Vigna Fiscale) is the unexcavated **Catacomb of the Santi-Quattro.**

Three and a half miles from Rome is the Osteria of **Tavolato,** near which is one of the most striking and picturesque portions, much frequented by artists, of the Claudian Aqueduct—'opus magnificentissime consummatum'—as Frontinus calls it. The arches are interrupted by the lofty mediaeval **Torre Fiscale.** The Claudian here intersects the aqueduct of the Anio Vetus, and that of the Marcia, Tepula, and Julia, making an imposing effect.

'The Campagna holds the memory of Claudius dear, and she and that memory make each other beautiful. The melancholy and grandeur in decay, which one perceives in the features of the unfortunate emperor, are found again in this group formed by nature and art. The arches of Aqua Claudia traverse the Roman waste, as a firm resolution sometimes traversed the cloudy spaces of this Caesar's soul.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

Fourteen aqueducts, of an aggregate length amounting to above 350 miles, were employed to bring pure water to Rome. Of these 304 miles are under ground, 55 above ground, often carried upon arches of great height. The best waters were the Marcia, Claudia, and Virgo; the worst, the Anio Vetus and Alsietina, which were only employed for washing or gardens. Pliny relates that in his day folk had ceased to value the water of the Marcian and Virgo aqueducts. After the ruining of all these, Rome once more resorted to wells and Tiber water; and the population rapidly decreased.

It is on the rising ground near Sette Bassi, beforenamed, that the **Temple of Fortuna Muliebris** is believed to have stood. This was the temple which Valeria, the sister of Publicola, and Volumnia the mother of Coriolanus, claimed to erect at their own expense, when the senate asked them to choose their recompense for having preserved Rome by their entreaties.

'As Valeria, sister of Publicola, was sitting in the temple as a suppliant before the image of Jupiter, Jupiter himself seemed to inspire her with a sudden thought, and she immediately rose, and called upon all the other noble ladies who were with her to arise also, and she led them to the house of

Volumnia, the mother of Caius (Coriolanus). There she found Virgilia, the wife of Caius, with his mother, and also his little children. Valeria then addressed Volumnia and Virgilia, and said, "Our coming here to you is our own doing; neither the senate nor any mortal man has sent us; but the god in whose temple we were sitting as suppliants put it into our hearts that we should come and ask you to join with us, women with women, without any aid of men, to win for our country a great deliverance, and for ourselves a name glorious above all women, even above those Sabine wives in the old time who stopped the battle between their husbands and their fathers. Come, then, with us to the camp of Caius, and let us pray to him to show us mercy." Volumnia said, "We will go with you;" and Virgilia took her young children with her, and they all went to the camp of the enemy.

'It was a sad and solemn sight to see this train of noble ladies, and the very Volscian soldiers stood in silence as they passed by, and pitied them and honoured them. They found Caius sitting on the general's seat in the midst of the camp, and the Volscian chiefs were standing round him. When he first saw them he wondered what it could be; but presently he knew his mother, who was walking at the head of the train, and then he could not contain himself, but leapt down from his seat and ran to meet her, and was going to kiss her. But she stopped him and said, "Ere thou kiss me, let me know whether I am speaking to an enemy or to my son; whether I stand in thy camp as thy prisoner or thy mother?" Caius could not answer her; and then she went on and said, "Must it be, then, that had I never borne a son, Rome never would have seen the camp of an enemy; that had I remained childless, I should have died a free woman in a free city? But I am too old to bear much longer either thy shame or my misery. Rather look to thy wife and children, whom, if thou persistest, thou art dooming to an untimely death or a long life of bondage." Then Virgilia and his children came up to him and kissed him, and all the noble ladies wept, and bemoaned their own fate and the fate of their country. At last Caius cried out, "O mother, what hast thou done to me?" and he wrung her hand vehemently, and said, "Mother, thine is the victory—a happy victory for thee and for Rome, and shame and ruin to thy son." Then he fell on her neck and embraced her, and he embraced his wife and his children, and sent them back to Rome; and led away the army of the Volscians, and never afterwards attacked Rome any more. The Romans, as was right, honoured Volumnia and Valeria for their deed, and a temple was built and dedicated to "Woman's Fortune," just on the spot where Caius had yielded to his mother's words; and the first priestess of the temple was Valeria, into whose heart Jupiter had first put the thought to go to Volumnia, and to call upon her to go out to the enemy's camp and entreat her son.'—*Arnold's 'Hist. of Rome,'* vol. i.

In the sixth century the Goths entrenched themselves here between the aqueducts in a camp which they only abandoned in consequence of fever which attacked their forces.

'In the account of the Gothic war, Procopius describes a camp established by the barbarians amongst the arcades of the great aqueducts, at the sixth milestone of the Via Latina, between the picturesque tower known by the name of Torre Fiscale and the modern racecourse at the Capannelle. Here the two main aqueducts of the Claudia and of the Martia cross each other twice, leaving, between the first and second crossing, an oval space, two thousand feet long by six hundred wide, encircled by lofty arches, and presenting the aspect of an amphitheatre. This enclosure the Gauls fortified by walling up the arches with huge stones; and they established themselves within with all possible comfort. They numbered seven thousand men, not including the outposts. Here they remained many months, waiting for the proper occasion to storm the city. In the meantime they spent their leisure hours in setting fire to neighbouring villas, in uprooting trees, in violating tombs, and in destroying farms, until an outbreak of pestilence obliged them to leave their fortified camp and disperse.'—*Lanciani, 'Ancient Rome.'*

A sarcophagus of the fourth century (now in the Lateran) was found near this, containing the body of a woman wrapped in golden

vestments, and, from the sponge filled with coagulated blood placed beneath her fractured head, supposed to be a martyr.

The **return** drive to Rome may be varied by turning to the right about a mile beyond this, into the Strada Militare, which leads past the so-called Temple of Bacchus and the little Bosco Sacro to the Via Appia Vecchia, by Cecilia Metella.

The freshly-planted open space in front of S. John Lateran, which is a continuation of the former Papal promenade of 'The Mirror,' leads out direct to S. Croce. It is stripped of the exquisite lawns over which the sister basilicas looked at each other, until 1880, and has been lined on the left by cracked and villainous houses in the worst style. On the right stand S. Croce and the walls of Rome.

'Few Roman churches are set within so impressive a picture as **Santa Croce,** approached on every side through these solitudes of vineyards and gardens, quiet roads, and long avenues of trees, that occupy such immense extent within the walls of Rome. The scene from the Lateran, looking towards this basilica across the level common, between lines of trees, with the distance of Campagna and mountains, the castellated walls, the arcades of the Claudian aqueduct, amid gardens and groves, is more than beautiful, full of memory and association. The other approach, by the unfrequented Via di S. Croce, presents the finest distances, seen through a foliage beyond the dusky towers of the Honorian walls, and a wide extent of slopes covered with vineyards, amid which stand at intervals some of those forlorn cottage farms, grey and dilapidated, that form characteristic features in Roman scenery. The majestic ruins of Minerva Medica, the so-called temple of Venus and Cupid, the fragments of the baths of S. Helena, the Castrense Amphitheatre, the arches of the aqueduct, half concealed in cypress and ivy, are objects which must increase the attractions of a walk to this sanctuary of the cross. But the exterior of the church is disappointing and inappropriate, retaining nothing antique except the square Lombardic tower of the twelfth century, in storeys of narrow-arched windows, its brickwork ornamented with disks of coloured marble, and a canopy, with columns, near the summit, for a statue no longer in its place.'—*Hemans*, '*Catholic Italy*,' vol. i.

The site of the **Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme** was once occupied by the gardens of Heliogabalus (A.D. 218) (Horti Variani), and afterwards by the palace of the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, whose residence here was known as the Palatium Sessorianum, whence the name of Sessorian, sometimes given to the basilica itself.

The church was probably a hall in the palace of Helena. It was consecrated by Pope Sylvester. It was repaired by Gregory II. early in the eighth century; the monastery was added by Benedict VII. about 975, and the whole was rebuilt by Lucius II. in 1144. The church was deplorably modernised by Passalacqua and Gregorini under Benedict XIV. in 1744, and scarcely anything, except the tower, now remains externally which is even as old as the twelfth century. The fine columns of granite and bigio-lumachellato, which now adorn the façade, were plundered from a neighbouring temple in 1744. The campanile is of the twelfth century.

The **interior** of the church is devoid of beauty, owing to modernisations. Four out of twelve granite columns, which divided the

nave from the aisles, are boxed up in plaster piers. The high altar is adorned with an urn of green basalt, sculptured with lions' heads, which contains the bodies of SS. Anastasius and Caesarius. Two of the pillars of the **baldacchino** are of breccia-corallina. The fine frescoes of the **tribune** by an ally of Pinturicchio have been much retouched. They were executed under Alexander VI., on a commission from Cardinal Carvajal, who is himself represented as kneeling before the cross, which is held by the Empress Helena.

'Near the entrance of the church is a valuable monument of the Papal history of the tenth century, in a metrical epitaph to Benedict VII., recording his foundation of the adjoining monastery for monks, who were to sing day and night the praises of the Deity; his charities to the poor; and the deeds of the anti-pope Franco, called by Baronius (with play upon his assumed name Boniface) Malefacius, who usurped the Holy See, imprisoned and strangled the lawful Pope, Benedict VI., and pillaged the treasury of S. Peter's, but in one month was turned out and excommunicated, when he fled to Constantinople. The chronology of this epitaph is by the ancient system of Indictions, the death of the Pope dated XII. Indiction, corresponding to the year 984; and the Latin style of the tenth century is curiously exemplified in lines relating to the anti-pope—

'"Hic primus repulit Franconis spurca superbi
Culmina qui invasit sedis apostolicae
Qui dominumque suum captum in castro habebat
Carceris interea auctis constrictus in uno
Strangulatus ubi exuerat hominem."'

—*Hemans*, '*Catholic Italy*.'

The consecration of the Golden Rose, formerly sent to foreign princes, on the Sunday called Laetare, used often to take place in this church. The principal observances here now are connected with the exhibition of the relics, of which the principal is the Title of the True Cross.

'In 1492, when some repairs were ordered by Cardinal Mendoza, a niche was discovered near the summit of the apse, enclosed by a brick front, inscribed "Titulus Crucis." In it was a leaden coffer, containing an imperfect plank of wood, 2 inches thick, 1½ palm long, 1 palm broad. On this, in letters more or less perfect, was the inscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, *Jesus Nazarene King*. It was venerated by Innocent VIII., with the College of Cardinals, and enclosed by Mendoza in the silver shrine, where it is exposed three times a year from the balcony. The relics are exposed on the 4th Sunday in Lent. On Good Friday the rites are more impressive here than in any other church; the procession of white-robed monks, and the deep toll of the bell announcing the display of the relics by the mitred abbot, are very solemn, and it is surprising that while crowds of strangers submit to be crushed in the Sistine, scarcely one visits this ancient basilica on that day.'—*Hemans*, '*Catholic Italy*.'

Two staircases near the tribune lead to the **subterranean church**, which has an altar with a Pietà, and statues of SS. Peter and Paul of the twelfth century. Hence opens the **chapel of S. Helena**,[1] which ladies (by a perversion especially strange in this case) are never allowed to enter except on the festival of the saint, August

[1] S. Helena is claimed as an English saint, and all the best authorities allow that she was born in England: according to Gibbon, at York; according to others, at Colchester, which town bears as its arms a cross between three crowns, in allusion to this claim. Some say that she was an innkeeper's daughter; others, that her father was a powerful British Prince, Coilus or Coel.

18. It is built upon a soil composed of earth brought by the Empress from Palestine. Her statue is over the altar. The **vault** has **mosaics** (originally erected under Valentinian III., but restored by *Zucchi* in 1593) representing, in ovals, a half-length figure of the Saviour; the Evangelists and their symbols; the Finding of the True Cross; SS. Peter and Paul; S. Sylvester, the conservator of the church; and S. Helena, with Cardinal Carvajal kneeling before her.

Here the feast of the 'Invention of the True Cross' (May 3) is celebrated with great solemnity, when the hymns 'Pange Lingua' and 'Vexilla Regis' are sung, and the antiphon:—

'O Cross, more glorious than the stars, world famous, beauteous of aspect, holiest of things, which alone wast worthy to sustain the weight of the world: dear wood, dear nails, dear burden bearing; save those present assembled in thy praise, to-day. Alleluia.'

And the collect:—

'O God, who by the glorious uplifting of the salvation-bearing cross, hast displayed the miracles of Thy Passion, grant that by the merit of that life-giving wood, we may attain the suffrages of eternal life,' &c.

Pope Sylvester II. (1003) died while celebrating at the altar here. His tomb, a weeping stone, with which were connected curious legends, is in the Lateran (*q.v.*).

The adjoining **Monastery** belongs to the Cistercians. Only part of one wing is ancient. The library formerly contained many curious MSS., but most of these were lost to the basilica when the collection was removed to the Vatican during the French occupation and the exile of Pius VII.

The garden of the monastery contains the ruin generally known as the **Temple of Venus and Cupid**, from the statue in the Vatican, which was found there (1560), and which was long supposed to be a Venus, but is now known, from a name upon the pedestal, to be that of the Roman matron Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, wife of Alexander Severus. Dr. Braun considers the ruins to be those of the Sessorian Basilica or law court, where the causes of slaves (who were allowed to appeal to no other court) were wont to be heard. Behind the monastery are the vigna on the site of the Horti Variani and the **Amphitheatrum Castrense**, attributed to the time of Tiberius, when it is supposed to have been erected for the games (Ludi Castrenses) of two cohorts of soldiers quartered near here, but it is of a later century, and may have belonged to the Equites Singulares. It became ingrafted into the line of the Honorian walls, and is best seen from the outside of the city. Its arches and pillars, with corinthian capitals, are of brick. By the first gate to the left of the church this most interesting part of the walls may be visited; but they are falling fast, and ugly buildings are rising.

Straight in front of S. Croce, over the walls of the vineyard (Villa Conti), were the Baths of Helena. Beyond these, on the left of the Via S. Croce, which leads hence to S. Maria Maggiore, is the forlorn and deserted **Villa Altieri**, until late years a prison for women. The destroyed grounds of this beautiful villa were chiefly

remarkable for a grand umbrella-pine, the finest in the city. Farther, on the right, was a tomb of unknown origin.

Turning to the right, from the basilica, we follow a lane which presently leads beneath some fine brick arches of the aqueduct of Nero exemplifying the perfection to which architecture attained in the reign of this emperor.

Passing these arches, we find ourselves facing the **Porta Maggiore**, a noble work of the time of Claudius, formed by two decorated arches of the Claudian Aqueduct, crossing the Via Labicana and Via Praenestina. Three inscriptions remain, the first relating to the building of the aqueduct by the Emperor Tiberius Claudius; the second and third to its restoration by Vespasian and Titus. Above the Aqua Claudia flowed a second stream, that of the aqueduct Anio Novus; the waters of the two aqueducts were mingled within the city.

Outside the gate (which has the better preserved face), only disclosed in 1838, upon the removal of the ruins of the time of Honorius, in the fork of the Via Labicana and Via Praenestina, is seen the travertino **Tomb of the Baker, Eurysaces**, who was also one of the inspectors of aqueducts. The tomb is attributed to the early years of the Empire. Its first section of two arches is surmounted by the inscription: 'EST HOC MONIMENTUM MARCEI VERGILEI EVRYSACIS PISTORIS REDEMPTORIS APPARET.' Its second section is composed of three rows of the mortars used in baking, supporting a frieze with bas-reliefs telling the processes of a baker's work (from the bringing of the corn into the mill to its distribution as bread), and a Corinthian cornice. The front of the tomb was formerly adorned with a relief of the baker and his wife, with a sarcophagus, and the fescennine inscription: 'FUIT ATISTIA UXOR MIHEI — FEMINA OPTVMA VEIXSIT — QUOIVS CORPORIS RELIQUIAE—QUOD SUPERANT SUNT IN—HOC PANARIO.' This has been foolishly removed to the Terme Museum; other portions are now to be seen upon the opposite wall, with a row of arched windows which formerly surmounted the external façade of the gate of Honorius.

No less than six aqueducts cross one another, the Anio Novus being the highest from the ground, and having travelled 44 miles. The others are the Tepula, Marcia, Julia, Anio Vetus, and Claudia.

From this gate many pleasant excursions may be taken. The direct road (Via Labicana) leads to Colonna and Zagarolo, and at 1½ mile from the gate passes, on the left, **Torre Pignatara**, the mausoleum of S. Helena, mother of Constantine, where was found the magnificent porphyry sarcophagus, which—seized for his tomb by Anastasius IV. and removed to the Lateran—is now in the Vatican. The name is derived from the *pignatte*, or earthen pots, used, as at S. Vitale Ravenna, in the vaulting. Beneath it is a catacomb, now closed. The adjoining **Catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino** — ad Duas Lauros — contains some well-preserved

paintings; the most interesting is that of the Divine Lamb on a mound (from which four rivers (Hiddekel) flow as in the mosaics of the basilicas), with figures of Petrus, Gorgonius, Marcellinus, and Tiburtius, the four martyrs buried in the cemetery. The story of Jonah and the symbolic supper are subjects frequently repeated and apparently are by the same artist. An inscription has been found to a native of the Haran of the Old Testament—'Aurelius Theophilus, a citizen of Carrhae, a man of pure mind and great innocence, at the age of twenty-three has rendered his soul to God, his body to the earth.' The Equites Singulares here buried their dead in earlier days still. At three miles from the gate the road reaches (R.) **Centocelle**, whence, near the desolate tower called **Torre Pernice**, there is a most picturesque view of the aqueduct **Aqua Alexandrina** built by Alexander Severus, with a double line of arches crossing the deep hollow. At five miles, on the right, is the Borghese farm of **Torre Nuova**, with a fine group of old stone pines. Continuing past Osteria Finocchio, a road (bad) to left will take one to Gabii.

The road (Via Prenestina) which turns left (sharp) from the gate leads by the *Aqua Bollicante*, where the Arvales sang their hymn, to the picturesque ruins of the **Tor dei Schiavo**, the palace of the Emperors Gordian (A.D. 228), adjoining which are the remains of a round Heroon (diameter, fifty-six feet). This is, perhaps, one of the most striking scenes in the Campagna, and—backed by the violet mountains above Tivoli—is a favourite subject with artists. The splendid statue of Livia in the Torlonia Museum was found here.

The road, which continues in a straight line from hence, passes, on the left, the *Tor di Tre Teste*. The eighth milestone is of historic interest, being described by Livy (v. 49) as the spot where the dictator Camillus overtook and exterminated (?) the army of Gauls, who were retreating from Rome with the spoils of the Capitol.

At the ninth mile is the **Ponte di Nono**, a magnificent old bridge with seven lofty arches of lapis-gabinus. This leads (twelve miles from Rome) to the dried-up lake and the ruins of **Gabii** (Castiglione), including that of the Temple of Juno Gabina; golden with lichen; and a rock-cut road.

> 'Quique arva Gabinae
> Junonis, gelidumque Anienem, et roscida rivis
> Hernica saxa, colunt.' —*Virgil*, *Aen.* vii. 682.

The road which branches off to the left from the Via Prenestina[1] (ten miles from Rome) leads to **Lunghezza**, the fine old castle of the Strozzi family, situated on the little river Osa. Hence a beautiful walk through a wood leads to Castello del Osa, the ruins of ancient **Collatia**, celebrated for the tragedy of Lucretia. Two miles beyond the Tor dei Schiavo, on the left, is the fine castellated farm of **Cervelletta**, a property of the Borghese. A field road of a mile and a half, passing in front of this (practicable for carriages),

[1] See *The Roman Campagna*, by Thomas Ashby.

leads to another old castellated farm (five miles from Rome), close to which are the **Grottoes of Cervara**—a succession of romantic caves of great size, cut in the tufa rocks. Here the 'Festa degli Artisti' is held in May, which is well worth seeing—the artists in costume riding in procession and holding games amid these miniature Petra-like ravines. Beyond Cervara are remains of a villa of Lucius Verus, and, on the bank of the Anio, the romantically situated castle of **Rustica.**

A large *Castellum* of the Aqua Tepula is included in the line of the Aurelian Wall between **Porta Maggiore** and the **Porta S. Lorenzo,** anciently called the Porta Tiburtina (the road to Tivoli passes through it), built in 402 by the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, on the advice of their general Stilicho, as we learn from an inscription over the archway of the Marcian, Tepulan, and Julian aqueducts, now half buried within the later brick gateway. Inside the gate, the road to the Termini is crossed by a handsome arch of Sixtus V.

During the construction of the new gate in the wall and the road leading to it, a number of remains of Roman houses, faced with opus reticulatum and decorated with marbles and mosaics, were destroyed. Several arches of the aqueduct—a continuation of that above the gate—perished at the same time.

The road (**Via Tiburtina**) just beyond the gate (now spoilt by modern buildings) is connected with the story of a favourite saint of the Roman people.

'When S. Francesca Romana had no resource but to beg for the sick under her care, she went to the Basilica of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, where was the station of the day, and seated herself among the crowd of beggars, who, according to custom, were there assembled. From the rising of the sun to the ringing of the vesper bell she sat there, side by side with the lame, the deformed, and the blind. She held out her hand as they did, gladly enduring, not the semblance, but the reality, of that deep humiliation. When she had received enough wherewith to feed the poor at home, she rose, and entering the old basilica, adored the Blessed Sacrament, and then walked back the long and weary way, blessing God all the while.'—*Lady G. Fullerton.*

A quarter of a mile beyond the gate we come in sight of the church and monastery; but the effect is much spoilt by the unsightly cemetery, formed since the following description was written:—

'S. Lorenzo is as perfect a picture of a basilica externally as S. Clemente is internally. Viewing it from a little distance, the whole pile—in its grey reverend dignity—the row of stones indicating the atrium, with an ancient cross in the centre—the portico overshadowing faded frescoes—the shelving roof, the body-wall bulging out and lapping over, like an Egyptian temple—the detached Lombard steeple—with the magic of sun and shadow, and the background of the Campagna, bounded by the blue mountains of Tivoli—together with the stillness, the repose, interrupted only by the chirp of the grasshopper and the distant intermitted song of the Contadino—it forms altogether such a scene as painters love to sketch, and poets to repeople with the shadows of past ages; and I open a wider heaven for either fraternity to fly their fancies in when I add that it was there the ill-fated Peter de Courtenay was crowned Emperor of the East.'—*Lord Lindsay,* '*Christian Art.*'

We have already followed S. Laurence to various spots in Rome connected with his story—to the green space at the Navicella, where he distributed his alms before the house of S. Ciriaca; to S. Lorenzo in Fonte, where he was imprisoned; to S. Lorenzo Panisperna, where he died; to S. Lorenzo in Lucina, where his supposed gridiron is preserved; and now we come to his grave, where a grand basilica has arisen around the little oratory, erected by Constantine, which marked his burial-place in the catacombs of a farm belonging to S. Ciriaca.

The first **Basilica** erected here was built at the end of the sixth century (578) by Pope Pelagius II.; but this was repeatedly enlarged and beautified by succeeding popes, and at length was so much altered in 1216 by Honorius III., that the old basilica became merely the choir or tribune of a larger and more important church. Moreover, the original entrance to the building was at the farther end. So many other changes have since taken place, that Bunsen remarks upon S. Lorenzo as being more difficult of explanation than any other of the Roman churches. In the ninth century, to protect the basilica against the Saracens, it was enclosed within the walls of a detached fortress, Laurentiopolis, connected with the city by a portico, as at S. Paolo. Considerable remains of the fortress-wall existed till the time of Urban VIII. (1623–44).

In front of the basilica stands a bronze statue of S. Laurence by Lucenti, upon a tall granite pillar. The **portico** of the church (1220?) is carried by six ionic columns, four of them spiral. Above these is a mosaic frieze. In the centre is the Spotless Lamb, having, on the right, S. Laurence, Honorius III., and a kneeling figure; and on the left three heads, two of which are supposed to represent the virgin martyr, S. Ciriaca and her mother Tryphaena, buried in the adjoining cemetery. Above this is a richly decorated marble frieze, boldly relieved with lions' heads. The pediment of the church is faced with modern mosaics of saints. Within the portico are four splendid **sarcophagi**; that on the left of the entrance is adorned with reliefs representing a vintage, with cupids as the vine-gatherers, and contains the remains of Pope Damasus II. (a Bavarian), who died in 1049, after a reign of only twenty-three days. On the other is seen the resurrection of Lazarus and the miracle of the Loaves. At the sides of the door are two marble lions. The walls of the portico are covered with a curious series of **frescoes**, lately repainted. They represent four consecutive stories.

On the right:—

A holy hermit, living a life of solitude and prayer, heard a rushing noise, and, looking out of his window, saw a troop of demons, who told him that the Emperor Henry II. had just expired, and that they were hurrying to lay claim to his soul. The hermit trembled, and besought them to let him know as they returned how they had succeeded. Some days after they came back, and narrated that when the Archangel was weighing the good and evil deeds of the Emperor in his balance, the weight was falling in their favour, when suddenly the roasted S. Laurence appeared, bearing a golden chalice, which the Emperor shortly before his death had bestowed upon the church, and cast it into the scale of good deeds, and so turned the balance the other way, but that in revenge they had broken off one of the golden handles of the chalice.

And when the hermit heard these things he rejoiced greatly; and the soul of the Emperor was saved and he became a canonised saint, and the devils departed blaspheming.

The order of the frescoes representing this legend is:—

1, 2. Scenes in the life of Henry II.
3. The Emperor offers the golden chalice.
4. A banquet scene.
5. The hermit discourses with the devils.
6. The death of Henry II., 1024.
7. Dispute for the soul of the Emperor.
8. It is saved by S. Laurence.

The **second series** represents the whole story of the acts, trial, martyrdom, and burial of S. Laurence; one or two frescoes in this were entirely effaced, and have been recreated by the restorer. Of the old series were:—

1. The investiture of S. Laurence as deacon.
2. S. Laurence washes the feet of poor Christians.
3. He heals S. Ciriaca.
4. He distributes alms on the Coelian.
5. He meets S. Sixtus led to death, and receives his blessing.
6. He is led before the Prefect.
7. He restores sight to Lucillus.
8. He is scourged.
9. He baptizes S. Hippolytus.
11. He refuses to give up the treasures of the Church.
13, 14, 15. His burial by S. Hippolytus.

The **third series** represents the story of S. Stephen, followed by that of the translation of his relics to this basilica.

The relics of S. Stephen were preserved at Constantinople, whither they had been transported from Jerusalem by the Empress Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius II. Hearing that her daughter Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian II., Emperor of the West, was afflicted with a devil, she begged her to come to Constantinople, that her demon might be driven out by the touch of the relics. The younger Eudoxia wished to comply, but the devil refused to leave her unless S. Stephen was brought to Rome. An agreement was therefore made that the relics of S. Stephen should be exchanged for those of S. Laurence. S. Stephen arrived, and the Empress was immediately relieved of her devil; but when the persons who had brought the relics of S. Stephen from Constantinople were about to take those of S. Laurence back with them, they all fell down dead! Pope Pelagius prayed for their restoration to life, which was granted for a short time, to prove the efficacy of prayer, but they all died again ten days after! Thus the Romans knew that it would be criminal to fulfil their promise, and part with the relics of S. Laurence, and the bodies of the two martyrs were laid in the same sarcophagus.

The frescoes on the left wall represent a separate story:—

A holy sacristan arose before the dawn to enjoy solitary prayers before the altars of this church. Once when he was thus employed, he found that he was not alone, and beheld three persons, a priest, a deacon, and subdeacon, officiating at the altar, and the church around him filled with worshippers, whose faces bore no mortal impress. Tremblingly he drew near to him whom he dreaded the least, and inquired of the deacon who this company might be. 'The priest whom thou seest is the blessed Apostle Peter,' answered the spirit, 'and I am Laurence, who suffered cruel torments for the love of my master Christ upon a Wednesday, which was the day of His betrayal; and in remembrance of my martyrdom we are come to-day to celebrate here the mysteries of the Church; and the subdeacon who is with us is the first martyr, S. Stephen; and the worshippers are the apostles, the martyrs, and virgins ave passed with me into Paradise, and have come back hither to do me

honour; and of this solemn service thou art chosen as the witness. When it is day, therefore, go to the Pope and tell what thou hast seen, and bid him, in my name, to come hither and to celebrate a solemn mass with all his clergy, and to grant indulgences to the faithful.' But the sacristan trembled and said, 'If I go to the Pope he will not believe me: give me some visible sign, then, which will show what I have seen.' And S. Laurence ungirt his robe, and giving his girdle to the sacristan, bade him show it in proof of what he told. In the morning the old man related what he had seen to the abbot of the monastery, who bore the girdle to the then Pope, Alexander II. The Pope accompanied him back to the basilica, and on their way they were met by a funeral procession, when, to test the powers of the girdle, the Pope laid it on the bier, and at once the dead arose and walked. Then all men knew that the sacristan had told what was true, and the Pope celebrated mass as he had been bidden, and promised an indulgence of forty years to all who should visit on a Wednesday any church dedicated to S. Laurence.

This story is told in eight pictures :—

1. The sacristan sees the holy ones.
2. The phantom mass.
3. The sacristan tells the abbot.
4. The abbot tells the Pope.
5. The Pope consults his cardinals.
6. The dead is raised by the girdle.
7. Mass is celebrated at S. Lorenzo, and souls are freed from purgatory by the intercession of the saint.
8. Prayer is made at the shrine of S. Laurence.

The magnificent **nave**—which is the basilica of Honorius III.—is divided from its aisles by twenty-two ionic columns of granite and cipollino. One of the columns on the right (8th) has a lizard and a frog on the volutes of its capital, which led Winckelmann to the supposition that these columns were brought hither from the Porticus of Octavia (Ghetto), because Pliny says that the architects of that edifice were two Spartans, named Sauros and Batrachos, who asked permission to carve their names upon their work; and that when leave was refused, they introduced them under this form —Batrachos signifying a frog, and Sauros a lizard, upon the base of a column. These columns, however, are rough and late work of a century long after Pliny's own date.

Over the architrave are frescoes by *Fracassini* of the lives and martyrdoms of SS. Stephen and Laurence. Higher are saints connected with the history of the basilica. The open roof is painted in patterns. The mosaic pavement is of the 12th century. On the left of the entrance is a baptismal font, above which are more frescoes relating to the story of S. Laurence. On the right, beneath a mediaeval canopy, is an ancient sarcophagus, sculptured with a wedding scene,—adapted as the tomb of Cardinal Fieschi, nephew of Innocent IV., who died in 1256. Inside the canopy is a fresco of Christ enthroned, to whom S. Laurence presents the cardinal, and S. Stephen, Innocent IV. Behind stand S. Eustace and S. Hippolytus. Another tomb commemorates Landolfo, brother of the famous Pope-murderer, Crescenzio. The west end of the church is closed by the inscription, 'Hi sunt qui venerunt de tribulatione magna, et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni.'

The **ambones** in the nave, inlaid with serpentine and porphyry, are of the twelfth century. That on the right, with a **candelabrum**

for the Easter candle, was for the Gospel, that on the left, for the Epistle. The former rises upon a Roman Cippus reversed carven with birds and an olive-branch.

At the head of the left aisle, a passage leads down to a crypt, used for prayer for souls in purgatory. Here is the entrance to the **Catacombs of S. Ciriaca**, which are said to extend as far as S. Agnese, but which have been so wantonly injured in the works for the new cemetery that they are unsafe. Here the body of S. Laurence is said to have been found. Over the entrance is inscribed:

'Haec est tumba illa toto orbe terrarum celeberrima ex cimeterio S. Ciriacae Matronae ubi sacrum si quis fecerit pro defunctis eorum animas e purgatorii poenis divi Laurentii meritis evocabit.' [1]

Passing the **triumphal arch**, we enter the earlier basilica of Pope Pelagius II. (572–590), which is on a lower level than that of the nave. Here are twelve splendid fluted columns of pavonazzetto (marmor Phrygium), which legend affirms to have obtained its violet stains from the blood of Atys: [2] the first two bear trophies, carved above the acanthus leaves of their capitals. These support a rich architrave formed from various early imperial fragments, put together without uniformity, and a colonnaded gallery.

On the inside (which was formerly the outside) of the **triumphal arch**, is a restored mosaic of the time of Pelagius, representing the Saviour seated upon the world, having on the right S. Peter, S. Laurence, and S. Pelagius, and on the left S. Paul, S. Stephen, and with them in a warrior's dress Hippolytus, the soldier who was appointed to guard S. Laurence in prison, and who, being converted by him, was dragged to death by wild horses, after seeing nineteen of his family suffer before his eyes. He is now the patron saint of horses. The mystic cities, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, as usual, appear; and above these two sixth century windows.

A long poetical inscription which existed here in early times was restored in 1860. It records how Pelagius II. cut away the rising ground to give light and air to the Church.

The **high altar**, with a baldacchino, supported by four porphyry columns, covers the confessio where lie the remains of SS. Laurence and Stephen, enclosed in a silver shrine. S. Justin is also buried here.

Behind the altar is a mosaic screen, with panels of porphyry and green serpentine, and a thirteenth-century episcopal throne, having mosaic-inlaid spiral columns.

The lower church was filled up with soil until 1864, when restorations were ordered here. These were entrusted to Vespignani. An interesting portico, with mosaics by one of the Cosmati family, has consequently been destroyed to make room for some miserable

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[1] The existence of this inscription makes the destruction of this catacomb under Pius IX. the more extraordinary, did we not know his little ways with certain other precious monuments.

[2] Statius, *Sylv.* i. v. 36.

arrangements connected with the modern cemetery. The Popes Zosimus (418) and Sixtus (440) were buried at S. Lorenzo. Behind the altar a marble slab 'stained with the blood of S. Laurence' is shown. Beyond this a modern, but truly beautiful, chapel has been built, whither, to a tomb (now adorned with appropriate mosaics of the Good Shepherd), by his dying desire (instead of to the grand mausoleum which he prepared at S. Maria Maggiore), the remains of Pius IX. (ob. February 7, 1878) were brought from S. Peter's in 1881—to 'be buried amongst the poor.'

It was in this basilica that Pierre de Courtenay, Count of Auxerre, with Iolanthe his wife, received the Imperial crown of Constantinople from Honorius III. in 1217.

Adjoining the church is the picturesque little **Cloister** (1216) **of the Monastery**, built for Cistercian monks, but assigned as a residence for any patriarchs of Jerusalem who might visit Rome. Here are preserved many ancient inscriptions, and other fragments from the neighbouring catacombs, and in the centre plays a fountain.

The basilica is now almost engulfed in the **Campo Verano**, the Cemetery of S. Lorenzo, the modern burial-ground of Rome. It was opened in 1837, but has been much enlarged during the last ten years. Hither wend the numerous funerals which are often seen passing through the streets after Ave-Maria, with a procession of monks bearing lighted candles. A frightful gate, with a laudatory inscription to Pius IX., and an ugly modern chapel, have been erected. There are very few fine, though many florid and pretentious, monuments. The best are those in imitation of cinque-cento tombs, of which there are so many in the Roman churches. Those by Podesti, the painter (1865), and Lombardi, the sculptor (1872), to their wives, in the right corridor of the cloister, are touching. Near the end of the same corridor is the monument to the venerable Maria di Matthias (1866), foundress of the Order of the Precious Blood, who possessed a great influence amongst the Catholics in her lifetime. The higher ground to the left, behind the church, is occupied by the tombs of the rich. Those of the poor are indiscriminately scattered over a wide plain. A range of cliffs on the left were perforated by the *Catacombs of S. Ciriaca*, which, with the bad taste so defiantly displayed in Rome, have been wantonly broken up, the Christians of the third and fourth centuries having been turned out of their graves to make room for those of the present age. Those who do not wish to descend into a catacomb may here see (from without) all their arrangements—in the passages lined with loculi, and even some small chapels, covered with rude frescoes, laid open to the air, where the cliff has been cut away. Traces of a Temple of Hercules were found within the enclosure of the cemetery in 1876.

A Roman funeral is a sad sight, and strikes one with an unutterable sense of desolation.

'After a death the body is entirely abandoned to the priests, who take possession of it, watch over it, and prepare it for burial; while the family,

if they can find refuge anywhere else, abandon the house and remain away a week. . . . The body is not ordinarily allowed to remain in the house more than twelve hours, except on condition that it is sealed up in lead or zinc. At nightfall a sad procession of *becchini* and *frati* may be seen coming down the street, and stopping before the house of the dead. The *becchini* are taken from the lowest classes of the people, and hired to carry the corpse on the bier and to accompany it to the church and cemetery. They are dressed in shabby black *cappe*, covering their head and face as well as their body, and having two large holes cut in front of the eyes to enable them to see. These *cappe* are girdled round the waist, and the dirty trousers and worn-out shoes are miserably manifest under the skirts of their dress—showing plainly that their duty is occasional. All the *frati* and *becchini*, except the four who carry the bier, are furnished with wax candles, for no one is buried in Rome without a candle. You may know the rank of the person to be buried by the lateness of the hour, and the number of the *frati*. If it be the funeral of a person of wealth or a noble, it takes place at a late hour, the procession of *frati* is long, and the bier elegant. If it be a state funeral, as of a prince, carriages accompany it in mourning, the coachmen and lackeys are bedizened in their richest liveries, and the state hammer-cloths are spread on the boxes, with the family arms embossed on them in gold. But if it be a pauper's funeral, there are only *becchini* enough to carry the bier to the grave, and two *frati*, each with a little candle; and the sunshine is yet on the streets when they come to take away the corpse.

'You will see this procession stop before the house where the corpse is lying. Some of the *becchini* go upstairs, and some keep guard below. Scores of shabby men and boys are gathered round the *frati*; some attracted simply by curiosity, and some for the purpose of catching the wax, which gutters down from the candles as they are blown by the wind. The latter may be known by the great horns of paper which they carry in their hands. While this crowd waits for the corpse, the *frati* light their candles, and talk, and laugh, and take snuff together. Finally comes the body, borne down by four of the *becchini*. It is in a common rough deal coffin, more like an ill-made packing-case than anything else. No care or expense has been laid out upon it to make it elegant, for it is only to be seen for a moment. Then it is slid upon the bier, and over it is drawn the black velvet pall with golden trimmings, on which a cross, death's head, and bones are embroidered. Four of the *becchini* hoist it on their shoulders, the *frati* break forth into their hoarse chant, and the procession sets out for the church. Little and big boys and shabby men follow along, holding up their paper horns against the sloping candles to catch the dripping wax. Every one takes off his hat, or makes the sign of the cross, or mutters a prayer as the body passes; and with a dull, sad, monotonous chant, the candles gleaming and flaring, and casting around them a yellow flickering glow, the funeral winds along through the narrow streets, and under the sombre palaces and buildings, where the shadows of night are deepening every moment. The spectacle seen from a distance, and especially when looked down upon from a window, is very effective; but it loses much of its solemnity as you approach it; for the *frati* are so vulgar, dirty, and stupid, and seem so utterly indifferent and heartless, as they mechanically croak out their psalms, that all other emotions yield to a feeling of disgust.'—*Story's* '*Roba di Roma*.'

On the other side of the road from S. Lorenzo is the **Catacomb of S. Hippolytus**, interesting as described by the Christian poet Prudentius, who wrote a fine poem on martyrdom at the end of the fourth century.

'Not far from the city walls, among the well-trimmed orchards, there lies a crypt buried in darksome pits. Into its secret recesses a steep path with winding stairs directs one, even though the turnings shut out the light. The light of day, indeed, comes in through the doorway as far as the surface of the opening, and illuminates the threshold of the portico; and when, as you advance farther, the darkness as of night seems to get more and more obscure throughout the mazes of the cavern, there occur at intervals apertures cut in

the roof which convey the bright rays of the sun upon the cave. Although the recesses, twisting at random this way and that, form narrow chambers with darksome galleries, yet a considerable quantity of light finds its way through the pierced vaulting down into the hollow bowels of the mountain. And thus throughout the subterranean crypt it is possible to perceive the brightness and enjoy the light of the absent sun. To such secret places is the body of Hippolytus conveyed, near to the spot where now stands the altar dedicated to God. That same altar-slab (*mensa*) gives the sacrament and is the faithful guardian of its martyr's bones, which it keeps laid up there in expectation of the Eternal Judge, while it feeds the dwellers by the Tiber with holy food. Wondrous is the sanctity of the place! The altar is at hand for those who pray, and it assists the hopes of men by mercifully granting what they need. Here have I, when sick with ills both of soul and body, oftentimes prostrated myself in prayer and found relief. . . . Early in the morning men come to salute (Hippolytus): all the youth of the place worship here: they come and go until the setting of the sun. Love of religion collects together into one dense crowd both Latins and foreigners; they imprint their kisses on the shining silver; they pour out their sweet balsams; they bedew their faces with tears.'—'*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 98.

CHAPTER XIV

IN THE CAMPUS MARTIUS

S. Antonio dei Portoghesi—Torre della Scimia—S. Agostino—S. Apollinare—Palazzo Altemps—S. Maria dell' Anima—S. Maria della Pace—Palazzo del Governo Vecchio—Monte Giordano and Palazzo Gabrielli—S. Maria Nuova—S. Maria di Monserrato—S. Tommaso degl' Inglesi—S. Girolamo della Carità—S. Brigitta—Palazzo Farnese—S. Maria della Morte—Palazzo Falconieri—Campo dei Fiore—Palazzo Cancelleria—SS. Lorenzo in Damaso—Palazzo Linote—Palazzo Spada—Trinità dei Pellegrini—S. Maria in Monticelli—Palazzo Santa Croce—S. Carlo a' Catinari—Theatre of Pompey—S. Andrea della Valle—Palazzo Vidoni—Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne—S. Pantaleone—Palazzo Braschi—Statue of Pasquino—S. Agnese—Piazza Navona—Palazzo Pamfili—S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli—Palazzo Madama—S. Luigi dei Francesi—La Sapienza—S. Eustachio—Pantheon—S. Maria sopra Minerva—Il Piè di Marmo.

THE Campus Martius, now an intricate labyrinth of streets, occupying the wide, chopper-shaped space between the Corso and the Tiber, was not included within the walls of Republican Rome, and even in imperial times it continued to be covered with gardens and pleasure-grounds, interspersed with temples, theatres, and circuses, which were used for religious ceremonies and popular amusements.

> 'Tunc ego me memini ludos in gramine Campi
> Aspicere, et didici, lubrice Tibri, tuos.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 237.

> 'Tot jam abiere dies, cum me, nec cura theatri,
> Nec tetigit Campi, nec mea musa juvat.'
> —*Propert. El.* ii. 13.

> 'Altera gramineo spectabis Equiria campo,
> Quem Tiberis curvis in latus urget aquis.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* iii. 519.

Across it ran certain of the aqueducts. The vicinity of the Tiber afforded opportunities for practice in swimming, until public baths became more attractive.

> 'Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
> Aeque conspicitur gramine Martio:
> Nec quisquam citus aeque
> Tusco denatat alveo.'
> —*Hor. Od.* iii. 7, 25.

> 'Once upon a raw and gusty day,
> The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores,
> Caesar said to me, "Dar'st thou, Cassius, now
> Leap in with me into this angry flood,

And swim to yonder point?" Upon the word,
Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
And bade him follow,—so, indeed, he did:
The torrent roared; and we did buffet it
With lusty sinews; throwing it aside,
And stemming it with hearts of controversy.'
—*Shakespeare*, '*Julius Caesar*.'

It was almost exclusively near the foot of the Capitol that any permanent buildings were erected during the Republic, and these were only public edifices. Under the Empire magnificent edifices gradually arose here and there over it; and at length the whole plain could be crossed under a succession of those magnificent porticoes which enabled the Romans, in every season, to walk protected from sun or rain. Even in the time of Cicero the Campus was but sparsely inhabited.

The hills, which were crowded in ancient Rome, have, until recent times, been for the most part deserted; while the plain, which was deserted in ancient Rome, has long been very thickly populated.

This plain was bounded on two sides by the Quirinal and Capitoline hills. The Field of Mars, this accommodating plain, beside the river, was by nature favourable to the cultivation of those crops upon which the early Romans depended. There they raised their corn and pulse, and there accordingly we find the chief farmer, the king, had his grain-fields. When the Tarquins were expelled, even the royal crops were ritually rooted up, and cast into the Tiber,—perhaps as an expiatory offering to the River-God. It was, at any rate, to be carried away as though polluted. But why was the plain on which the staple food of the people grew, sacred to Mars? and why was the first month of the Roman year, likewise, sacred to him,—the meaning of whose name, even, is unknown to us? Of certain facts we have assurance. It contained a very early altar of this God. The 1st of March, Natalis Martis, considered to be his birthday, was that of the early Roman year; on that day the Sacred Fire of the City-hearth being relit by the Pontifex in the Temple of Vesta. Mars, in all probability, therefore, was to the Roman mind a projection typifying the quickening forces of spring in earth, in man, and beast. The wheat-field, the chief beast of burden, the horse, and the spear, the chief weapon of the agricultural folk he protected, and the laurel, were, all of them, sacred to him. He must be invoked for procuring successful crops, a fortunate season, and also for the safety of the farm-cattle. The idea of the sacred wolf (tribal totem) of Mars (as presented in the Romulus legend) stands for the combined nourisher and protector of the children of a Vestal by the God himself; though it is well to note that the story of Rhea Silvia as the mother of Romulus only became popular in the time of Hannibal, when it was desired to introduce the cult of Rhea Idæa (Cybele) into Rome. Mars, therefore, was regarded as the prime Deity of vegetation and war, among the Latian Boers. 'Father Mars, I entreat thee give increase to the fruits, the corn, the vines and woods, and bring them to a favourable issue. Guard the shepherds and the flocks, and grant me and my

household vigour!' So ran the prayer of the Roman farmer, Cato tells us. He was therefore invoked at an altar in the corn-fields, as well as at a shrine in the ritual centre of the Forum—the Regia. But in the course of time, and with the elaboration of religious cults among an aggressive people like the Romans, the worship of military energy overshadowed the interest in the slave-raised crops; and the connection of Mars with vegetation was dropped out of mind as the Campus Martius became the parade-ground of armies destined to conquer the world.

After Tarquin was expelled, and his crops cut down and thrown into the Tiber, his land was restored to the people. The tribunes, even before his day, used to hold assemblies (concilia) of the plebs in the Prata Flaminia at the foot of the Capitol, before any buildings were erected for their meeting-place.

The earliest temple (not altar) of the Campus Martius of which there is any record was the Temple of Apollo, built by the consul C. Julius in B.C. 430. Under the censor C. Flaminius, in B.C. 220, a group of important edifices arose on a site which is ascertained to be nearly that occupied by the Palazzo Caëtani, Palazzo Mattei, and S. Caterina dei Funari. The most important of these was the Circus Flaminius, where the plebeian games were celebrated under the care of plebeian aediles. In later times this was once flooded by Augustus, when thirty-six crocodiles were killed there for the amusement of the people.

On the site of the Via del Gesù was the Villa Publica, a hall erected 431 B.C., for taking the census, levying troops, and such other public business as could not be transacted within the city. Here, also, foreign ambassadors were received before their entrance into the city, and here the victorious general awaited the decree which allowed him a triumph. It was in the Villa Publica that Sulla cruelly massacred three thousand partisans of Marius, after he had promised them their lives (82 B.C.).

> 'Tunc flos Hesperiae, Latii jam sola juventus,
> Concidit, et miserae maculavit ovilia Romae.'
>
> —*Lucan*, ii. 196.

The cries of these murdered men were heard by the senate, who were assembled at the time in the Temple of Bellona, at the western extremity of the Circus Flaminius. Where the Piazza Paganica now is, stood the Columna Bellica, where the Fetialis or herald, when war was declared, flung a lance into a piece of ground, supposed to represent the enemy's country, when it was not possible to do it at the hostile frontier itself. Julius Caesar flung the spear here when war was declared against Cleopatra:—

> 'Prospicit a templo summum brevis area Circum;
> Est ibi non parvae parva columna notae.
> Hinc solet hasta manu, belli praenuntia, mitti,
> In regem et gentes, cum placet arma capi.'
>
> —*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 205.

and the custom only ceased in the days of Marcus Aurelius.

Almost including the Villa Publica was the Septa, where the

Comitia Centuriata elected their tribunes. The other name of this place of assembly, Ovilia, or the sheepfolds, bears witness to its primitive construction, when it was surrounded by a wooden barrier. In later times the Ovilia was more richly adorned. Pliny describes it as adorned with two groups of sculpture—Pan and the young Olympus, and Chiron and the young Achilles—for which the keepers were responsible with their lives;[1] and under the Empire it was enclosed by magnificent buildings, which contained a museum of rare foreign curiosities. In Domitian's day this was the place to interview slave-dealers.

In 187 B.C. the Temple of Hercules Musagetes was built by the censor Fulvius Nobilior. This occupied a site a little south of the Circus Flaminius. Sulla restored it:—

> 'Altera pars Circi custode sub Hercule tuta est;
> Quod Deus Euboico carmine munus habet.
> Muneris est tempus, qui Nonas Lucifer ante est;
> Si titulos quaeris, Sulla probavit opus.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 209.

This temple was rebuilt by L. Marcius Philippus, stepfather of Augustus, and surrounded by a porticus called after him Porticus Philippi.

> 'Vites, censeo, porticum Philippi,
> Si te viderit Hercules, peristi.'
> —*Martial, Ep.* v. 49, 12.

The munificence of Pompey extended public buildings much farther into the Campus. He built, after his triumph, a Temple of Minerva on the site now occupied by the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, and the Theatre of Pompey (Via dei Chiavari), surrounded by pillared porticoes and walks shaded with plane-trees.

> 'Scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis
> Porticus, aulaeis nobilis Attalicis:
> Et creber pariter platanis surgentibus ordo,
> Flumina sopito quaeque Marone cadunt.'
> —*Propertius, El.* ii. 32.

> 'Tu modo Pompeia lentus spatiare sub umbra,
> Cum sol Herculei terga leonis adit.'
> —*Ovid, de Art. Am.* i. 67.

> 'Inde petit centum pendentia tecta columnis,
> Illinc Pompeii dona, nemusque duplex.'
> —*Martial, Ep.* ii. 14.

Portions of the walls of the theatre came to light in 1837; other remains were until lately visible behind the church of S. Andrea della Valle. Fortunately the Pianta Capitolina presents us with the chief part of the building and its rich accessory, the Porticus, in a hall of which, called Curia Pompeii, stood the statue of the founder, at the foot of which Caesar fell. For the Senate met there during the rebuilding of the old Curia in the Forum.

Near the theatre, which contained 20,000 seats, was the Porticus *Ad Nationes*, so called from colossal statues representing the conquered nations of the world.

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[1] Pliny, *H. N.* xxx. 37, 2; and 49, 4.

Under the Empire important buildings began to rise still farther from the city. The Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, whose foundations are supposed to be the swelling called (Palazzo Gabrielli) Monte Giordano, was built under Augustus (destroyed A.D. 64); while the magnificent original oblong Pantheon, the Baths of Agrippa, and the Diribitorium—where the soldiers received their pay—whose huge and unsupported roof was one of the wonders of the city, were due to his son-in-law. Agrippa (18 B.C.) also brought the *Aqua Virgo* into the city to supply his baths, conveying it on pillars across the Flaminian Way, the future Corso. It still supplies the Fontana di Trevi.

> 'Qua vicina pluit Vipsanis porta columnis,
> Et madet assiduo lubricus imbre lapis,
> In jugulum pueri, qui roscida tecta subibat,
> Decidit hiberno praegravis unda gelu.'
> —*Martial, Ep.* iv. 18.

Near this aqueduct stood a shrine of Juturna founded by L. Catulus, 241 B.C.

> 'Te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror, aede recepit
> Hic ubi Virginea campus obitur aqua.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* i. 463.

and another of Isis (Via Stefano del Cacco)—

> 'A Meroe portabit aquas, ut spargat in aede
> Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit ovili.'
> —*Juvenal, Sat.* vi. 528.

These were followed by the erection of the Temple of Neptune and the Porticus of the Argonauts. Agrippa built these in honour of his naval victories (Piazza di Pietra). The great Imperial Mausoleum, 28 B.C., still shows some poor remains at the rear of S. Rocco in Via Ripetta. The Baths of Nero adorned the site now occupied by S. Luigi and the neighbouring buildings.

> '. . . . Quid Nerone pejus?
> Quid thermis melius Neronianis?'
> —*Martial, Ep.* vii. 34, 3.

> '. . . . Fas sit componere magnis
> Parva, Neronea nec qui modo lotus in unda
> Hic iterum sudare neget.'
> —*Statius, Silv.* i.

Besides these were an Arch of Claudius (near Palazzo Sciarra), on the Corso, a Temple of Hadrian, and temple of Matidia (S. Maria in Aquiro), built by Antoninus Pius, in honour of his predecessors; the Arch of Marcus Aurelius (?), near the Via della Vite, and the Porticus Vipsaniae.

Of all these various buildings little remains except the Pantheon, a portion of the Baths of Agrippa, behind it, some disfigured fragments of the Mausoleum, a range of columns belonging to the Temple of Neptune, and a portion of the portico of Octavia (Ghetto). The interest of the Campus Martius is almost entirely mediaeval or modern, and the objects worth visiting are scattered amid such a maze of dirty and intricate, but often picturesque, streets, that they

are seldom sought out except by those who make a long stay in Rome, and despise nothing connected with its history and architecture.

'If the secrets of old Rome could be known and told, they would fill the world with books. Every stone has tasted blood, every house has had its tragedy, every shrub and tree and blade of grass and wild-flower has sucked life from death, and blossoms on a grave.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Following the line of streets which leads from the Piazza di Spagna to S. Peter's (Via Condotti, Via Fontanella Borghese, beyond the Borghese Palace), let us turn to the left by the Via della Scrofa,[1] at the entrance of which are the **Palazzo Cardelli**, on the left, and the **Palazzo Mancini**, formerly **Galitzin**, on the right: a tablet on the latter records the visit which the poet Tasso paid here to Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga.

The second turn on the right, Via S. Antonio dei Portoghesi, shows a church dedicated to S. Anthony of Padua, and the mediaeval tower called **Torre della Scimia.**

In this tower, so runs the story, once lived a man who had a favourite ape. One day this creature seized upon a baby, and rushing to the summit was seen from below by the agonised parents, perched upon the battlements, and balancing their child to and fro over the abyss. The monkey, without relaxing its hold of the infant, slid down the walls, and, bounding and grimacing, laid the child at its mother's feet.[2] They made a vow in their terror, that if the baby were restored to safety, they would make provision that a lamp should burn nightly for ever before an image of the Virgin on the summit. Thus a lamp always burns upon the battlements before an image of the Madonna.

This building is better known, however, as 'Hilda's Tower,' a fictitious name which it has received from Hawthorne's mysterious novel.

'Taking her way through some of the intricacies of the city, Miriam entered what might be called either a widening of the street or a small piazza. The neighbourhood comprised a baker's oven, emitting the usual fragrance of sour bread; a shoe shop; a linen-draper's shop; a pipe and cigar shop; a lottery office; a station for French soldiers, with a sentinel pacing in front; and a fruit stand, at which a Roman matron was selling the dried kernels of chestnuts, wretched little figs, and some bouquets of yesterday. A church, of course, was near at hand, the façade of which ascended into lofty pinnacles, whereon were perched two or three winged figures of stone, either angelic or allegorical, blowing stone trumpets in close vicinity to the upper windows of an old and shabby palace. This palace was distinguished by a feature not very common in the architecture of Roman edifices; that is to say, a mediaeval tower, square, massive, lofty, and battlemented and machicolated at the summit.

'At one of the angles of the battlements stood a shrine of the Virgin, such as we see everywhere at the street corners of Rome, but seldom or never,

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[1] So called from a fountain adorned with the figure of a sow, which once existed here.

[2] The story is told in Howell's *Familiar Letters*, 1643, as having happened in Paris, and similar stories are told of the infancy of Cromwell and of Christian of Sweden.

except in this solitary instance, at a height above the ordinary level of men's views and aspirations. Connected with this old tower and its lofty shrine there is a legend; and for centuries a lamp has been burning before the Virgin's image at noon, at midnight, at all hours of the twenty-four, and must be kept burning for ever, as long as the tower shall stand, or else the tower itself, the palace, and whatever estate belongs to it, shall pass from its hereditary possessor, in accordance with an ancient vow, and become the property of the Church.

'As Miriam approached, she looked upward, and saw—not, indeed, the flame of the never-dying lamp, which was swallowed up in the broad sunlight that brightened the shrine—but a flock of white doves, shining, fluttering, and wheeling above the topmost height of the tower, their silver wings flashing in the pure transparency of the air. Several of them sat on the ledge of the upper window, pushing one another off by their eager struggle for this favourite station, and all tapping their beaks and flapping their wings tumultuously against the panes; some had alighted in the street far below, but flew hastily upward at the sound of the window being thrust ajar, and opening in the middle, on rusty hinges, as Roman windows do.'—'*Transformation.*'

The next street, on the right, leads to the Renaissance **Church of S. Agostino**, built originally by Meo del Caprino, 1481,[1] for Cardinal d'Estouteville, Archbishop of Rouen and Legate in France[2] (the vindicator of Jeanne D'arc), but altered in 1750 by Vanvitelli, and redecorated in 1855–60. The delicate work of the façade, built of travertine robbed from the Coliseum, is much admired by those who do not seek for strength of light and shadow. This church—dedicated to her son—contains the remains of **S. Monica**, brought hither from Ostia, where she died.

'Drawing near her death, she sent most pious thoughts as harbingers to heaven; and her soul saw a glimpse of happiness through the chinks of her sickness-broken body.'—*Fuller.*

The chapel of S. Augustin, in the R. transept, contains a gloomy picture by *Guercino*, of S. Augustin between S. John the Baptist and S. Paul the hermit. The high altar, by Bernini, has an image of the Madonna, brought from S. Sophia at Constantinople, and attributed to S. Luke. The second chapel in the left aisle has a group of the Virgin and Child with S. Anna, by *Jacopo Sansovino*, 1512.

On the third tier, to the left of the nave, is a fresco of Isaiah by **Raffaelle**, painted in 1512, but retouched by Daniele da Volterra. The prophet holds a scroll with words from Isaiah xxvi. 2. Few will agree with the stricture of Kugler:—

'In the fresco, representing the prophet Isaiah and two angels, who hold a tablet, the comparison is unfavourable to Raffaelle. An effort to rival the powerful style of Michelangelo is very visible in this picture; an effort which, notwithstanding the excellence of the execution in parts, has produced only an exaggerated and affected figure.'—*Kugler*, ii. 371.

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[1] A son of Francesco di Domenico of Settignano, surnamed *Il Caprino*, who worked in Rome from 1462 to 1489.

[2] The monks of S. Agostino and canons of S. Maria Maggiore fought at his funeral for the trappings of his bier; the rings were torn from his fingers, and the combatants charged one another with the torches.

The German[1] who ordered this picture considered Raphael's price too high, and lamented the fact before Michelangelo. The sculptor declared, however, that the prophet's knee alone was worth the sum asked.

The church overflows with silver hearts and other 'stipe votive,' which are all addressed to the highly-venerated Madonna and Child by *Jacopo Sansovino*, now placed close to the principal entrance, which is really a fine piece of sculpture, though spoiled in effect by its offerings.

On the pedestal of the image is inscribed—'N. S. Pio VII. concede in perpetuo 200 giorni d'indulgenza da lucrarsi una volta al giorno da tutti quelli che divotamente toccheranno il piede di questa S. Immagine, recitando un Ave Maria per il bisogno di S. Chiesa, 7 Giug. MDCCCXXII.'

Around this statue, until recently, a row of assassins' daggers were hung, strange instances of trespass-offering.

'It is not long since the report was spread, that one day when a poor woman called upon this image of the Madonna for help, it began to speak, and replied, "If I had only something, then I could help thee, but I myself am so poor!"

'This story was circulated, and very soon throngs of credulous people hastened hither to kiss the foot of the Madonna, and to present her with all kinds of gifts. The image of the Virgin, a beautiful figure in brown marble, now sits shining with ornaments of gold and precious stones. Candles and lamps burn around, and people pour in, rich and poor, great and small, to kiss—some of them two or three times—the Madonna's foot, a gilt foot, to which the forehead also is devotionally pressed. The marble foot is already worn away with kissing; the Madonna is now rich. . . . Below the altar it is inscribed in golden letters that Pius VII. promised two hundred days' absolution to all such as should kiss the Madonna's foot and pray with the whole heart *Ave Maria*.'—*Frederika Bremer*.

To the right of the church is the entrance to the *Biblioteca Angelica*, the coldest library to use in Rome, founded 1604; it is open daily except on festas.

Passing the arch, just beyond this, is the **Church of S. Apollinare**, built originally by Adrian I. (772–795), but entirely modernised under Benedict XIV. by Fuga. It contains a number of relics of saints brought from the East by Basilian monks. Over the altar, on the left, in the inner vestibule, is a Madonna by some pupil of *Perugino*. This church belonged formerly to the German College; but now to the Seminario Romano.

'S. Apollinare is said to have accompanied S. Peter from Antioch to Rome, and to have remained here as his companion and assistant (whence the church dedicated to him here). He was afterwards sent to preach the faith in Ravenna, where he became the first Christian bishop, and suffered martyrdom outside the Rimini gate, July 23, A.D. 79.'

This church occupies the site of the *Statio Rationis Marmorum*, the central office for the marble works of the State, and was connected by a paved road with the marble wharf on the Tiber.

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[1] They were both executed for the same person, Johann Goritz of Luxembourg.

Adjoining this church is the **Seminario Romano**, founded by Pius IV., on a system drawn up by his nephew, S. Carlo Borromeo. Eight hundred young boys are annually educated here. In order to gain admittance, it is necessary to be of Roman birth, to be acquainted with grammar, and to intend to take orders. Pupils are held to their first intention of entering the priesthood by being compelled to refund the expenses of their education if they renounce it.

Nearly opposite the church is the **Palazzo Altemps**, built 1580, by Martino Longhi. Its courtyard, due, like nearly all the best palace work in Rome, to Baldassare Peruzzi, is exceedingly graceful and picturesque. Ancient statues and flowering shrubs occupy the spaces between the arches of the ground-floor, and on the first floor is a loggia richly decorated with delicate arabesques in the style of Giovanni da Udine. Near this loggia is a chapel with exceedingly beautiful proportions. It has several good frescoes, especially the Flight into Egypt, and S. Cecilia singing to the Virgin and the Child. At the west end is a gracefully-proportioned music-gallery, adorned with various coloured marbles. An inner chapel contains a fine bronze crucifix. The palace, of which the most interesting parts are shown on request, is now the property of the Duke of Gallese, to whom it came by the marriage of Jules Hardouin, Duke of Gallese, with Donna Lucrezia d'Altemps.

We follow the Via S. Agostino by the mediaeval **Torre Sanguigna**, whose name is taken from a family, not from mediaeval faction-fray. Here Benvenuto Cellini avenged himself upon the murderer of his brother Cecchino. Thus we reach the German national church of **S. Maria dell' Anima**, which derives its name from a marble group of the Madonna invoked by two souls in purgatory, found among the foundations, and now inserted in the tympanum of the portal. It was originally built *c.* 1440, with funds bequeathed by 'un certo Giovanni Pietro,' but enlarged in 1514; the façade is by Giuliano da Sangallo. The door-frames, of delicate workmanship, are by Antonio Giamberti. The materials used in building the church were quarried from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

The front entrance is generally closed, but one can always gain admittance through the courtyard of the German hospital.

The interior is peculiar from its height and width in relation with its length. It is divided into three almost equal aisles.

Over the high altar is a damaged picture of the Holy Family with saints, by *Giulio Romano*. On the right is the fine tomb of Pope Adrian VI., Adrian Florent (1522–23), designed by Baldassare Peruzzi, and carried out by Michelangelo Sanese and Niccolo Tribolo. This Pope, the son of a shipbuilder at Utrecht, was professor at the university of Louvain, and tutor to Charles V. After the witty, brilliant age of Julius II. and Leo X., he ushered in a period of penitence and devotion. He drove from the Papal court the throng of artists and philosophers who had hitherto surrounded it, and he put a stop to the various great buildings which were in progress, saying, 'I do not wish to adorn priests

with churches, but churches with priests.' In his epitaph we read:—

'Hadrianus hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicius in vita quam quod imperaret duxit.'[1]

and—

'Proh dolor! quantum refert in quae tempora vel optimi
. . . . cujusque virtus incidat!'

In a year, however, the penitential pope died, whereupon the house of his physician was hung with garlands by midnight revellers, and decorated with the inscription, 'Liberatori Patriae, S.P.Q.R.'

The tomb was erected at the expense of Cardinal William of Enkenfort, the only prelate to whom this Pope had given a hat.

'It is an irony that in this tomb Adrian, who despised all the arts on principle, and looked upon Greek statues as idolatrous, had a more artistic monument than Leo X. of the house of Medici. Baldassare Peruzzi made the design, its sculptures were carried out by Michelangelo Sanese and Tribolo, and they merit the highest acknowledgment. Here, as is so often the case, the architecture is, as it were, a frontispiece; but the way in which the Pope is represented resembles, in conformity with his character, the type of the Middle Ages. He is stretched upon a simple marble sarcophagus, and slumbers with his head supported by his hand. His countenance (Adrian was very handsome) is deeply marked and sorrowful. In the lunette above, following the ancient type, appears Mary with the Child between S. Peter and S. Paul. Below, in the niches, stand the figures of the four cardinal virtues: Temperance holds a chain; Courage a branch of a tree, while a lion stands by her side; Justice has an ostrich by her side; Wisdom carries a mirror and a serpent. These figures are executed with great care. Lastly, under the sarcophagus is a large bas-relief representing the entry of the Pope to Rome. He sits on horseback in the dress of a cardinal; behind him follow cardinals and monks; the senator of Rome renders homage on his knees, while from the gate the eternal Rome comes forth to meet him. This Cypria, so well adorned by his predecessors, seems ill-pleased to do homage to this cross old man. With secret pleasure one sees a pagan idea carried out in the corner: the Tiber is represented as a river-god with his horn of abundance; and thus the devout Pope could not defend himself against the heathen spirit of the time which has at least attached itself to his tomb.'—*Gregorovius*, '*Grabmäler der Päpste.*'

Opposite that of the Pope, on the left of the choir, is the tomb of Charles, Duke of Cleves, who died 1575, by *Gilles di Riviere* and *Nicolas d'Arras.*

The body of the church contains several good pictures. In the 1st chapel of the right aisle is S. Bruno receiving the keys of the cathedral of Meissen in Saxony from a fisherman, who had found them in the inside of a fish, by *Carlo Saraceni;* in the 2nd chapel, the monument of Cardinal Slusius, 1687; in the 3rd chapel, an indifferent copy of the Pietà of Michelangelo, by *Nani di Baccio Bigio.* In the 1st chapel of the left aisle is the martyrdom of S. Lambert, by *C. Saraceni.*

The two pictures in this church are cited by Lanzi as the best works of this comparatively rare artist, sometimes called Carlo Veneziano, 1585–1625. He

[1] 'Here rests Hadrian, who found his greatest misfortune in being obliged to command.'

sought to follow in the steps of Caravaggio; many will think that he surpassed him, when they look upon the richness of colour and grand effect of light and shadow which is displayed here.

In the 3rd chapel (del Cristo Morto) are frescoes from the life of S. Barbara, by *Mich. Coxcie*, and an altar-piece (the Entombment) by *Salviati*.

On the left of the west door is the tomb of Cardinal Andrea of Austria, nephew of Ferdinand II., who died 1600; on the right that of Cardinal Enkenfort, died 1534. In the passage towards the sacristy is a fine bas-relief, representing Gregory XIII. giving a sword to the Duke of Cleves. The best church music in Rome used to be heard in this church.

To English-speaking people the most interesting tomb here will be that of Luca Holstenius, Milton's friend while in Rome, and librarian of the Vatican.

Close to this church is that of **S. Maria della Pace**, built in 1487, by Baccio Pontelli, to fulfil a vow made by Sixtus IV. Formerly there stood here a little chapel dedicated to S. Andrew, in whose portico was an image of the Virgin. One day a drunken soldier pierced the bosom of this Madonna with his sword, when blood miraculously spurted forth. Sixtus IV. (Francesco della Rovere, 1471–84) visited the spot with his cardinals, and vowed to compensate the Virgin by building her a church, if she would grant peace to the Church, then afflicted by a cruel war with the Turks. Peace was restored, and the Church of 'S. Mary of Peace' was erected by the grateful Pope. Pietro da Cortona added the peculiar semicircular Doric portico under Alexander VII. The interior has only a short nave ending with an octagonal choir, covered by a cupola.

Above the 1st chapel on the right (that of the Chigi family) are the **Four Sibyls of Raffaelle**, which filled Goethe with delight as he stood examining them.

'This is one of Raffaelle's most perfect works; great mastery is shown in the mode of filling and taking advantage of the apparently unfavourable space. The angels who hold the tablets to be written on, or read by the Sibyls, create a spirited variety in the severe symmetrical arrangement of the whole. Grace in the attitudes and movements, with a peculiar harmony of form and colour, pervade the whole picture; but important restorations have unfortunately become necessary in several parts. An interesting comparison may be instituted between this work and the Sibyls of Michelangelo. In each we find the peculiar excellence of the great masters; for while Michelangelo's figures are grand, sublime, profound, the fresco of the Pace bears the impress of Raffaelle's severe and ingenuous grace. The four Prophets, on the wall over the Sibyls, were executed by Timoteo Vite, after drawings by Raffaelle.'—*Kugler*.

'The Sibyls have suffered much from time, and more, it is said, from restoration; yet the forms of Raffaelle, in all their loveliness, all their sweetness, are still before us; they breathe all the soul, the sentiment, the chaste expression, and purity of design that characterise his works. The dictating angels hover over the heads of the gifted maids, one of whom writes with rapid pen the irreversible decrees of Fate. The countenances and musing attitudes of her sister Sibyls express those feelings of habitual thoughtful-

ness and pensive sadness natural to those who are cursed with the knowledge of futurity and all its coming evils.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'The Sibyls are simply beautiful women of antique form, to whom, with the aid of books, scrolls, and inscriptions, the Sibyllic idea has been given, but who would equally pass for the abstract personifications of virtues or cities. They are four in number—the Cumana, Phrygia, Persica, and Tiburtina; all, with the exception of the last, in the fulness of youth and beauty, and occupied, apparently, with no higher aim than that of displacing both. Indeed, the Tiburtina matches ill with the rest, either in character or action. She is aged, has an open book on her lap, but turns with a strange and rigid action as if suddenly called. The very comparison with her tends to divest the others of the Sibylline character. In this, the angels who float above, and obviously inspire them, also help; for, while adding to the charm of the composition, which is one of the most exquisite as to mere art, they interfere with that inwardly inspired expression which all other art has given to these women.

'The inscription on the scroll of the Cumaean Sibyl gives in Greek the words, "The Resurrection of the Dead." The Persica is writing on the scroll held by the angel, "He will have the lot of Death." The beautiful Phrygia is presented with a scroll, "The heavens surround the sphere of the earth;" and the Tiburtina has under her the inscription, "I will open and arise." The fourth angel floats above, holding the seventh line of Virgil's Eclogue, "Jam nova progenies."'—*Lady Eastlake's 'History of our Lord.'*

The **1st chapel** (L.) has monuments of the Ponzetti family, and an important altar-piece of the Virgin between S. Bridget and S. Catharine, by *Baldassare Peruzzi;* in the front of the picture kneels the donor, Cardinal Ponzetti, 1516. The **1st altar** (R.) has the Adoration of the Shepherds, by *Sermoneta.* The **2nd chapel** (R.), the burial-place of the Santa Croce family, has a facing in rich carved work of the sixteenth century, executed for Cardinal Cesi by Vincenzo de Rossi, who used for it some columns of Pentelic marble found on the Tarpeian rock, and supposed to have belonged to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The **high altar**, designed by Carlo Maderna, enshrines an ancient (miracle-working) Madonna. Of the four paintings of the **cupola**, the Nativity of the Virgin is by *Francesco Vanni;* the Visitation, *Carlo Maratta;* the Presentation in the Temple, *Baldassare Peruzzi;* the Death of the Virgin, *Morandi.* The noble fresco of the Salutation by *Sebastiano del Piombo*, now at Alnwick Castle, once adorned this church.

Newly-married couples observe the touching custom of attending their first mass here, and invoking 'S. Mary of Peace' to rule the course of their lives.

The **Cloister of the Convent**, entered on the left under the dome, was designed by *Bramante* for Cardinal Caraffa in 1504. On the right wall is the tomb of a Bishop of Modena, 1497.

From the portico of the church, the Via in Parione leads to the **Via del Governo Vecchio**. Here, on the right, is the **Palazzo del Governo Vecchio** (1475), with a richly-sculptured doorway and cloistered court. This was the residence of the Governors of Rome from the time of Urban VIII. (1623) to that of Benedict XIV. (1740), when they moved to Palazzo Madama. Opposite is the Palazzetto Turci (1500).

Proceeding as far as the Piazza del Orologio, on the right is an eminence known as **Monte Giordano**, supposed to be artificial, and

to have arisen on the ruins of the first stone amphitheatre in Rome, that of Statilius Taurus, built 29 B.C. In mediaeval times it was occupied as a stronghold by the Orsini.

Its name is derived from Giordano Orsini, a noble of one of the oldest Roman families, who built the palace there which is now known as the **Palazzo Gabrielli,** and which has rather a handsome fountain. It was probably in consequence of the name Jordan that this hillock was chosen in (late) mediaeval times as the place where the Jews in Rome received the newly-elected Pope on his way to the Lateran, and where their elders, covered with veils, presented him, on their knees, with a copy of the Pentateuch bound in gold. Then the Jews spoke in Hebrew, saying, 'Most holy Father, we Hebrew men beseech your Holiness, in the name of our synagogue, to vouchsafe to us that the Mosaic Law, given on Mount Sinai by the Almighty God to Moses our priest, may be confirmed and approved, as also other eminent Popes, the predecessors of your Holiness, have approved and confirmed it.' And the Pope replied, 'We confirm the Law, but we condemn your faith and interpretation thereof, because He who you say is to come, the Lord Jesus Christ, is come already, as our Church teaches and preaches.'

Until 1286 it was called Monte Johannis de Rancionibus, and was crowned with a chapel to S. Michael.

Turning to the left, we enter a piazza (now on the Corso Vittorio Emanuele), one side of which is occupied by the Convent of the Oratorians, and the vast **Church of S. Maria in Vallicella,** or the **Chiesa Nuova,** built by Martino Longhi, on the site of a sixth century chapel, for Gregory XIII., and S. Filippo Neri. The façade is by Rughesi. The decorations of the interior are partly due to Pietro da Cortona, who painted the vault and cupola.

On the right, in the 1st chapel, is the Crucifixion by *Scipione Caetani;* in the 3rd chapel, the Ascension, *Muziano.* On the **left,** in the 2nd chapel, is the Adoration of the Magi, *Cesare Nebbia;* in the 3rd chapel, the Nativity, *Durante Alberti;* in the 4th chapel, the Visitation, *Baroccio.* In the left transept are statues of SS. Peter and Paul, by *Valsoldo,* and the Presentation in the Temple, by *Barocci.* When S. Filippo Neri saw this picture, he said to the painter: 'Ma come avete ben fatto!—Che ver somiglianza!—È così che mi ha apparso tante volte la Santa Vergine.'

On the left of the tribune is the gorgeous **Chapel of S. Filippo Neri,** containing the shrine of the saint, rich in lapis-lazuli and gold, surmounted by a mosaic copy of the picture by *Guido* in the adjoining convent.

The high altar has four columns of porta-santa marble. Its pictures are by **Rubens,** after his visit to Venice;—that in the centre represents the Virgin in a glory of angels; on the right are S. Gregory, S. Mauro, and S. Papias; on the left S. Domitilla, S. Nereus, and S. Achilleus.

The Sacristy, entered from the left transept, is by Marucelli. It has a grand statue of S. Filippo Neri, by *Algardi.* The vault is painted by *Pietro da Cortona*—the subject is an angel bearing the instruments of the Passion to heaven.

The **Monastery** (now a Court of Assize), built by Borromini, contains the magnificent library—Biblioteca Vallicelliana—founded by

S. Filippo; it is open on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, from 10 to 3. The cell of the saint is accessible, even to ladies. It retains his confessional, chair, shoes, waist-cord, and also a cast taken from his face after death, and some pictures which belonged to him, including one of S. Francesca Romana, and the portrait of an archbishop of Florence. In the private chapel adjoining is the altar at which he daily said mass, over which is a picture of his time. Here also are the crucifix which was in his hands when he died, his candlesticks, and some sacred pictures on tablets which he carried to the sick. The door of the cell is the same, and the little bell by which he summoned his attendant. In a room below is the carved coffin in which he lay in state, a picture of him lying dead, and the portrait by *Guido* from which the mosaic in the church is taken. A curious picture in this chamber represents an earthquake at Beneventum, in which Pope Gregory XIV. believed that his life was saved by an image of S. Filippo. When S. Filippo Neri died—as in the case of S. Antonio—the Catholic world exclaimed intuitively, 'Il Santo è morto!'

'Let the world flaunt her glories! each glittering prize
Though tempting to others, is naught in my eyes;
A child of S. Philip, my master and guide,
I would live as he lived, and die as he died.

If scanty my fare, yet how was he fed?
On olives and herbs and a small roll of bread.
Are my joints and bones sore with aches and with pains?
Philip scourged his young flesh with fine iron chains.

A closet his home, where he, year after year,
Bore heat or cold greater than heat or cold here;
A rope stretched across it, and o'er it he spread
His small stock of clothes; and the floor was his bed.

One lodging besides: God's temple he chose,
And he slept in its porch his few hours of repose;
Or studied by light which the altar-lamp gave,
Or knelt at the martyr's victorious grave.'

—*J. H. Newman*, 1857.

The Church of the Chiesa Nuova belongs exclusively to the Oratorian Fathers. Pope Leo XII. wished to turn it into a parish church.

'It was said that the superior of the house took and showed to the Holy Father an autograph memorial of the founder, S. Philip Neri, to the Pope of his day, petitioning that his church should never be that of a parish. And below it was written that Pope's promise, also in his own hand, that it never should. This Pope was Pius V. Leo bowed to such authorities, said that he could not contend against two saints, and altered his plans.'—*Wiseman's 'Life of Leo XII.'*

'S. Filippo Neri laid the foundation of the Congregation of Oratorians in 1551. Several priests and young ecclesiastics associating themselves with him, began to assist him in his conferences, and in reading prayers and meditations to the people in the Church of the Holy Trinity. They were called Oratorians, because at certain hours every morning and afternoon, by ringing a bell, they called the people to the church to prayers and meditation. In 1564, when the saint had formed his congregation into a regular community, he preferred several of his young ecclesiastics to holy orders; one of whom was the eminent Caesar Baronius, whom, for his sanctity, Benedict XIV., by

a decree dated on the 12th of January 1745, honoured with the title of "Venerable Servant of God." At the same time he formed his disciples into a community, using one common purse and table, and he gave them rules and statutes. He forbade any of them to bind themselves to this state by vow or oath, that all might live together joined only by the bands of fervour and holy charity; labouring with all their strength to establish the kingdom of Christ in themselves by the most perfect sanctification of their own souls, and to propagate the same in the souls of others, by preaching, instructing the ignorant, and teaching the Christian doctrine.'—*Alban Butler.*

On May 26, the festa of S. Filippo Neri, and after Ave Maria on every Sunday from November 1 to Palm Sunday, a concert of the sacred music of which the patron Saint was fond, is given here in the **Oratorium**.

It was in the piazza in front of this church that (during the reign of Clement XIV.) a beautiful boy was wont to improvise wonderful verses, to the admiration of the crowds who surrounded him. This boy was named Trapassi, and was the son of a grocer in the neighbourhood. The Arcadian Academy, at the instance of the learned Gravina, changed his name into Greek, and called him 'Metastasio' (1698–1782).

Even the most devoted lovers of old Rome must in fairness allow that there is something fine in the part of the modern Corso Vittorio Emanuele near this, and that the street has been skilfully turned to include many of the finest buildings in this part of its course, whilst many of these, especially the Chiesa Nuova, the Cancelleria, and S. Andrea della Valle, have gained greatly by the change. Amongst the objects of interest discovered and again covered up while making the Corso Vittorio Emanuele near this (Piazza Cesarini) in 1886–87, was the **altar of Dis and Proserpine**, commemorating the warm medicinal pool of *Tarentum*, in honour of which the Ludi Tarentini, afterwards called Ludi Saeculares, were performed, in honour of which Horace wrote his Carmen Sæculare for Augustus. His name was found mentioned on the inscriptions discovered here. (Cf. *Museo delle Terme.*)

Continuing to wander in and out of the city, the Via Calabraga leads from the corner of the piazza in front of the Chiesa Nuova intò the Via Monserrato, which it enters between **S. Lucia del Gonfalone** on the right, and **S. Stefano in Piscinula** on the left;—then, passing on the right **S. Giacomo in Aino**—behind which and the Palazzo Ricci[1] is **Santo Spirito dei Napolitani**, a much frequented and popular little church—we reach **S. Maria di Monserrato**, built by Ant. Sangallo in 1495, where S. Ignatius Loyola was wont to preach and catechise. Near the first of these churches in Via de' Banchi Vecchi is the decorated House of Pietro Crivelli, a famous Milanese goldsmith, 1540.

Here reposed for a short time (before being taken to Spain) the remains of Pope Alexander VI., Rodrigo Borgia (1492–1503)—the infamous father of the beautiful and wicked Caesar and Lucrezia Borgia—who is believed to have died from accidentally drinking in

[1] This palace, in five tiers, is frescoed all over. It likewise belonged to the Farnese, but takes its name from Cardinal Jo. Ricci.

a vineyard-banquet the poison which he had prepared for one of his own cardinals. When exhumed and turned out of the pontifical vaults of S. Peter's by Julius II., he found a refuge here in his national church. The bones of his uncle Calixtus III., Alfonso Borgia (1455–58), rest here.

A little farther, on the left, is the **Church of S. Tommaso degli Inglesi**, built 1866–88. Gregory XIII., in 1575, at the request of William Allen, a Professor of Theology at Douai, united the hospital which existed here with one for English sailors on the Ripa Grande, dedicated to S. Edmund the Martyr, and converted them into a college for English missionaries. Owing to the decline of the old English Hospice of S. Spirito in Sassia, during the thirteenth century, it is to some extent true that—

'Nothing like a hospice for English pilgrims existed till the second great Jubilee (1350), when John Shepherd and his wife Alice, seeing this want, settled in Rome (1362), and devoted their substance to the support of poor palmers from their own country. This small beginning grew into sufficient importance for it to become a royal charity; the king of England became its patron, and named its rector, often a person of high consideration. Among the fragments of old monuments scattered about the house by the revolution, and now collected and arranged in a corridor of the college, is a shield surmounted by a crown, and carved with the ancient arms of England, lions or lionceaux, and fleur-de-lis, quarterly. This used formerly to be outside the house, and under it was inscribed:—

"Haec conjuncta duo,
Successus debita legi,
Anglia dat, regi
Francia signa suo.
Laurentius Chance me fecit M.CCC.XIJ."'

—*Cardinal Wiseman.*

It thus was constituted as Universitas Pauperum Anglorum, and dedicated to S. Thomas à Becket, attached to a small church bearing his name.

Sixtus V. created Allen a cardinal. The college became entrusted to the Society of Jesus.

The cloister contains a beautiful tomb of Christopher Bainbrigg, Archbishop of York, British envoy to Julius II., by whom he was made a cardinal, who died at Rome 1514, in the reign of Leo X., under suspicion of poison. Another monument commemorates Sir Thomas Dereham, ob. 1739. Against the wall is the monument of Martha Swinburne, a prodigy of nine years old, inscribed:—

'Memoriae Marthae, Henrici et Marthae Swinburne . Nat . Angliae . ex . Antiqua . et . Nobili . Familia . Caphaeton . Northumbriae . Parentes . Moestiss . Filiae . Carissimae . Pr . Quae . Ingenio . Excellenti . Forma . Eximia . Incredibili . Doctrina . Moribus . Suavissimis . Vix . Ann . viii . Men . xi . Tantum . Praerepta . Romae . V . ID . SEPT . AN . MDCCLXVII.

'Martha Swinburne, born Oct. x. MDCCLVII. Died Sept. viii. MDCCLXVII. Her years were few, but her life was long and full. She spoke English, French, and Italian, and had made some progress in the Latin tongue; knew the English and Roman histories, arithmetic, and geography; sang the most difficult music at sight with one of the finest voices in the world, was a great proficient on the harpsichord, wrote well, and danced many sorts of dances with strength and elegance. Her face was beautiful and majestic, her body a perfect model, and all her motions graceful. Her docility in doing everything to make her parents happy could only be equalled by her sense and

aptitude. With so many perfections, amidst the praises of all persons, from the sovereign down to the beggar in the street, her heart was incapable of vanity; affectation and arrogance were unknown to her. Her beauty and accomplishments made her the admiration of all beholders, the love of all that enjoyed her company. Think, then, what the pangs of her wretched parents must be on so cruel a separation. Their only comfort is in the certitude of her being completely happy, beyond the reach of pain, and for ever freed from the miseries of this life. She can never feel the torments they endure for the loss of a beloved child. Blame them not for indulging an innocent pride in transmitting her memory to posterity as an honour to her family and to her native country, England. Let this plain character, penned by her disconsolate father, draw a tear of pity from every eye that peruses it.'

An arm of S. Thomas à Becket is the chief 'relic' kept here. In the hall of the college are preserved portraits of Roman Catholics who suffered for their faith in England under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and portraits of English cardinals from Wolsey to Vaughan.

John Milton was the guest of the college in 1638, and Richard Crashaw, for fifteen days, in 1640.

At the end of the street are two exceedingly ugly little churches —very interesting from their associations. On the right is **S. Girolamo della Carità**, founded on the site of the house of S. Paola, where she received S. Jerome upon his being called to Rome from the Thebaid by Pope Damasus in 382. Here he remained for three years, acting as that Pontiff's secretary, until, embittered by the scandal excited by his residence in the house of the widow, he returned to his solitude.

In 1519 S. Filippo Neri founded here a *Confraternity* for the distribution of dowries to poor girls, for the assistance of debtors, and for the maintenance of fourteen priests for the visitation and confession of the sick.

'Lorsque S. Philippe de Néri fut prêtre, il alla se logar à Saint-Jérôme *della Carità*, où il demeura trente-cinq ans, dans la société des pieux ecclésiastiques qui administraient les sacrements dans cette paroisse. Chaque soir, Philippe ouvrait, dans sa chambre qui existe encore, des conférences sur tous les points du dogme catholique; les jeunes gens affluaient à ces saintes réunions: on y voyait Baronius; Bordini, qui fut archevêque; Salviati, frère du cardinal; Targula, neveu du pape Jules III. Un désir ardent d'exercer ensemble le ministère de la prédication et les devoirs de la charité porta ces pieux jeunes gens à vivre en commun, sous la discipline du vertueux prêtre, dont la parole était si puissante sur leurs cœurs.'—*Gournerie.*

The masterpiece of Domenichino, the Last Communion of S. Jerome, in which S. Paola is introduced kissing the hand of the dying saint, hung in this church till carried off to Paris by the French. It is now in the Vatican, where we once heard it described by a wandering tourist as the Dying Gladiator! In the passage on the right is a good armoured effigy, *c.* 1480, of Jacopo Saraconio.

Opposite this is the **Church of S. Brigitta**, on the site of the dwelling of the saint (1302–73), a daughter of the house of Brahé, and wife of Walfon, Duke of Nericia, who came hither in her widowhood to pass her declining years near the Tomb of the Apostles. With her lived her daughter S. Catharine of Sweden, who was beautiful, and met with so many importunities in that wild time (1350), that she made a vow never to leave her own roof

except to visit the churches. The crucifix, prayer-book, and black mantle of S. Bridget are preserved here.[1] Her many other children turned out ill.

'S. Bridget exercised a reformatory influence as well upon the higher class of the priesthood in Rome as in Naples. For she did not alone satisfy herself with praying at the graves of the martyrs, she earnestly exhorted bishops and cardinals, nay, even the Pope himself, to a life of the true worship of God and of good works, from which they had almost universally fallen, to devote themselves to worldly ambition. She awoke the consciences of many, as well by her prayers and remonstrances as by her example. For she herself, of a rich and noble race, that of a Brahé, one of the nobles in Sweden, yet lived here in Rome, and laboured like a truly humble servant of Christ. "We must walk barefoot over pride, if we would overcome it," said she, and Brigitta Brahé did so; and, in so doing, overcame those proud hearts, and won them to God.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

We now reach the **Palazzo Farnese**—the most majestic and magnificent of all the Roman palaces—begun by Paul III., Alessandro Farnese (1534–50), and finished by his nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Its architects were Antonio di Sangallo (who is responsible for the façade, up to the cornice, the vestibule, and the court), Michelangelo (to whom is due the cornice, the third floor of the court, and the two flank faces), and Giacomo della Porta, who finished the façade towards the Tiber. The materials were plundered partly from the Coliseum and partly from the Theatre of Marcellus, and the columns of *verde antico* were brought from the Baths of Zenobia near Bagni. The immense size of the blocks of travertine used in the building gave it a solid grandeur. In the courtyard are two ancient sarcophagi: that on the right was brought from the tomb of Cecilia Metella, in the inner chamber of which it was discovered by a stone-cutter.

This palace was inherited by the Bourbon kings of Naples through descent from Elizabetta Farnese, who was the last of her line, and in the latter years of the Papal power it was the residence of the Neapolitan Court, who lived here in the utmost seclusion. It is now occupied by the French ambassador, and the witty and learned Padre Duchesne. The walls are painted with masterpieces of *Annibale Caracci*—mythological subjects, for which he was only paid 300 scudi—and a few frescoes by *Guido*, *Domenichino*, *Daniele da Volterra*, *Taddeo Zuccari*, and others; but there has not been much to see since the dispersion of the Farnese gallery of sculpture, of which the best pieces (the Bull, Hercules, Flora, &c.) are in the museum at Naples.

'The painting of the gallery at the Farnese Palace is supposed to have partly caused the death of Caracci. Without fixing any price he set about it, and employed both himself and all his best pupils nearly seven years in perfecting the work, never doubting that the Farnese family, who had employed him, would settle a pension upon him or keep him in their service. When his work was finished they paid him as you would pay a house-painter, and this ill-usage so deeply affected him, that he took to drinking and never painted anything great afterwards.'—*Miss Berry's 'Journals.'*

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[1] There is a chapel dedicated to S. Bridget in S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Sion House, in England, was a famous convent of the Brigittines.

The noble fountains in front of the palace fall into granite basins (*labra*) found in the Baths of Caracalla in the time of Paul II.

'The pleasant, natural sound of running water, not unlike that of a distant cascade in the forest, may be heard in many of the Roman streets and piazzas, when the tumult of the city is hushed; for consuls, emperors, and popes, the great men of every age, have found no better way of immortalising their memories than by the shifting, indestructible, ever-new, yet unchanging, upgush and downfall of water. They have written their names in that unstable element, and proved it a more durable record than brass or marble.'—*Hawthorne.*

When Evelyn was at Rome in 1644–45, he wrote of the Piazza Farnese: "Here the gentlemen of Rome in summer take their *fresco* in their coaches and on foot." It is now the French Embassy, but negotiations for its purchase by the Italian Government are in hand.

Behind the Palazzo Farnese (R.) runs the long **Via Giulia**, which contains the ugly fountain of the Mascherone. Close to the picturesque arch which leads to the Farnese Gardens is the Church of **S. Maria della Morte** or **Dell' Orazione**, built by Fuga. It is in the hands of a pious Confraternity who devote themselves to the burial of the dead who have been either abandoned or murdered—Fratelloni della Buona Morte. On November 2 curious wax figures with reference to death are visited by crowds in the vaults below the church.

'L'église de la *Bonne-Mort* a son caveau décore dans le style funèbre comme le couvent des Capucins. On y conserve aussi élégamment que possible les os des noyés, asphyxiés et autres victimes des accidents. La confrérie de la *Bonne-Mort* va chercher les cadavres; un sacristain assez adroit les dessèche et les dispose en ornements. J'ai causé quelque temps avec cet artiste: "Monsieur," me disait-il, "je ne suis heureux qu'ici, au milieu de mon œuvre. Ce n'est pas pour les quelques écus que je gagne tous les jours en montrant la chapelle aux étrangers; non; mais ce monument que j'entretiens, que j'embellis, que j'égaye par mon talent, est devenu l'orgueil et la joie de ma vie." Il me montra ses matériaux, c'est-à-dire quelques poignées d'ossements jetés en tas dans un coin, fit l'éloge de la pouzzolane, et témoigna de son mépris pour la chaux. "La chaux brûle les os," me dit-il; "elle les fait tomber en poussière. On ne peut faire rien de bon avec les os qui ont été dans la chaux. C'est de la drogue (*robaccia*)."'—*About.*

Beyond the arch is the **Palazzo Falconieri** (with falcons sculptured at the angles), built by Borromini about 1650. There is something rather handsome in the tall three-arched loggia, as seen from the back of the courtyard, which overhangs the Tiber opposite the Farnesina. The poet Monti sang the charms of Costanza Falconieri; now the family are extinct. Cardinal Fesch (uncle of Napoleon I.) lived here, and here formed the gallery of pictures which was dispersed at his death, having been vainly offered by him during the last years of his life to the English Government, in exchange for an annuity of £4000 per annum. This palace, the residence of Leo XIII. before his accession to the throne, was (to his great distress) sold in 1892 to a Jew.

In the Via S. Eligio, which opens on the left, is the pretty little circular church of **S. Eligio**, built 1509, from a design attributed to Raffaelle.

Farther on—down the Via Giulia—are the **Carceri Nuove**, prisons established by Innocent X. (appropriately reached by the Via del Malpasso), and then the **Palazzo Sacchetti**, built by Antonio da Sangallo for his own residence, and adorned by him with the arms of his patron, Paul III., and the grateful inscription, 'Tu mihi quodcumque hic rerum est.' The collection of statues which was formed here by Cardinal Ricci was removed to the Capitol by Benedict XIV., and became the foundation of the present Capitoline collection. This is the palace described by Zola as Palazzo Boccanera.

In front of the Palazzo Farnese, beyond its own piazza, is entered that known as the **Campo de' Fiori**, a centre of commerce among the working-classes, and the scene on Wedesday mornings of a curious market of mingled vegetables, drapery, and antiquities. Close by, in the **Piazza del Paradiso**, old books may be purchased. The most terrible of the Autos da Fé instituted by the Dominicans, in which many Jews and other heretics were burnt alive, were held in the Campo de' Fiori. Now a bronze statue of Giordano Bruno marks the spot where he was burnt.

This spot, with delightful colour and interesting movement, has, as its monument to Giordano Bruno reveals, exceedingly tragic associations, owing to its having been the favourite locality for public executions by fire. On February 9, 1600, the sentence upon him was read in the convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva, Bruno being covered with the San Benito with red devils on its yellow ground, in the midst of a happy crowd of priests, monks, and soldiers. After the reading of his sentence, Bruno looking up at the inquisitors said, 'You have more fear in uttering such a sentence than I have in receiving it.' The victim was now delivered to the magistrate, who was requested to shed no blood. The furnace was already prepared by the Church; but the lay authority must light it. To increase his ordeal, Bruno was now remanded for eight more days, after having endured seven years' imprisonment. Finally, on February 17 (a jubilee feast in that year of Clement VIII., who chanted mass that day in the Gesù), at the centre of an enormous crowd, this moral and intellectual martyr was taken to the piazza, thronged already from pavement to roofs, and chained to the stake in the name of the God of Love and burned, not uttering word or cry.

'One of the most remarkable sufferers here was Giordano Bruno, who was born at Nola, A.D. 1559. His chief heresy was ardent advocacy of the Copernican system, the author of which had died ten years before Bruno's birth.'

The Albergo del Sole, near this, has existed at least since 1469.

On the left of this piazza is the **Palace of the Cancelleria**, finished in 1494 by Antonio da Montecavallo. The actual architect is not known. The cortile is perhaps by Bramante. It was built for Cardinal Riario, who, long disgraced under the Borgias, rose to renewed power with his relative Julius II. But the family being mixed up with the Petrucci conspiracy in 1517, the palace was confiscated. The huge blocks of travertine of which it is built

were taken from the Coliseum, and the marbles from the arch of Gordianus, at the entrance of the Pretorian Camp. It is universally regarded as the most beautiful example of early renaissance architecture. The chief portal was an addition by Domenico Fontana. The colonnades of the court have forty-four granite pillars, brought from the neighbouring Library of S. Lorenzo, erected by Pope Damasus, 366–384, who had plundered them from the Theatre of Pompey. The roses with which their (added) capitals are adorned are in reference to the arms of Cardinal Riario, nephew of Sixtus IV. The frescoes of the great saloon by *Vasari*, *Salviati*, and other contemporary masters, depict events in the life of Paul III., and are also interesting as representing many ancient Roman buildings.

This palace was the seat of the Tribunal of the Cancelleria Apostolica. In June 1848, the Roman Parliament, summoned by Pius IX., was held here. In July, while the deputies were seated here, the mob burst into the council-chamber, and demanded the instant declaration of war against Austria. On the 15th of November the foot of its staircase was the scene of the murder of Count Rossi.

'C'était le 16 Novembre 1848, le ministre de Pie IX. voué dès longtemps à la mort, dont la presse séditieuse disait : "Si la victime condamnée parvient à s'échapper, elle sera poursuivie sans relâche, en tout lieu ; le coupable sera frappé par une main invisible, se fût-il réfugié, sur le sein de sa mère ou dans le tabernacle du Christ."

'Dans la nuit du 14 au 15 Novembre de jeunes étudiants, réunis dans cette pensée, s'exercent sans frémir sur un cadavre apporté à prix d'or au théâtre Capranica ; et quand leurs mains infâmes furent devenues assez sûres pour le crime, quand ils sont certains d'atteindre au premier coup la veine jugulaire, chacun se rend à son poste.—"Gardez-vous d'aller au Palais Législatif, la mort vous y attend," fait dire au ministre une Française alors à Rome, Madame la Comtesse de Menon : "Ne sortez pas, ou vous serez assassiné !" lui écrit de son côté la Duchesse de Rignano. Mais l'intrépide Rossi, n'écoutant que sa conscience, arrive au Quirinal. A son tour le pape le conjure d'être prudent, de ne point s'exposer, afin, lui dit-il. "D'éviter à nos ennemis un grande crime, et à moi une immense douleur."—"Ils sont trop lâches, ils n'oseront pas." Pie IX. le bénit, et il continue de se diriger vers la chancellerie. . . .

'. . . Sa voiture s'arrête, il descend au milieu d'hommes sinistres, leur lance un regard de dédain, et, continuant sans crainte ni peur, il commence à monter ; la foule presse en sifflant, l'un le frappe sur l'épaule gauche : d'un mouvement instinctif il retourne la tête, decouvrant la veine fatale, il tombe, se relève, monte quelques marches, et retombe inondé de sang.'—*M. de Bellevue.*

Entered from the courtyard of the palace is the **Church of SS. Lorenzo in Damaso**, from designs of Vignola and Bramante, removed by Cardinal Riario in 1495, from another site a little farther west, where it had been founded by Pope Damasus. It consists of a short nave and aisles, divided by richly-detailed columns, with an apse and chapels. At the end of the **left aisle** is a curious black Virgin, much revered. Opening from the **right aisle** is the chapel of the Massimi, with several tombs ; a good modern monument of Princess Gabrielli, &c. Against the western wall is a seated statue of S. Hippolytus, Bishop of Porto, copied from that at the Lateran. His relics are preserved here, with those of S. Giovanni Calabita, and many other saints. The tomb of Count Rossi is also here, inscribed, 'Optimam mihi causam tuendam assumpsi, miserebitur Deus.' The

story of his death is told in the words: 'Impiorum consilio meditata caede occubuit.' He was embalmed and buried on the night of his murder for fear of further outrage. S. Francis Xavier used to preach here in the sixteenth century. This is one of the churches which has been most ruined by Virginio Vespignani in recent times. The fine vaulted roof has been replaced by a vulgar ceiling, and the magnificent effect of light and shadow arranged by the architect from one great semicircular window behind the tribune has been annihilated by the insertion of a number of side-windows.

It was here that Pope Damasus (*c.* 366–384) founded his *Archivium*, or Public Library, placing in it one of his famous inscriptions, saying, 'I have erected this building for the archives of the Roman Church; I have surrounded it with porticoes on either side; and I have given it my name, which I hope will be remembered for centuries.' The hope has been realised, for the place is still S. Lorenzo in Damaso.

Near this was the site of the stables and headquarters of *The Greens*, one of the four squadrons of the charioteers of the circus (*agitatores circenses*), brought into especial notice by the follies of Caligula, and preserving supreme popularity till the time of Hadrian. In allusion to this Juvenal says: 'All Rome flocked to the circus to-day. . . . The greens, as usual, won the day, otherwise I should see the city in deep mourning, just as if the consuls had been slain over again at Cannae.' A pedestal was found here, dedicated to the African jockey Crescens, who, at twenty-eight, had already gained 1,558,346 sesterces.[1]

Built into the line of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, just beyond the Cancelleria, is a very pretty little palace, a gem of renaissance architecture, carefully finished in all its details. It is sometimes called **Palazzetto Farnese**, or **Farnesina de' Baullari**, and was built in 1523 by Antonio da Sangallo the younger for Thomas Le Roy, Bishop of Dol, who had come to reside in Rome and had risen to high honours under Leo X.: his lilies often appear in its decorations. He died here October 1524, and was buried in Trinità de' Monti; his heart was sent to Nantes. It afterwards belonged to the Orsini, Martinozzi Bucimazza, Silvestri, Linotte, and the Zorio, who sold it in 1887 to the city of Rome for £6000. It is to be a renaissance museum of prints and engravings. It was never finished on the north side. In digging the foundations for a new façade in 1901, remains of a classic building have been found—a house decorated with frescoes recalling some of those of Pompeii.

Turning to the left, in front of the Palazzo Farnese, we reach the **Piazza Capo di Ferro**, one side of which is occupied by the **Palazzo Spada alla Regola** (now the Court of Cassation), built in 1564 by Cardinal Capodiferro, but afterwards altered and adorned by Borromini. The courtyard is rich in sculptured ornament. The palace is always visible.

In the hall on the first floor is the famous statue believed to be

[1] E. Caëtani-Lovatelli, *Antichi Monumenti*, p. 145, one of the most charming of Roman archæological writers.

that of Pompey, at the foot of which Julius Caesar fell. Suetonius narrates that it was removed by Augustus from the Curia, and placed upon a marble Janus arch in front of the theatre (of Pompey). Near that spot was the existing statue found, lying under the partition-wall of two houses, whose proprietors intended to evade disputes by dividing it, when Cardinal Capodiferro interfered, and in return received it as a gift from Pope Julius III., who bought it for 500 gold crowns.

> 'And thou, dread statue! yet existent in
> The austerest form of naked majesty,—
> Thou who beheldest, 'mid the assassins' din,
> At thy bathed base the bloody Caesar lie,
> Folding his robe in dying dignity,
> An offering to thine altar from the queen
> Of gods and men, great Nemesis! did he die,
> And thou, too, perish, Pompey? have ye been
> Victors of countless kings, or puppets of a scene?'
>
> —*Byron*, '*Childe Harold*.'

'Hac facie, Fortuna, tibi, Romana placebas.'—*Lucan, Phars.* viii. 686.

'I saw in the Palazzo Spada the statue of Pompey: the statue at whose base Caesar fell. A stern tremendous figure! I imagined one of greater finish: of the last refinement: full of delicate touches: losing its distinctness in the giddy eyes of one whose blood was ebbing before it, and settling into some such rigid majesty as this, as Death came creeping over the upturned face.'—*Dickens.*

'Caesar was persuaded at first by the entreaties of his wife, Calpurnia, who had received secret warning of the plot, to send an excuse to the senate; but afterwards, being ridiculed by Brutus for not going, was carried thither in a litter. . . . At the moment when Caesar descended from his litter at the door of the hall, Popilius Laena approached him, and was observed to enter into earnest conversation with him. The conspirators regarded one another, and mutually revealed their despair with a glance. Cassius and others were grasping their daggers beneath their robes; the last resource was to despatch themselves. But Brutus, observing that the manner of Popilius was that of one supplicating rather than warning, restored his companions' confidence with a smile. Caesar entered; his enemies closed in a dense mass around him, and while they led him to his chair kept off all intruders. Trebonius was specially charged to detain Antonius in conversation at the door. Scarcely was the victim seated, when Tillius Cimber approached with a petition for his brother's pardon. The others, as was concerted, joined in the supplication, grasping his hands and embracing his neck. Caesar at first put them gently aside, but, as they became more importunate, repelled them with main force. Tillius seized his toga with both hands, and pulled it violently over his arms. Then P. Casca, who was behind, drew a weapon, and grazed his shoulder with an ill-directed stroke. Caesar disengaged one hand, and snatched at the hilt, shouting, "Cursed Casca, what means this?"—"Help," cried Casca to his brother Lucius, and at the same moment the others aimed each his dagger at the devoted object. Caesar for an instant defended himself, and even wounded one of his assailants with his stylus: but when he distinguished Brutus in the press, and saw the steel flashing in his hand also, "What! thou, too, Brutus!" he exclaimed, let go his hold of Casca, and drawing his robe over his face, made no further resistance. The assassins stabbed him through and through, for they had pledged themselves, one and all, to bathe their daggers in his blood. Brutus himself received a wound in their eagerness and trepidation. The victim reeled a few paces, propped by the blows he received on every side, till he fell dead at the foot of Pompeius' statue.'—*Merivale*, ch. xxi.

Unfortunately, the head is an ancient one of an unknown person. It does not belong to the body, and it is not a portrait of Pompey.

Another colossal naked statue at the Villa Castelazzo, near Milan, thus unnecessarily disputes the honour of being the historic statue with that of the Palazzo Spada.

The collection of pictures in this palace is little worth seeing. Among its other sculptures are eight reliefs, which until 1620 were turned upside down, and used as a pavement in S. Agnese fuori le Mura; and a statue miscalled Aristotle, the head being Roman and the body Greek.

A little farther, on the right, in its own piazzetta, is the **Church of the Trinità dei Pellegrini**, built in 1614, the façade designed by Francesco de Sanctis. Over the high altar is a picture of the Trinity by *Guido*.

The hospital attached to this church was founded by S. Filippo Neri for receiving and nourishing, for a space of from three to seven days, pilgrims of pious intention, who had come from more than sixty miles' distance. It is divided into two sections, for males and females. Here, during Holy Week, the feet of the pilgrims were publicly washed, those of the men by princes, cardinals, &c., those of the women by queens, princesses, and other ladies of rank. In this case the washing was a reality, the feet not having been 'prepared beforehand,' as was done for the Lavanda at S. Peter's.

An authentic portrait of S. Filippo Neri is preserved here, said to have been painted surreptitiously by an artist who happened to be one of the inmates of the hospital. When S. Filippo saw it, he said, 'You should not have stolen me unawares.'

The building in front of this church, usually alive with poor folk, is the **Monte di Pietà**, founded by the Padre Calvo in the fifteenth century, to preserve the people from suffering under the usury of the Roman money-lenders. It is a Government establishment, where money is lent at the rate of 5 per cent. to every class of person. Poor people, especially 'Donne di facenda,' who have no work in the summer, thankfully avail themselves of this, and pawn their necklaces and earrings, which they are able to redeem when the means of subsistence come back with the blessed return of the forestieri. Many Roman servants go through this process annually; and though the Monte di Pietà is often a scene of great suffering when unredeemed goods are sold for the benefit of the establishment, it probably in the main serves to avert much evil from the poorer classes.

The Via di Ferro here leads direct to P°. Farnese, the bent cornice of which can be descried down it. To the R. of the church the street next it leads direct to Ponte Sisto and the Tiber with views of S. Peter's, on the right. In front rises the Janiculum.

A short distance farther, following the Via de' Specchi, surrounded by miserable houses (in one of which is a beautiful gothic window of two lights, divided by a spiral column), is the small **Church of S. Maria in Monticelli** or **Arenula**, which has a campanile of 1110. Admission may always be obtained through the sacristy to visit the famous 'miracle-working' picture called 'Gesù Nazareno,' a modern half-length, with the eyelids drooping and

half-closed. By an illusion of the painting, the eyes, if watched steadily, appear to open and then slowly to close again as if falling asleep. The effect is very curious. In the case of this picture, Pope Pius IX. turned Protestant, and disapproving of the attention it excited, caused its secret removal. Remonstrance was made that the picture had been *regalo* to the church, and ought not to be taken away, and when it was believed to be sufficiently forgotten, it was sent back by night. The mosaics in the apse of this obscure church are for the most part quite modern, but enclose a grand and expressive head of the Saviour, which dates from 1099, when it was ordered by Pope Paschal II.

A little to the left of this church, facing the modern **Piazza Benedetto Cairoli**, is the vast **Palazzo Santa Croce**. This palace will bring to mind the murder of the Marchesa Costanza Santa Croce by her two sons (because she would not name them her heirs), on the day when the fate of her cousin Beatrice Cenci was trembling in the balance, which partly brought about the condemnation of Beatrice—the then Pope, Clement VIII., determining to make her punishment 'an example to all parricides.'

The late Prince of Santa Croce claimed to be a direct descendant of Valerius Publicola, the 'friend of the people,' who is commemorated in the name of a church in the Ghetto, 'Sancta Maria de Publicolis.' His married daughters always have 'nata Principessa Publicola' printed upon their cards. The palace is now the property of the youngest, the Contessa di Santa Fiora.[1]

This, like the neighbouring Cenci palace, is one of the many haunted houses in Rome: it is said that by night two statues of Santa Croce cardinals descend from their pedestals, and rattle their marble trains along its quiet galleries. In recent alterations for the sake of making a lift, an *oubliette* was discovered, lined with sharp-pointed instruments, and at the bottom lay a mass of skeletons, one of them in armour, with a dagger driven through the helmet far into the skull. A figure, fully dressed, but mummified, was also found walled up in a niche. The late Princess Santa Croce was one night awakened by a man, dripping with water, rising up through the floor by her bedside. She had seized the bell and was about to ring it, when he fell upon his knees and implored her to desist. He proved to be a political prisoner, who had escaped from his captors in crossing the bridge as he was being taken to the castle of S. Angelo, and had jumped over the bridge into the Tiber. His guards pursued him swimming, and his strength was just giving in, when he saw the opening of a drain, crept into it, and followed a secret passage, which led him ultimately to the room in which he now was. The princess found that his story was correct, and as he had been guilty of no crime, and the Palazzo S. Croce had the right of Sanctuary, she kept him there hidden for some days, and eventually conveyed him safely out of Rome in her own carriage.

[1] In considering these claims it is to be remembered that thousands of freedmen took these great names, and transmitted them, and Maximus was a cognomen by no means the exclusive property of the Fabii.

On the opposite side of the Piazza Benedetto Cairoli is the great **Church of S. Carlo a' Catinari**, built in the seventeenth century, from designs of Rosati and Soria for the Barnabiti. It is in the form of a Greek cross. The lofty **cupola** is adorned with frescoes of the cardinal virtues by *Domenichino;* and a fresco of S. Carlo, by *Guido*, once on the façade of the church, is now preserved in the choir. Over the high altar is a large picture by *Pietro da Cortona* of S. Carlo in a procession during the plague at Milan. In the 1st chapel, R., is the Annunciation, by *Lanfranco;* in the 2nd chapel, L., the Death of S. Anna, by *Andrea Sacchi*. On the pilaster of the last chapel, R., is a good modern tomb, with delicate detail. The cord which S. Carlo Borromeo wore round his neck in the penitential procession during the plague at Milan is preserved as a relic here. The Catinari, from whom this church is named, were makers of wooden tubs, who had stalls in the adjoining piazza, or sold their wares on its steps. The street opening from hence (Via de' Giubbonari) contains on its right the **Palazzo Pio**; at the back of which are the principal remains of the **Theatre of Pompey**, which was of great magnificence, being the first constructed of stone in Rome, and capable of containing 17,580 people. The Via de' Chiavari, R., follows the line of the proscenium towards the Teatro Argentina. The bronze statue of Hercules (Mastai) now in the Vatican, was found on the site of the theatre in 1864. The thirteenth century Orsini had a stronghold here as the Pierleoni and Savelli in the Theatre of Marcellus. The name of the church **S. Maria in Grotta Pinta** comes from the painted decorations of a vault in Pompey's Theatre. The piazza of this name occupies the cavea of the theatre. In the porticus (of a hundred columns) attached to this theatre Brutus sat as praetor on the morning of the murder of Julius Caesar. Adjoining was the Curia, or Senate-Hall, where,

> 'In his mantle muffling up his face,
> Even at the base of Pompey's statue,
> Which all the while ran blood, great Caesar fell.'[1]

This occupied the area now covered by Via del Sudario and Via de' Barbieri.

Behind the remains of the theatre, facing the modern Corso Vittorio Emanuele, rises the **Church of S. Andrea della Valle**,[2] begun in 1591 by Olivieri and finished by Carlo Maderno. The façade, which faces the modern Corso Vittorio Emanuele, is by Carlo Rainaldi. The **cupola** is covered with frescoes by *Lanfranco*, those of the four Evangelists at the angles being by *Domenichino*, who also painted the Flagellation and Glorification of S. Andrew in the tribune. Beneath the latter are frescoes of events in the life of S. Andrew by *Calabrese*.

'In the fresco of the Flagellation, the apostle is bound by his hands and feet to four short posts set firmly in the ground; one of the executioners, in

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[1] Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act iii. sc. 2.

[2] So called from a slight hollow, scarcely now perceptible, left by a reservoir made by Agrippa for the public benefit.

tightening a cord, breaks it and falls back; three men prepare to scourge him with thongs: in the foreground we have the usual group of the mother and her frightened children. This is a composition full of dramatic life and movement, but unpleasing.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* p. 229.

In the **2nd chapel** (left) is the tomb of Giovanni della Casa, Archbishop of Beneventum, 1556.

The last piers of the nave are occupied by the tombs of Pius II., Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1458–64), and Pius III., Todeschini (1503), removed from the old Basilica of S. Peter's. The tombs are hideous erections in four stages, by Niccolo della Guardia and Pietro da Todi. The epitaph of the famous Aeneas Sylvius is as good as a biography.

"Pius II., sovereign pontiff, a Tuscan by nation, by birth a native of Siena, of the family of the Piccolomini, reigned for six years. His pontificate was short, but his glory was great. He united a Christian council (Basle) in the interests of the faith. He resisted the enemies of the holy Roman see, both in Italy and abroad. He placed Catherine of Siena amongst the saints of Christ. He abolished the pragmatic sanction in France. He re-established Ferdinand of Arragon in the kingdom of Sicily. He increased the power of the Church. He established the alum mines which were discovered near Talpha. Zealous for religion and justice, he was also remarkable for his eloquence. As he was setting out for the war which he had declared against the Turks, he died at Ancona. There he had already his fleet prepared, and the Doge of Venice, with his senate, as companion in arms for Christ. Brought to Rome by a decree of the fathers, he was laid in this spot, where he had ordered the head of S. Andrew, which had been brought him from the Peloponnese, to be placed. He lived fifty-eight years nine months and twenty-seven days. Francis, Cardinal of Siena, raised this to the memory of his revered uncle, MDLXIV.'

Pius III., who was the son of a sister of Aeneas Sylvius, only reigned for twenty-six days. His tomb was the last to be placed in the old S. Peter's, which was pulled down by his successor. Opposite the church was the palace of Pietro della Valle, the famous traveller.

The funeral of the last of the Stuarts, miscalled Henry IX. of England, Cardinal York, was celebrated here, July 16, 1807, in the presence of Pope Pius VII. and the Sacred College.

To the right from S. Andrea della Valle runs the Via della Valle, on the right of which is the **Palazzo Vidoni** (formerly called Caffarelli, and Stoppani), the lower portion of which was designed by Raffaelle in 1513, the upper floor being a later addition. There were a few antiquities preserved here, among them the 'Calendarium Praenestinum' of Verrius Flaccus, being five months of a Roman calendar found by Cardinal Stoppani at Palestrina. At the foot of the stairs is a statue of Marcus Aurelius. But the marbles in the palace are said (1903) to have been recently sold. Removed recently to the staircase from one corner of the palace on the exterior, is the mutilated statue familiarly known as the *Abbate Luigi*, which was made to carry on witty conversation with the Madama Lucrezia near S. Marco, as Pasquino did with Marforio. In Piazza della Valle is a fine statue of Nicolo Spedalieri. It is now the residence of the Giustiniani-Bandini.

In the neighbouring Vicolo del Melone several enormous capitals

have been found, 6 feet high and 24 feet in circumference, belonging to the colonnade entitled Bonus Eventus.

Following the Corso Vittorio Emanuele from S. Andrea della Valle on the right, following the bend of the (once much narrower) street, is the gloomy but curious **Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne**, built *c.* 1526 by Baldassare Peruzzi, and supposed to occupy the site of the Odeum. The semicircular portico displays six doric columns. The staircase and fountain are peculiar and picturesque. In the loggia is a fine antique lion. The palace is not often shown, but is a good specimen of one of the smaller Roman princely houses.

This palace has more than the usual amount of terrible associations which cling around old Roman houses. In the sixteenth century Lelio, chief of the house of Massimo, had six sons by his wife, Girolama Savelli. After her death in 1571, he married one Eufrosina, who had been mistress to the great Marcantonio Colonna, by whom her husband Corberio had been murdered. On her marriage to Lelio Massimo in 1585, his sons refused to receive her, and five of them entered her room and shot her dead on the day after her wedding. Their father died of a broken heart, solemnly cursing them, and they died unnatural deaths; only Pompeo Massimo, who had refused to assist in his stepmother's murder, living to continue the line. The present Princess Massimo is daughter of the Duchesse de Berri and great-niece of Marie Antoinette.

The entrance-hall has its distinctive daïs and canopy adorned with the motto of the family, 'Cunctando Restituit,' in allusion to the descent which they claim from the dictator Fabius Maximus, who is described by Ennius as having 'saved the republic by delaying.'

'Napoléon interpella un Massimo avec cette brusquerie qui intimidait tant de gens: "Est-il vrai," lui dit-il, "que vous descendiez de Fabius-Maximus?" "Je ne saurais le prouver," répondit le noble romain, "mais c'est un bruit qui court depuis plus de mille ans dans notre famille."'—*About.*

On the second floor, approached through a series of picturesque old rooms with sixteenth-century furniture, is a **chapel** in memory of the temporary resuscitation to life by S. Filippo Neri of Paolo Massimo, a youth of fourteen, who had died of a fever, March 16, 1584. On that day, by ancient custom, the Massimo family 'receive' all day, and the chapel is open to the public for eight days after.

'S. Filippo Neri was the spiritual director of the Massimo family; it is in his honour that the Palazzo Massimo is dressed up in festal guise every 16th of March. The annals of the family narrate, that the son and heir of Prince Fabrizio Massimo died of a fever at the age of fourteen, and that S. Philip, coming into the room amid the lamentations of the father, mother, and sisters, laid his hand upon the brow of the youth and called him by his name, on which he revived, opened his eyes, and sate up. "Art thou unwilling to die?" asked the saint. "No," sighed the youth. "Art thou resigned to yield thy soul to God?" "I am." "Then go," said Philip. "Va, che sii benedetto, e prega Dio per noi.—The boy sank back on his pillow with a heavenly smile on his face and expired.'—*Jameson's 'Monastic Orders.'*

The back of the palace towards the Piazza Navona is covered with curious frescoes by *Daniele di Volterra*.

In buildings belonging to this palace, Pannartz and Schweinheim established the first printing-office in Rome in 1455. The rare editions of this time bear, in addition to the name of the printers, the inscription, 'In aedibus Petri de Maximis.'

'Conrad Sweynheim et Arnold Pannartz s'établirent près de Subiaco, au monastère de Sainte-Scholastique, qui était occupé par les Bénédictins de leur nation, et publièrent successivement, avec le concours des moines, les *Œuvres de Lactance*, la *Cité de Dieu* de Saint-Augustin, et le traité *de Oratore* de Cicéron. En 1467, ils se transportèrent à Rome, au palais Massimi, où ils s'associèrent Jean-André de Bussi, évêque d'Aleria, qui avait étudié sous Victorin de Feltre, et dont la science leur fut d'une haute utilité pour la correction de leurs textes. Le savant évêque leur donnait son temps, ses veilles :—"Malheureux métier," disait-il, "qui consiste non pas à chercher des perles dans le fumier, mais du fumier parmi les perles ?"—Et cependant il s'y adonnait avec passion, sans même y trouver l'aisance. Les livres, en effet, se vendirent d'abord si mal que Jean-André de Bussi n'avait pas toujours de quoi se faire saire la barbe. Les premiers livres qu'il publia chez Conrad et Arnold furent la *Grammaire de Donatus*, à trois cents exemplaires, et les *Epîtres familières de Cicéron*, à cinq cent cinquante.'—*Gournerie*, '*Rome Chrétienne*,' ii. 79, 1.

Farther, on the right, is the modernised **Church of S. Pantaleone**, built originally in 1219 by Honorius III., and given by Gregory XV., in 1641, to S. Giuseppe Calasanza, founder of the order of the Scolopians, and of the institution of the Scuola Pia. He died in 1648, and is buried here in a porphyry sarcophagus. The façade is by Giuseppe Valadier, 1806. In the piazza is a statue of the statesman Marco Minghetti, 1818–86.

Adjoining this is the handsome **Palazzo Braschi** (Ministero dell' Interno), the last result of Papal nepotism in Rome—built at the end of the eighteenth century by Morelli, for the Duke Braschi, nephew of Pius VI. The staircase, which is perhaps the finest in Rome, is adorned with sixteen columns of red oriental granite. The Braschi Pope collected all the proudest devices of heraldry and had them arranged for his own coat of arms, whence the epigram :—

'Redde aquilam imperio, Francorum lilia regi,
Sidera redde polo, caetera, Brasche, tibi.'

The palace has been recently sold to the Minister of the Interior for 1,500,000 lire.

At the farther corner of the Braschi Palace stands the mutilated Greek statue, called **Pasquino**. It takes its name from a witty, deformed tailor, who once kept a shop opposite, and used to entertain his customers with the clever scandal of the day. After his death his name was transferred to the statue, on whose pedestal were appended biting criticisms upon passing events, sometimes in the form of dialogues which Pasquino was supposed to hold with his friend Marforio, another statue, then at the foot of the Capitol. From the repartees appended to this statue is derived the term Pasquinade.

'This Pasquin is an author eminent on many accounts. First, for his self-concealment, being *noscens omnia* and *notus nemini*. Secondly, for his

intelligence, who can display the deeds of midnight at high noon, as if he hid himself in the holes of their bed-staves, knowing who were cardinal's children better than they knew their fathers. Thirdly, for his impartial boldness. He was made all of tongue and teeth, biting whate'er he touch'd, and it bled whate'er he bit: yea, as if a General Council and Pasquin were only above the Pope, he would not stick to tell where he trod his only sandals awry. Fourthly, for his longevity, having lived (or rather lasted) in Rome some hundreds of years, whereby he appears no particular person, but a successive Corporation of Satyrists. Lastly, for his impunity, escaping the Inquisition; whereof some assign this reason, because hereby the Court of Rome comes to know her faults, or rather to know that her faults are known; which makes Pasquin's converts (if not more honest) more wary in their behaviour.'—*Fuller's 'Worthies,'* 1662.

In the sixteenth century Cardinal Caraffa (afterwards strangled in S. Angelo) used to court popularity by making up and dressing the statue in various characters for the procession which passed on St. Mark's Day.

Pasquin was naturally regarded as a mortal enemy by the popes, who, on several occasions, made vain attempts to silence him. The bigoted Adrian VI. wished to have the statue burnt and then thrown into the Tiber; but it was saved by the suggestion of Ludovico Suessano, that his ashes would turn into frogs, who would croak louder than he had done. When Marforio, in the hope of stopping the dialogues, was shut up in the Capitoline Museum, the Pope attempted to incarcerate Pasquino also, but he was defended by his proprietor, Duke Braschi. Among offensive pasquinades which have been placed here are:—

'Venditur hic Christus, venduntur dogmata Petri:
Descendam infernum ne quoque vendar ego.'

Amongst the earliest pasquinades were those against the venality and evil life of Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia, 1492–1503):

'Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum:
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest;'

and,

'Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero—Sextus et iste;
Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit;'

and, upon the body of his son Giovanni, murdered by his brother Caesar Borgia, being fished up on the following day from the Tiber:

'Piscatorem hominum ne te non, Sexte, putemus,
Piscaris natum retibus ecce tuum.'

In the reign of the warlike Julius II. (1503–13), of whom it was said that he threw the keys of Peter into the Tiber while marching his army out of Rome, declaring that the sword of Paul was more useful to him:

'Cum Petri nihil efficiant ad proelia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit;'

and, in allusion to his warlike beard:

'Huc barbam Pauli, gladium Pauli, omnia Pauli:
Claviger ille nihil ad mea vota Petrus.'

At a moment of great unpopularity:

'Julius est Romae, quid abest? Date, numina, Brutum,
Nam quoties Romae est Julius, illa perit.'

In reference to the sale of indulgences and benefices by Leo X.:

'Dona date, astantes; versus ne reddite; sola
Imperat aethereis alma Moneta deis;'

and to his love of buffoons:

'Cur non te fingi scurram, Pasquille, rogasti?
Cum Romae scurris omnia jam liceant;'

and with reference to the death of Leo, suddenly, under suspicion of poison, and without the sacrament:

'Sacra sub extremâ, si forte requiritis, horâ
Cur Leo non potuit sumere; vendiderat.'

On the death of Clement VII. (1534), attributed to the mismanagement of his physician, Matteo Curzio:

'Curtius occidit Clementem—Curtius auro
Donandus, per quem publica parta salus.'

To Paul III. (1534–50), who attempted to silence him, Pasquin replied:

'Ut canerent data multa olim sunt vatibus aera;
Ut taceam, quantum tu mihi, Paule, dabis?'

Upon the spoliation of ancient Rome by Urban VIII.:

'Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini.'

Upon the passion of Innocent X. (1644–55) for his sister-in-law, Olympia Maidalchini:

'Magis amat Olympiam quam Olympium.'

Upon Christina of Sweden, who died at Rome in 1689:

'Regina senza Regno,
Christiana senza Fede,
E Donna senza Vergogna.'

In reference to the severities of the Inquisition during the reign of Innocent XI. (1676–89):

'Se parliamo, in galera; se scriviamo, impiccati; se stiamo in quiete, al santo uffizio. Eh!—che bisogna fare?'

To Francis of Austria, on his visit to Rome:

'Gaudium urbis,—fletus provinciarum,—risus mundi.'

After an awful storm, and the plunder of the works of art by Napoleon, occurring together:

'L' Altissimo in sù, ci manda la tempesta,
L' Altissimo quà giù, ci toglia quel che resta
E fra li due Altissimi,
Stiamo noi mallissimi.'

During the stay of the French in Rome:

'I Francesi son tutti ladri.'

. . . . .

'Non tutti—ma Buona parte.'

Against the vainglorious follies of Pius VI. Pasquin was especially bitter. Pius finished the sacristy of S. Peter's, and inscribed over its entrance, 'Quod ad Templi Vaticani ornamentum publica vota flagitabant, Pius VI. fecit.' The next day Pasquin retorted:

'Publica! mentiris! Non publica vota fuere,
Sed tumidi ingenii vota fuere tui.'

Upon his nepotism, when building the Braschi Palace:

'Tres habuit fauces, et terno Cerberus ore
Latratus intra Tartara nigra dabat.
Et tibi plena fame tria sunt vel quatuor ora
Quae nulli latrant, quemque sed illa vocant.'

And in allusion to the self-laudatory inscriptions of this Pope upon all his buildings at a time when the two-baiocco loaf of the common people was greatly reduced in size, one of these tiny loaves was exhibited here, with the satirical notice, 'Munificentia Pii Sexti.'

But perhaps the most remarkable of all Pasquin's productions is his famous 'Antithesis Christi':

'Christus regna fugit—Sed vi Papa subjugat urbem.
Spinosam Christus—Triplicem gerit ille coronam.
Abluit ille pedes—Reges his oscula praebent.
Vectigal solvit—Sed clerum hic eximit omnem.
Pavit oves Christus—Luxum hic sectatur inertem.
Pauper erat Christus—Regna hic petit omnia mundi.
Bajulat ille crucem—Hic servis portatur avaris.
Christus spernit opes—Auri hic ardore tabescit.
Vendentes pepulit templo—Quos suscipit iste.
Pace venit Christus—Venit hic radiantibus armis.
Christus mansuetus venit—Venit ille superbus.
Quas leges dedit hic—Praesul dissolvit iniquus.
Ascendit Christus—Descendit ad infera Praesul.'

'Jan. 16, 1870.—The public opinion of Rome has only one traditional organ. It is that mutilated block of marble called Pasquin's statue . . . on which are mysteriously affixed by unknown hands the frequent squibs of Roman mother-wit on the events of the day. That organ has now uttered its cutting joke on the Fathers in Council. Some mornings ago there was found pasted in big letters on this defaced and truncated stump of a once choice statue the inscription, "Libero come il Concilio." The sarcasm is admirably to the point.'—*Times.*

The statue called Pasquino is said to represent Menelaus with the body of Patroclus, and to be part of a group similar to two which still exist at Florence. Bernini protested that this was 'the finest piece of ancient sculpture in Rome.' Under the pontificate of Innocent X., Bonelli states, the statue was temporarily 'restored' as Neptune.

Following the Via dell' Anima from hence, on the right, opposite the mediaeval **Torre Mellina**, is the **Church of S. Agnese**. It was

built in 1642 by Girolamo Rainaldi, in the form of a Greek cross, upon the site of the scaffold where S. Agnese, in her fourteenth year, was condemned to be burned alive.[1] When

'The Blessed Agnes, with her hands extended in the midst of the flames, prayed thus: "It is to Thee that I appeal, to Thee the all-powerful, adorable, perfect, terrible God. O my Father, it is through Thy most Blessed Son that I have escaped from the menaces of a sacrilegious tyrant, and have passed unblemished through shameful abominations. And thus I come to Thee, to Thee whom I have loved, to Thee whom I have sought, and whom I have always chosen." '—*Roman Breviary.*

Then the flames, miraculously changed into a heavenly shower, refreshed instead of burning her, and dividing in two, while leaving her uninjured, consumed her executioners; and the virgin saint cried out:—

' "I bless Thee, O Father of my God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who, by the power of this Thy well-beloved Son, commanded the fire to respect me."

'At this age, a young girl trembles at an angry look from her mother; the prick of a needle draws tears as easily as a wound. Yet fearless under the bloody hands of her executioners, Agnes is immovable under the heavy chains which weigh her down; ignorant of death but ready to die, she presents her body to the point of the sword of a savage soldier. Dragged against her will to the altar, she holds forth her arms to Christ through the fires of the sacrifice; and her hand forms even in those blasphemous flames the sign which is the trophy of a victorious Saviour. She presents her neck and her two hands to the fetters which they bring for her, but it is impossible to find any small enough to encircle her delicate limbs.'—*S. Ambrose.*

The statue of S. Sebastian in this church is an antique altered by *Maini;* that of S. Agnes is by *Ercole Ferrata;* the relief of S. Cecilia is by *Antonio Raggi.* The columns of verde-antico at the high altar belonged to the Arch of Marcus Aurelius in the Corso. Over the entrance are the half-length figure and tomb of Innocent X., Gio. Battista Pamfili (1644–55), an amiable (?) but feeble Pope, who was entirely governed by his strong-minded and avaricious sister-in-law, Olympia Maidalchini, who deserted him on his death-bed, making off with the accumulated spoils of his ten years' Pontificate, which enabled her son, Don Camillo, to build the Palazzo Doria Pamfili in the Corso, and the beautiful Villa Doria Pamfili.[2]

'After the three days during which the body of Innocent remained exposed at S. Peter's, say the memoirs of the time, no one could be found who would undertake his burial. They sent to tell Donna Olympia to prepare for him a coffin and escutcheon, but she answered that she was a poor widow. Of all his other relations and nephews, not one gave any signs of life: so that at length the body was carried away into a chamber where the masons kept their tools. Some one, out of pity, placed a lighted tallow-candle near the head; and some one else having mentioned that the room was full of rats, and that they might eat the corpse, a person was found who was willing to pay for a watcher. And after another day had elapsed, Monsignor Scotti, the majordomo, had pity upon him, and prepared him a coffin of poplar-wood, and Monsignor Segni, Canon of S. Peter's, who had been his majordomo, and whom he had dismissed, returned him good for evil, and expended five crowns for his burial.'—*Gregorovius.*

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[1] The story of S. Agnes is told by S. Jerome.

[2] Donna Olympia soon after died of the plague at her villa near Viterbo.

Beneath the church are vaulted chambers, said to be part of the house of infamy where S. Agnes was publicly exposed[1] before her execution.

'As neither temptation nor the fear of death could prevail with Agnes, Sempronius thought of other means to vanquish her resistance; he ordered her to be carried by force to a place of infamy, and exposed to the most degrading outrages. The soldiers, who dragged her thither, stripped her of her garments; and when she saw herself thus exposed, she bent down her head in meek shame and prayed; and immediately her hair, which was already long and abundant, became like a veil, covering her whole person from head to foot; and those who looked upon her were seized with awe and fear as of something sacred, and dared not lift their eyes. So they shut her up in a chamber, and she prayed that the limbs which had been consecrated to Jesus Christ should not be dishonoured, and suddenly she saw before her a white and shining garment, with which she clothed herself joyfully, praising God, and saying, "I thank Thee, O Lord, that I am found worthy to put on the garment of Thine elect!" and the whole place was filled with miraculous light, brighter than the sun at noonday.

. . . . . .

'The chamber which, for her preservation, was filled with heavenly light, has become, from the change of level all over Rome, as well as from the position of the church, a subterranean cell, and is now a chapel of peculiar sanctity, into which you descend by torchlight. The floor retains the old mosaic, and over the altar is a bas-relief representing S. Agnes, with clasped hands, and covered only by her long tresses, while two ferocious soldiers drive her before them. The upper church, as a piece of architecture, is beautiful, and rich in precious marbles and antique columns. The works of art are all mediocre, and of the seventeenth century, but the statue over her altar has considerable elegance. Often have I seen the steps of this church, and the church itself, so crowded with kneeling worshippers at matins and vespers, that I could not make my way among them;—principally the women of the lower orders, with their distaffs and market baskets, who had come thither to pray, through the intercession of the patron saint, for the gifts of meekness and chastity—gifts not abounding in these regions.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art.'*[2]

Here, on the festival of S. Agnes, the Papal choir sing the antiphons of the virgin saint, and the hymn 'Jesu Corona Virginum.'

The front of S. Agnese opens upon the **Circo Agonale** or **Piazza Navona**, a vast oblong ellipse, which had seats for 30,088 spectators, occupying the site of the Circus Agonalis of Domitian, and decorated with three handsome fountains. That in the centre, by *Bernini*—'a fable of Esop done into stone'—supports an obelisk brought back from the Circus of Maxentius, where it was re-erected. Around the mass of rock which supports the obelisk are figures of the gods of the four largest rivers (Danube, Nile, Ganges, Rio della Plata). That of the Nile veiled his face, naïvely said Bernini, that he might not be shocked by the façade which was added by Borromini to the Church of S. Agnes.

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[1] 'Les maisons de la Place Navone sont assises sur la base des anciens gradins du cirque de Domitien. Sous ces gradins étaient les voûtes habitées par des femmes perdues.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 137.

[2] Yorkshire maidens, anxious to know who their future spouse is to be, still consult S. Agnes on S. Agnes's Eve, after twenty-four hours' abstinence from everything but pure spring water, in the words:—

'S. Agnes, be a friend to me
In the boon I ask of thee:
Let me this night my husband see.'

'Bernin s'ingénia de creuser un des fameux piliers de S. Pierre pour y pratiquer un petit escalier montant à la tribune; aussitôt le dôme prit coup et se fendit. On fut obligé de le relier tout entier avec un cercle de fer. Ce n'est point raillerie, le cercle y est encore; le mal n'a pas augmenté depuis. Par malheur pour le pauvre cavalier, on trouva dans les Mémoires de Michel-Ange qu'il avait recommandé, *sub poenâ capitis*, de ne jamais toucher aux quatre piliers massifs faits pour supporter le dôme, sachant de quelle masse épouvantable il allait les charger; le pape voulait faire pendre Bernin, qui, pour se rédimer, inventa la fontaine Navone.'—*De Brosses.*

The lower fountain, also by *Bernini*, is adorned with tritons and the figure of a Moor. The great palace to the left of the church (after the Collegio Innocenziano), is the **Palazzo Pamfili**, built by *Rainaldi* for Innocent X. in 1650. It possesses a ceiling painted by *Pietro da Cortona* with the adventures of Aeneas, extolled by many poets of the time. Its music-hall is occasionally used for public concerts. Other rooms are decorated with beautiful stucco friezes coloured by Gaspar Poussin and Romanelli.

The Pamfili family claim a legendary descent from Numa Pompilius, altering his name to Numa Pamfilio. In the ninth century Amanzio Pamfili received many castles from Charlemagne. His son Pietro rebuilt Gubbio in 917, and greatly increased the possessions of his house. The family were summoned to Rome by Sixtus IV., on account of his friendship for Antonio Pamfili da Gubbio, whose grandson, Camillo, was the father of six children, of whom Giovanni Battista became pope, and Pamfilio married Olympia Maidalcchini, of Viterbo, who disported herself here and reigned during the Pontificate of her brother-in-law.

'The great object of Donna Olympia was to keep at a distance from Innocent every person and every influence that could either lessen her own, or go shares in the profits to be extracted from it. For this, after all, was the great and ultimate scope of her exertions. To secure the profits of the Papacy in hard cash; this was the problem. No appointment to office of any kind was made, except in consideration of a proportionable sum paid down into her own coffers. This often amounted to three or four years' revenue of the place to be granted. Bishoprics and benefices were sold as fast as they became vacant. One story is told of an unlucky disciple of Simon, who on treating with the Pope for a valuable see, just fallen vacant, and hearing from her a price at which it might be his, far exceeding all he could command, persuaded the members of his family to sell all they had for the purpose of making this profitable investment. The price was paid, and the bishopric was given to him, but, with a fearful resemblance to the case of Ananias, he died within the year, and his ruined family saw the see a second time sold by the insatiable and incorrigible Olympia. . . . During the last year of Innocent's life, Olympia literally hardly ever quitted him. Once a week, we read, she left the Vatican, secretly by night, accompanied by several porters carrying sacks of coins, the proceeds of the week's extortions and sales, to her own palace. And during these short absences, she used to lock the Pope into his chamber, and take the key with her!'—*Trollope's 'Life of Olympia Pamfili.'*

The long sweep of grand chrome and orange palaces from end to end; the sound of the fountain-waters; the balconies with nespoli, in pots, and oleanders, in tubs; the shops of cereals and pottery; finally, the great church with its bells and the children below with their playing, make a picture too interesting to be neglected. The grandiose Braschi Palace at the E. end, with stars and fleurs-de-lis

alternately under its cornice, is now converted into the Ministry of the Interior.

On the opposite side of the piazza is the modernised **Church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli**, dating from the fifteenth century. It possesses poor gothic rose-windows (renewed), which are almost unique in Rome; but the scallop-shells, with which the front was richly adorned, have been removed by the restorers, who failed to understand that well-known emblem of S. James of Compostella. There is a handsome door on the other side towards the Via della Sediola. Hither the body of Alexander VI. (afterwards taken to S. Maria di Monserrato) was first removed when it was turned out of S. Peter's. The lower end of the square near this is occupied by the **Palazzo Lancellotti**, built by Pirro Ligorio, simple externally, but very magnificent within. The destruction of the *majorat* combined with a distinct inheritance has made Prince Lancellotti far richer than his elder brother Prince Massimo, from whom he has purchased the famous **Statue of the Discobolus**, a copy of the bronze statue of Myron, found in 1761, near the ruins mis-known as the Trophies of Marius. This is more beautiful and better preserved than the Discobolus of the Vatican, of which the head is erroneously restored.

The statue is never shown now, except by special permission.

Behind Palazzo Lancellotti is the frescoed front of Palazzo Massimo, mentioned above. Under the Popes, during the hot months, the singular custom prevailed of occasionally stopping the escape of water from the fountains of the Piazza Navona, and so turning the square into a lake, through which the rich splashed about in carriages, and ate ices and drank coffee in the water, while the poor looked on from raised galleries. It is supposed that this practice was a remnant of the pleasures of the Naumachia, once annually exhibited on this spot, formerly the Circus Agonalis. The central level of the piazza, which had been used as a market from 1447, has been raised of late, to the great injury of the fountains.

Vitale Mascardi gives an extraordinary account of the magnificent tournament held here in 1634 in honour of the visit of Prince Alexander of Poland, when the piazza was hung with draperies of gold and silver, and Donna Anna Colonna and Donna Costanza Barberini awarded gorgeous prizes of diamonds to noble and princely competitors.

Nearly opposite S. Agnese, a short street leaving the piazza, leads to the front of the **Palazzo Madama**, long the residence of the Governors of Rome, now the **Palazzo del Senato**, which is sometimes said to derive its ancient name from Margaret of Parma, daughter of Charles V., who once occupied it, and sometimes from Catherine de' Medici, who also lived here, and under whom it was altered to its present form by Paolo Marucelli. In the time of the Papal power the balcony toward the piazza was used every Saturday at noon for the drawing of the Roman lottery. It is decorated with modern frescoes by C. Maccari.

Close by is the **Church of S. Luigi dei Francesi**, rebuilt 1589, with

a façade by Giacomo della Porta. It contains a number of tombs of eminent Frenchmen who have died in Rome, and some good pictures.

Following the **R. aisle**, the 2nd chapel has frescoes from the life of S. Cecilia by *Domenichino* (she gives clothes to the poor—is crowned by an angel with her husband, Valerian, refuses to sacrifice to idols—suffers martyrdom—enters into heaven).

'Domenichino is often cold and studied in the principal subject, while the subordinate persons have much grace and a noble character of beauty. Of this the two frescoes in S. Luigi at Rome, from the life of S. Cecilia, are striking examples. It is not the saint herself, bestowing her goods from a balcony, who contributes the chief subject, but the masterly group of poor people struggling for them below. The same may be said of the death of the saint, where the admiration and grief of the bystanders are inimitable.'—*Kugler.*

'Reclining on a couch, in the centre of the picture, her hand pressed on her bosom, her dying eyes raised to heaven, the saint is breathing her last; while female forms of exquisite beauty and innocence are kneeling around or bending over her. The noble figure of an old man, whose clasped hands and bent brow seem to bespeak a father's affection, appears on one side; and lovely children, in all the playful graces of unconscious infancy, as usual in Domenichino's paintings, by contrast heighten, yet relieve, the deep pathos of the scene. From above, an angel—such an angel as Domenichino alone knew how to paint, a cherub form of light and loveliness—is descending on rapid wing, bearing to the expiring saint the crown and palm of glory.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The copy of Raffaelle's S. Cecilia over the **altar** is by *Guido.* The **4th chapel** has on the right frescoes by *Girolamo Sicciolante*, on the left by *Pellegrino da Bologna*, the altar-piece is by *Giacomo del Conte.* The **5th chapel** has the monument of Agincourt (ob. 1814), the archaeologist, on the left that of Guérin the painter. The **high altar** has an Assumption by *Bassano.*

The **1st chapel** L. aisle has a S. Sebastian by *Massei.* In the **5th chapel**, of S. Matthew, three pictures by *Caravaggio* represent the vocation and martyrdom of that saint.

'The paintings of Caravaggio at S. Luigi belong to his most comprehensive works. The Martyrdom of S. Matthew, with the angel with a palm branch squatting upon a cloud, and a boy running away, screaming, though highly animated, is an offensive production. On the other hand, the Calling of the Apostle may be considered as a *genre* picture of grand characteristic figures; for instance, those of the money-changers and publican at the table; some of them counting money, others looking up astonished at the entrance of the Saviour.'—*Kugler.*

Amongst the monuments scattered over this church are those of Cardinal d'Ossat, ambassador of Henri IV.; Cardinal de la Grange d'Arquien, father-in-law of Sobieski, who died at the age of 105; Cardinal de la Trémouille, ambassador of Louis XIV.; Madame de Montmorin, with an epitaph by Chateaubriand; and Claude Lorraine, who was brought here in 1840 from Trinità de' Monti.

The pillars which separate the nave and aisles are of Sicilian jasper. They were intended for S. Ignazio, but when the Order of the Jesuits was dissolved by Clement XIV. he presented them to S. Luigi.

The site of this church, the Palazzo Madama, and their adjoining

buildings, were once occupied by the Baths of Nero,[1] restored by Alexander Severus, and afterwards called Thermae Alexandrinae.[2] They are commemorated by the name of the small church, '*S. Salvatore in Thermis.*'

In front of S. Luigi are the **Palaces Patrizi** and **Giustiniani**, and following—to the right—the Via della Sediola, on the left is the entrance to the **University of the Sapienza**, founded by Innocent IV. in 1244 as a law school. Its buildings were begun by Pius III. and Julius II., and extended by Leo X. from plans of Michelangelo. The portico was built under Gregory XIII. by Giacomo della Porta. The northern façade was erected by Borromini, with the ridiculous church (S. Ivo), built in the form of a bee to flatter Urban VIII., that insect being his (Barberini) device. The building is called the Sapienza, from the motto, 'Initium sapientiae timor Domini,' engraved over the window above the principal entrance. Forty professors teach here all the different branches of law, medicine, theology, philosophy, and philology.

Behind the Sapienza is the small **Piazza di S. Eustachio**, containing on three sides the *Giustiniani*, *Lante*, and *Maccarini* palaces. Close to this was the Ristoratore del Falcone (with a tavern where Ariosto stayed when he was in Rome), where a truly Roman dinner might be obtained, of wild boar, porcupine, &c.; *gnocchi a la Romana*, or *con patati*, *raviuoli*, the mixed fry known as *fritto misto*, *carciofi alla Giudea*, and *zampone di Modena con lenticchie* (sausage and beans), are excellent and characteristic dishes. The Piazza S. Eustachio was formerly celebrated for the festival of the Befana (Epifania), which is now held at Piazza Navona. As a reminiscence of old times, the following quotation is interesting:—

'The **piazza** and all the adjacent streets are lined with booths covered with every kind of plaything for children. These booths are gaily illuminated with rows of candles and the three-wick'd brass *lucerne* of Rome; and at intervals, painted posts are set into the pavement, crowned with pans of grease, with a wisp of tow for wick, from which flames blaze and flare about. Besides these, numbers of torches carried about by hand lend a wavering and picturesque light to the scene. By eight o'clock in the evening, crowds begin to fill the piazza and the adjacent streets. Long before one arrives, the squeak of penny trumpets is heard at intervals; but in the piazza itself the mirth is wild and furious, and the din that salutes one's ear on entering is almost deafening. The object of every one is to make as much noise as possible, and every kind of instrument for this purpose is sold at the booths. There are drums beating, *tamburelli* thumping and jingling, pipes squeaking, watchmen's rattles clacking, penny trumpets and tin horns shrilling, the sharpest whistles shrieking—and mingling with these is heard the din of voices, screams of laughter, and the confused burr and buzz of a great crowd. On all sides you are saluted by the strangest noises. Instead of being spoken to, you are whistled at. Companies of people are marching together in platoons, or piercing through the crowd in long files, and dancing and blowing like mad on their instruments. It is a perfect witches' Sabbath. Here, huge dolls dressed as Polichinello or Pantaloon are borne about for sale—or over the heads of the crowd great black-faced jumping-jacks, lifted on a stick, twitch themselves in fantastic fits—or, what is more Roman than all, long poles are carried about strung with rings of hundreds of *ciambelli* (a

[1] Martial, ii. 48, 8; vii. 34, 5; xii. 83, 5. Statius, *Sylv.* v. 62.
[2] Aur. Victor, *Caes.* 24.

light cake, called jumble in English), which are screamed for sale at a *mezzo baiocco* each. There is no alternative but to get a drum, whistle, or trumpet, and join in the racket, and to fill one's pockets with toys for the children, and absurd presents for one's older friends. The moment you are once in for it, and making as much noise as you can, you begin to relish the jest. The toys are very odd, particularly the Roman whistles; some of these are made of pewter, with a little wheel that whirls as you blow; others are of terra-cotta, very rudely modelled into every shape of bird, beast, or human deformity, each with a whistle in its head, breast, or tail, which it is no joke to hear when blown close to your ears by a stout pair of lungs. The scene is extremely picturesque. Above, the dark vault of night, with its far stars, the blazing and flaring of lights below, and the great, dark walls of the Sapienza and church looking down grimly upon the mirth.'—*Story's* '*Roba di Roma.*'

The **Church of S. Eustachio,** which has a good brick campanile, commemorates one who, first a brave soldier in the army of Titus in Palestine, became master of the horse under Trajan, and general under Hadrian. He is said to have suffered martyrdom for refusing to sacrifice to idols, by being roasted alive in a brazen bull before the Coliseum, together with his wife Theopista, and his sons Agapetus and Theopistus. The relics of these saints repose in a porphyry sarcophagus under the high altar. The stags' heads on the portico and on the apex of the gable refer to the legend of the conversion of S. Eustace:—

'One day, while hunting in the forest (at La Mentorella), he saw before him a white stag, of marvellous beauty, and he pursued it eagerly, and the stag fled before him and ascended a high rock. Then Placidus (Eustace was called Placidus before his conversion), looking up, beheld between the horns of the stag a cross of radiant light, and on it the image of the crucified Redeemer; and being astonished and dazzled by this vision, he fell on his knees, and a voice which seemed to come from the crucifix cried to him, and said, "Placidus! why dost thou pursue me? I am Christ, whom thou hast hitherto served without knowing me. Dost thou now believe?" And Placidus fell with his face to the earth, and said, "Lord, I believe!" And the voice answered, saying, "Thou shalt suffer many tribulations for My sake, and shalt be tried by many temptations: but be strong and of good courage, and I will not forsake thee." To which Placidus replied, "Lord, I am content. Do Thou give me patience to suffer!" And when he looked up again, the glorious vision had departed.'—*Jameson's* '*Sacred Art,*' p. 792.

A similar story is told of S. Hubert, S. Julian, and S. Felix.

A fresco of S. Peter by *Pierino del Vaga* in this church was much admired by Vasari, who dilates upon the boldness of its design, the simple folds of its drapery, its careful drawing and judicious treatment. Here was baptized in 1547 the famous Captain in the wars of Flanders, Alessandro Farnese.

Two streets lead from the Piazza S. Eustachio to—

The Pantheon, the most perfect pagan building in the city, originally built 27 B.C. by Marcus Agrippa; 'Vir simplicitati proprior quam deliciis,' as Pliny calls him. The restored inscription on the frieze, in huge letters, perfectly legible from beneath, 'M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT,' records its original construction. Another inscription on the architrave, now almost illegible, records its restoration under Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla, *c.* 202, who, 'Pantheum vetustate corruptum cum omni cultu restituerunt.' Hadrian had entirely rebuilt the Pantheon like the Augusteum, from the foundation after its destruction by lightning under Trajan,

and the level of the cella was originally two feet lower than it is now. The bricks bear consular dates from 115 to 124.

In A.D. 391 the Pantheon was closed as a temple, but in 608 it was consecrated as a Christian church by Pope Boniface IV., with the permission of the Emperor Phocas, under the title of **S. Maria ad Martyres**. To this dedication we owe the preservation of the main features of the building, though it had been terribly maltreated. In 663 the Emperor Constans II., who had come to Rome with much pretence of devotion to its shrines and relics, but who only stayed there twelve days, did not scruple, in spite of its dedication, to strip off the tiles of gilt bronze with which the roof was covered, and carry them off with him to Syracuse, where, upon his murder, a few years after, they fell into the hands of the Saracens. In 1087 the Pantheon was used by the anti-pope Guibert as a fortress, whence he made incursions upon the lawful Pope, Victor III., and his protector, the Countess Matilda. Pope Martin V. attempted the restoration of the Pantheon by clearing away the mass of miserable buildings by which it was encrusted, and his efforts were continued by Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V.; but Urban VIII. (1623–44), though he spent 15,000 scudi upon the Pantheon, and added two ugly campanili (called 'the asses' ears' in derision of their architect, Bernini), did not hesitate to plunder the gilt bronze ceiling of the portico, 450,250 lbs. in weight, to make eighty cannon for the Castle of S. Angelo, and to adorn the high-altar of S. Peter's. Benedict XIV. (1740–58) further despoiled the building by tearing away all the precious marbles of Septimius Severus which lined the attic, to ornament other buildings. The campanili of Urban VIII. were removed in 1885.

The Pantheon was not originally, as now, below the level of the piazza, but was approached by a flight of five steps. The pronaos, which is 110 feet long and 44 feet deep, is supported by sixteen grand monoliths of granite, 45 feet in height. The ancient bronze doors remain. On both sides are niches, once occupied by colossal statues of Augustus and Agrippa.[1]

'Agrippa wished to dedicate the Pantheon to Augustus, but he refused, and only allowed his statue to occupy a niche on the right of the peristyle, while that of Agrippa occupied a niche on the left.'—*Merivale.*

The **Interior** is a rotunda, 143 feet in diameter, covered by a dome coffered on the inner surface. It is only lighted by an aperture in the centre, 28 feet in diameter. Seven great niches around the walls once contained statues of different gods and goddesses, that of Jupiter being the central figure. They are now occupied by saints. All the surrounding columns are of giallo-antico (marmor Numidicum), except four, which are of pavonazetto and phrygian.

'Being deep in talk, it so happened that they found themselves near the majestic pillared portico and huge black rotundity of the Pantheon. It stands almost at the central point of the labyrinthine intricacies of the

[1] The statue of Agrippa is now in the Fondaco dei Turchi at Venice. *Cf. Venice*, Hare and Baddeley: 'Museo Correr.'

modern city, and often presents itself before the bewildered stranger when he is in search of other objects. Hilda, looking up, proposed that they should enter.

'They went in accordingly, and stood in the free space of that great circle, around which are ranged the arched recesses and the stately altars, formerly dedicated to heathen gods, but christianised through twelve centuries gone by. The world has nothing else like the Pantheon. So grand it is, that the pasteboard statues over the lofty cornice do not disturb the effect, any more than the tin crowns and hearts, the dusty artificial flowers, and all manner of trumpery gewgaws, hanging at the saintly shrines.[1] The rust and dinginess that have dimmed the precious marble on the walls; the pavement, with its great squares and rounds of porphyry and granite, cracked crosswise and in a hundred directions, showing how roughly the troublesome ages have trampled here; the grey dome above, with its opening to the sky, as if heaven were looking down into the interior of this place of worship, left unimpeded for prayers to ascend the more freely—all these things make an impression of solemnity, which S. Peter's itself fails to produce.

'"I think," said Kenyon, "it is to the aperture in the dome—that great eye, gazing heavenward—that the Pantheon owes the peculiarity of its effect. It is so heathenish, as it were—so unlike all the snugness of our modern civilisation! Look, too, at the pavement directly beneath the open space! So much rain has fallen here in the last two thousand years, that it is green with small, fine moss, such as grows over tombstones in damp English churchyards."

'"I like better," replied Hilda, "to look at the bright blue sky, roofing the edifice where the builders left it open. It is very delightful, in a breezy day, to see the masses of white cloud float over the opening, and then the sunshine fall through it again, fitfully, as it does now. Would it be any wonder if we were to see angels hovering there, partly in and partly out, with genial heavenly faces, not intercepting the light, but transmitting it into beautiful colours? Look at that broad, golden beam—a sloping cataract of sunlight—which comes down from the aperture, and rests upon the shrine, at the right hand of the entrance."'—'*Transformation.*'

'. . . "Entrons dans le temple," dit Corinne: "vous le voyez, il reste découvert presque comme il l'était autrefois. On dit que cette lumière qui venait d'en haut était l'emblème de la divinité supérieure à toutes les divinités. Les païens ont toujours aimé les images symboliques. Il semble en effet que ce langage convient mieux à la religion que la parole. La pluie tombe souvent sur ces parvis de marbre; mais aussi les rayons du soleil viennen éclairer les prières. Quelle sérénité! quel air de fête on remarque dans cet édifice! Les païens ont divinisé la vie, et les chrétiens ont divinisé la mort: tel est l'esprit des deux cultes."'—*Madame de Staël.*

'"Where," asked Redschid Pasha, on his visit to the Pantheon, "are the statues of the heathen gods?" "Of course they were removed when the temple was christianised," was the natural answer. "No," he replied, "I would have left them standing to show how the true God had triumphed over them in their own house."'—*Cardinal Wiseman.*

The aperture at the top of the Pantheon was originally closed by a movable bronze disc, or clypeus.

It is said that, while the Emperor Charles V. was in Rome (1536), he ascended the roof of the Pantheon, accompanied among others by one of the Crescenzi, a family which lived hard by. The latter youth afterwards vaunted that he had been of half a mind to have pushed his majesty into the abyss, and so to have avenged the cruel sacking of the city ten years previously. Hearing it, his

[1] Mr. Charles Greville (1830) fulfilled a vow in giving a silver horseshoe to the Madonna in the Pantheon when his mare won a race at Newmarket.

father retorted bitterly: 'We Crescenzi were used to do things, not to talk of doing them.'

The Pantheon has become the burial-place of painters. Raffaelle, Annibale Caracci, Taddeo Zucchero, Baldassare Peruzzi, Pierino del Vaga, and Giovanni da Udine, are all buried here.

The **3rd chapel**, L., contains the **Tomb of Raffaelle** (born April 6th, 1483; died April 6th, 1520). He was buried beside Maria, Cardinal Bibbiena's rich niece, whom he had refused out of love for La Fornarina. From the pen of Cardinal Bembo is the epigram—

> 'Ille hic est Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci
> Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori.'[1]

'Raffaelle mourut à l'âge de 37 ans. Son corps resta exposé pendant trois jours. Au moment où l'on s'apprêtait à le descendre dans sa dernière demeure, on vit arriver le pape (Léon X.), qui se prosterna, pria quelques instants, bénit Raphael, et lui prit pour la dernière fois la main, qu'il arrosa de ses larmes (si prostrò innanzi l'estinto Raffaello et baciogli quella mano, tra le lacrime). On lui fit de magnifiques funréailles, auxquelles assistèrent les cardinaux, les artistes, &c.'—*A. Du Pays.*[2]

> 'When Raffaelle went,
> His heavenly face the mirror of his mind,
> His mind a temple for all lovely things
> To flock to and inhabit—when he went,
> Wrapt in his sable cloak, the cloak he wore,
> To sleep beneath the venerable Dome,
> By those attended who in life had loved,
> Had worshipped, following in his steps to Fame
> ('Twas on an April day, when Nature smiles),
> All Rome was there. But, ere the march began,
> Ere to receive their charge the bearers came,
> Who had not sought him? And when all beheld
> Him, where he lay, how changed from yesterday,
> Him in that hour cut off, and at his head
> His last great work;[3] when, entering in, they looked
> Now on the dead, then on that masterpiece,
> Now on his face, lifeless and colourless,
> Then on those forms divine that lived and breathed
> And would live on for ages—all were moved;
> And sighs burst forth, and loudest lamentations.'
> —*Rogers.*

Taddeo Zuccaro and Annibale Caracci are buried on either side of Raffaelle. Near the high altar is a monument to Cardinal Consalvi (1757–1824), the faithful secretary and minister of Pius VII., by *Thorwaldsen.* This, however, is only a cenotaph, marking the spot where his heart is preserved. His body rests with that of his beloved brother Andrea in the Church of S. Marcello. Not far from these is the resting-place of Arcangelo Corelli, the famous violinist and composer.

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[1] 'Living, great Nature feared he might outvie
Her works; and, dying, fears herself to die.'
—*Pope's Translation (without acknowledgment) in his Epitaph on Sir Godfrey Kneller.*

[2] Raffaelle was dug up and shown in a glass case in the Pantheon in 1832, to settle a dispute between two Academies as to which had his skull: neither had it.

[3] Raffaelle lay in state beneath his last great work, *The Transfiguration.*

Here—not amidst their ancestors in the glorious Superga—rests the body of King Victor Emmanuel II., who died on the 9th of January 1878, in the palace of the Quirinal, and that of the late martyred King Humbert.

During the Middle Ages the Pope always officiated in the Pantheon on the day of Pentecost, when, in honour of the descent of the Holy Spirit, showers of white rose-leaves were continually sent down through the aperture during service.

'Though plundered of all its brass, except the ring which was necessary to preserve the aperture above; though exposed to repeated fire; though sometimes flooded by the river, and always open to rain, no monument of equal antiquity is so well preserved as this rotunda. It passed with little alteration from the pagan into the present worship; and so convenient were its niches for the Christian altar, that Michael Angelo, ever studious of ancient beauty, introduced their design as a model in the catholic church.'—*Forsyth.*

'Simple, erect, severe, austere, sublime—
Shrine of all saints and temple of all gods,
From Jove to Jesus—spared and bless'd by time,
Looking tranquillity, while falls or nods
Arch, empire, each thing round thee, and man plods
His way through thorns to ashes—glorious dome!
Shalt thou not last? Time's scythe and tyrants' rods
Shiver upon thee—sanctuary and home
Of art and piety—Pantheon! pride of Rome!'
—*Byron*, '*Childe Harold.*'

In the Piazza della Rotonda is a small **Obelisk** from Heliopolis, once belonging to the Iseum near S. Maria sopra Minerva, found in 1374, but placed here only in 1711. It belongs to Rameses II., and upon it he does homage to his illustrious ancestors.

'At a few paces from the streets where meat is sold, you will find gathered round the fountain in the Piazza della Rotonda, a number of bird-fanciers, surrounded by cages in which are multitudes of living birds for sale. Here are Java sparrows, parrots and paroquets, grey thrushes and nightingales, redbreasts (*petti rossi*), yellow canary birds, beautiful sweet-singing little *cardellini*, and gentle ringdoves, all chattering, singing, and cooing together, to the constant plashing of the fountain. Among them, perched on stands, and glaring wisely out of their great yellow eyes, may be seen all sorts of owls, from the great solemn *barbigiani*, and white-tufted owl, to the curious little *civetta*, which gives its name to all sharp-witted heartless flirts, and the *aziola*, which Shelley has celebrated in one of his minor poems.'—*Story's* '*Roba di Roma.*'

At some distance in front probably stood an arch known in mediaeval days as the *Arch of Piety*, from a relief which it bore representing the meeting of Trajan and the widow. Its name perhaps lingers in the little church of *La Madonna della Pietà*.

The removal of a number of paltry buildings at the back of the Pantheon in 1882 has laid bare some masses of ruin with fluted columns and cornices belonging to the **Baths of Agrippa.** These also are Hadrian's work. Till recently, the only remaining fragment of the Baths was supposed to be the *Arco di Ciambella* (a small semicircular ruin in the third street on the left of the Via della Rotonda), which derives its popular name from a fancied resemblance to a favourite cake of the people.

In the **Piazza della Pigna**, at the back of the Pantheon, is the church of **S. Giovanni della Pigna**, containing a tomb of one of the

Porcari, a family whose stronghold was close by, and a member of which was Stefano Porcari the reformer, who died in 1447 for the liberties of Rome.

The district between this and the Collegio Romano, once occupied by the Temples of Isis and Serapis, has been extremely productive of ancient sculptures and statues. The Tiber of the Louvre and the Nile of the Vatican were found here under Leo X., and, in recent times, many curious relics of Egyptian art and worship.[1]

Behind the Pantheon (left) is the **Piazza della Minerva**, where a small *Obelisk* was erected in 1667 by Bernini, on the back of an elephant.[2] It is in size similar to the obelisk in front of the Pantheon, and they were both found near this site, where they formed part of the decorations of the Iseum or Temple and Portico of Isis. The hieroglyphics on this obelisk show that it commemorates Uahabra, the ally of Zedekiah, king of Judah. On the pedestal is the inscription :—

> 'Sapientis Aegyptia insculptas obelisco figuras
> Ab elephanto belluarum fortissimo gestari
> Quisquis hic vides, documentum intellige
> Robustae mentis esse solidam sapientiam sustinere.'

One side of the Piazza is occupied by the unworthy front of the **Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva**,[3] built 1280–90 upon the ruins of a temple of Minerva Chalcidica, founded by Pompey. The statue of Minerva in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican was found here. This is the only gothic church in Rome of importance. It was built by the same architect-monk, Fra Sista, who designed S. Maria Novella at Florence. In 1848–55 it was redecorated with tawdry imitation marbles, which have only a good effect where there is not sufficient light to scrutinise them. In spite of this, the solemn interior is very interesting, and its chapels constitute a museum of relics of art and history. Under the former Papal government this church was celebrated for its services, many of which were exceedingly imposing, especially the procession on the night before Christmas, the mass of S. Thomas Aquinas, and that of 'the white mule day.' Some celebrated divine generally preaches here at 11 A.M. every morning in Lent.

Hither, during the rule of the Popes, on the feast of the Annunciation, came the famous 'Procession of the White Mule,' when the host was borne by the Grand Almoner riding on the Papal mule, followed by the Pope in his glass coach, and a long train of cardinals and other dignitaries. Up to the time of Pius VI., it was the

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[1] Now in the Villa Mattei, the Piazzas della Rotonda, della Minerva, and della Stazione, the Spheristerion at Urbino, and (fragmentary) the Villa Albani.

[2] The design was copied by Bernini from a woodcut in Colonna's *Poliphili Hypnerotomachia*. Aldus : Venice, 1499.

[3] 'A mixture of sacred and profane conceptions is to be found in the names of such Roman churches as S. Maria in Minerva, S. Stefano del Cacco (Kynokephalos), S. Lorenzo in Matuta, S. Salvatore in Tellure, all conspicuous landmarks in the history of the transformation of Rome.'—*Lanciani*, '*Pagan and Christian Rome*.'

Pope himself who rode upon the white mule, but Pius VII. was too infirm, and after his time the Popes gave it up. But this procession continued to be one of the finest *spectacles* of the kind, and afforded an opportunity for a loyal demonstration, balconies being hung with scarlet draperies, and flowers showered down upon the Papal coach, while the Pope, on arriving and departing, was usually received with the tumultuous 'evviva.'

In this church, on Sept. 3rd, 1687, Molinos abjured the error of his books, in the presence of the cardinals and judges of the Inquisition. It was here also that Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo) was forced to do public penance in April 1791 for his magical arts, before his imprisonment in the Castle of S. Angelo, where he died four years later.

On the right of the entrance is the tomb of Diotisalvi, a Florentine knight, ob. 1492. Beginning the circuit of the church by the **right aisle**, the **first chapel** has a picture of S. Ludovico Bertrando, by *Baccicio*, the paintings on the pilasters being by *Muziani*. In the **2nd**, the Colonna Chapel, is the tomb of the Princess Colonna (Donna Isabella Alvaria of Toledo) and her child, who both died at Albano in the cholera of 1867. The **3rd chapel** is that of the Gabrielli family. The **4th** is that of the Annunciation. Over its altar is an interesting picture, shown without reason as a work of Fra Angelico. It represents Monsignore Torquemada attended by an angel, presenting three young girls to the Virgin, who gives them dowries: the Almighty is seen in the clouds. Torquemada was a Dominican Cardinal, who founded the association of the Santissima Annunziata, which holds it meetings in this chapel, and which annually gives dowries to a number of poor girls, who used to receive them from the pope when he came here in state on the 25th of March. On this occasion the girls who were to receive the dowries were drawn up in two lines in front of the church. Some were distinguished by white wreaths. These were those who were going to 'enter into religion,' and who consequently received double the dowry of the others, on the plea that 'money placed in the hands of religion bears interest for the poor.'

Torquemada is himself buried in this chapel, opposite the tomb, by Ambrogio Buonvicino, of his friend Urban VII., Giov. Battista Castagna, 1590—who was Pope only for eleven days.

The **5th chapel** is the burial-place of the Aldobrandini family. It contains a faded Last Supper by *Baroccio*.

'The Cenacolo of Baroccio, painted by order of Clement VIII. (1594), is remarkable for an anecdote relating to it. Baroccio, who was not eminent for a correct taste, had in his first sketch reverted to the ancient fashion of placing Satan close behind Judas, whispering in his ear, and tempting him to betray his Master. The Pope expressed his dissatisfaction—"che non gli piaceva il demonio si dimesticasse tanto con Gesù Christo"—and ordered him to remove the offensive figure.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* p. 277.

Here are the fine tombs erected by Clement VIII. (Ippolito Aldobrandini), as soon as he attained the Papacy, to his father and mother. Their architecture is by *Giacomo della Porta*, but the

figures are by *Cordieri*, the sculptor of S. Silvia's statue. At the side of the mother's tomb are figures emblematical of Charity; by that of the father, figures of Humility and Vanity. Beyond his mother's tomb is a fine statue of Clement VIII. himself (who is buried at S. Maria Maggiore), by *Ippolito Buzi*.

'Hippolyte Aldobrandini, qui prit le nom de Clément VIII. était le cinquième fils du célèbre jurisconsulte Silvestro Aldobrandini, qui, après avoir professé à Pise et joui d'une haute autorité à Florence, avait été condamné à l'exil par le retour au pouvoir des Médicis, ses ennemis. La vie de Silvestre devint alors pénible et calamiteuse. Dépouillé de ses biens, il sut, du moins, toujours ennoblir son malheur par la dignité de son caractère. Sa famille présentait un rare assemblage de douces vertus et de jeunes talents qu'une forte éducation développait chaque jour avec puissance. Appelé à Rome par Paul III., qui le nomma avocat consistorial, Silvestre s'y transporta avec son épouse, la pieuse Leta Deti, qui, pendant trente-sept ans, fut pour lui comme son bon ange, et avec tous ses enfants, Jean, qui devait être un jour cardinal; Bernard, qui devint un vaillant guerrier; Thomas, qui préparait déjà peut-être sa traduction de Diogène-Laërce; Pierre, qui voulut être jurisconsulte comme son père; et le jeune Hippolyte, un enfant alors, dont les saillies inquiétaient le vieillard, car il ne savait comment pourvoir à son éducation et utiliser cette vivacité de génie qui déjà brillait dans son regard. Hippolyte fut élevé aux frais du cardinal Farnèse; puis, tous les emplois, toutes les dignités vinrent successivement audevant de lui, sans qu'il les cherchât autrement qu'en s'en rendant digne.' — *Gournerie*, '*Rome Chrétienne*,' ii. 238.

The **7th chapel** contains two cinque-cento tombs; on the left, Benedetto Superanzio, Bishop of Nicosia, ob. 1495; on the right, a Spanish bishop, Giovanni da Coca, with frescoes. Close to the former tomb, on the floor, is the grave of (Archdeacon) Robert Wilberforce, who died at Albano in 1857.

Here we enter the **R. transept.** On the **right** is a small dark chapel containing a Crucifix, attributed to Giotto. The **central**, or **Caraffa Chapel**, is dedicated to S. Thomas Aquinas, and is covered with well-preserved frescoes. On the **right**, S. Thomas Aquinas is represented surrounded by allegorical figures, by *Filippino Lippi*. Over the altar is a beautiful Annunciation, in which a portrait of the donor, Cardinal Olivieri Caraffa, is introduced.[1] Above, is the Assumption of the Virgin. On the ceiling are the four Sibyls, by *Raffaellino del Garbo*.

Against the **left wall** is the tomb of Paul IV., Gio. Pietro Caraffa (1555–59), the great supporter of the Inquisition, the patron of the Jesuits, and the persecutor of the Jews—a Pope so terrible to look upon, that even Alva, who feared no man, trembled at his awful aspect. Such he is represented upon his tomb, with deeply sunken eyes and strongly marked features, with one hand raised in blessing —or cursing, and the keys of S. Peter in the other. The tomb was designed by Pirro Ligorio; the statue is the work of Giacomo and Tommaso Casignuola, and being made in marble of different pieces and colours, is cited by Vasari as an instance of a sculptor's ingenuity in imitating painting with his materials. The epitaph runs:—

[1] These once beautiful frescoes have been ruined by a recent restoration.

'To Jesus Christ, the hope and the life of the faithful; to Paul IV. Caraffa, sovereign pontiff, distinguished amongst all by his eloquence, his learning, and his wisdom; illustrious by his innocence, by his liberality, and by his greatness of soul; to the most ardent champion of the catholic faith, Pius V., sovereign pontiff, has raised this monument of his gratitude, and of his piety. He lived eighty-three years one month and twenty days, and died 14th August 1559, the fifth year of his pontificate.'[1]

On the **transept wall**, just outside this chapel, is the beautiful gothic tomb, by *Giovanni Cosmati*—one of the best works of his school — of Guillaume Durandus, bishop of Mende,[2] with a recumbent figure guarded by two angels, the background being occupied by a mosaic of the Virgin and Child.

The **1st chapel** on a line with the choir—the burial-place of the Altieri family—has an altar-piece, by *Carl Maratta*, representing five saints canonised by Clement X. presented to the Virgin by S. Peter. On the floor is the incised monument of a bishop of Sutri.

The **2nd chapel**—which contains a fine cinque-cento tomb—is that of the Rosary. Its ceiling, representing the mysteries of the Rosary, is by *Marcello Venusti;* the history of S. Catherine of Siena is by *Giovanni de' Vecchi;* the large and beautiful Madonna with the Child over the altar is attributed to *Fra Angelico.* Here is the tomb of Cardinal Capranica of 1470.

Beneath the **high altar**, with lamps always burning before it, is a marble sarcophagus with a beautiful figure, enclosing the body of S. Catherine of Siena. In it her relics were deposited in 1461 by Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence. On the last pillar to the right is an inscription stating that 'all the indulgences and privileges in every church, of all the religious orders, mendicant or not mendicant, in every part of the world, are granted specially to this church, where is some considerable portion of the body of S. Catherine of Siena.'

'S. Catherine was one of twenty-five children born in wedlock to Jacopo and Lupa Benincasa, citizens of Siena. Her father exercised the trade of dyer and fuller. In the year of her birth, 1347, Siena reached the climax of its power and splendour. It was then that the plague of Boccaccio began to rage, which swept off 80,000 citizens, and interrupted the building of the great Duomo. In the midst of so large a family and during these troubled times, Catherine grew almost unnoticed, but it was not long before she manifested her peculiar disposition. At six years old she already saw visions and longed for a monastic life: about the same time she used to collect her childish companions together and preach to them. As she grew her wishes became stronger: she refused the proposals which her parents made that she should marry, and so vexed them by her obstinacy that they imposed on her the most servile duties in their household. These she patiently fulfilled, at the same time pursuing her own vocation with unwearied ardour. She scarcely slept at all, and ate no food but vegetables and a little bread, scourged herself, wore sackcloth, and became emaciated, weak, and half-delirious. At length the firmness of her character and the

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[1] See Gregorovius, *Grabmäler der Päpste.*

[2] Author of the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*—'A treasure of information on all points connected with the decorations and services of the mediaeval church. Durandus was born in Provence about 1230, and died in 1296 at Rome.'—*Lord Lindsay.*

force of her hallucination won the day. Her parents consented to her assuming the Dominican robe, and at the age of thirteen she entered the monastic life. From this moment till her death we see in her the ecstatic, the philanthropist, and the politician combined to a remarkable degree. For three whole years she never left her cell except to go to church, maintaining an almost unbroken silence. Yet, when she returned to the world, convinced at length of having won by prayer and pain the favour of her Lord, it was to preach to infuriated mobs, to toil among men dying of the plague, to execute diplomatic negotiations, to harangue the republic of Florence, to correspond with queens, and to interpose between kings and popes. In the midst of this varied and distracting career she continued to see visions and to fast and scourge herself. The domestic virtues and the personal wants and wishes of a woman were annihilated in her: she lived for the Church, for the poor, and for Christ, whom she imagined to be constantly supporting her. At length she died (at Rome, on the 29th of April 1380, in her 33rd year), worn out by inward conflicts, by the tension of a half-delirious ecstasy, by want of food and sleep, and by the excitement of political life.'—*Symond's 'Sketches of Greece and Italy.'*

'Canonised by Pius II., Catherine of Siena has a claim upon our reverence higher than that of a saint of the mediaeval church. A low-born maiden, without education or culture, she gave the only possible expression in her age and generation to the aspiration for national unity and for the restoration of ecclesiastical purity.'—*Creighton, 'The Papacy during the Reformation.'*

On the **R.** of the **high altar** is a statue of S. John by *Obicci;* on the left is the famous statue of Christ by *Michelangelo.* This is one of the sculptures which Francis I. tried hard to obtain for Paris. Its effect is marred by the bronze drapery.

'Son corps ne porte pas marque de souffrance, son visage ne porte pas marque de douleur. Il est grave et non pas triste, il pense et ne s'afflige pas. Il tient d'un bras ferme l'instrument de son martyre comme un chef d'armée tient son drapeau ou son épée.'—*Emile Montégut.*

Behind, in the **choir**, are the tombs of two Medici popes. On the left is Leo X., Giovanni de' Medici (1513–21). This great Pope, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, was destined to the Papacy from his cradle. He was ordained at seven years old, was made a cardinal at seventeen, and Pope at thirty-eight, and at the installation procession to the Lateran rode upon the same horse upon which he had been taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna. His reign was one of fêtes and pleasures. He was the patron of artists and poets, and Raffaelle and Ariosto rose into eminence under his protection. His tomb is from a design of Bandinelli, but the figure of the Pope is by Raffaello da Montelupo.

Near the foot of Leo X.'s tomb is the flat monumental stone of Cardinal Bembo, his friend and the friend of Raffaelle, who died 1547. His epitaph has been changed. The original inscription, half-pagan, half-Christian, ran:—

'Hic Bembus jacet Aonidum laus maxima Phoebi
Cum sole et luna vix periturus honos.
Hic et fama jacet, spes, et suprema galeri
Quam non ulla queat restituisse dies.
Hic jacet exemplar vitae omni fraude carentis,
Summa jacet, summa hic cum pietate fides.'

On the **R.** of the **choir** is the tomb by Bandinelli, of Clement VII., Giulio de' Medici (1523–34), son of the Giulio who fell in the

conspiracy of the Pazzi—who in his unhappy reign saw the sack of Rome (1527) under the Constable de Bourbon, and the beginning of the separation from England under Henry VIII. The figure of the Pope is by Bigio. Among other graves here is that of the English Cardinal Howard, ob. 1694. Just beyond the choir is a passage leading to a door into the Via S. Ignazio. Immediately on the left is the slab **tomb of Fra Angelico da Fiesole.** It is inscribed in words said to have been the last written by Pope Nicholas V., who died a few weeks after:—

'Hic jacet Vene Pictor Fl. Jo. de Florentia Ordinis
Praedicatorum, 1404.
Non mihi sit laudi quod eram alter Apelles,
Sed quod lucra tuis omnia, Christe, dabam.
Altera nam terris opera exstant, altera coelo.
Urbs me Johannem flos tulit Etruriae.'[1]

'Fra Angelico was simple and most holy in his manners—and let this serve for a token of his simplicity, that Pope Nicholas one morning offering him refreshment, he scrupled to eat flesh without the licence of his superior, forgetful for the moment of the dispensing authority of the pontiff. He shunned altogether the commerce of the world, and living in holiness and in purity, was as loving towards the poor on earth as I think his soul must be now in heaven. He worked incessantly at his art, nor would he ever paint other than sacred subjects. He might have been rich, but cared not to be so, saying that true riches consisted rather in being content with little. He might have ruled over many, but willed it not, saying there was less trouble and hazard of sin in obeying others. Dignity and authority were within his grasp, but he disregarded them, affirming that he sought no other advancement than to escape hell and draw nigh to Paradise. He was most meek and temperate, and by a chaste life loosened himself from the snares of the world, ofttimes saying that the student of painting hath need of quiet and to live without anxiety, and that the dealers in the things of Christ ought to live habitually with Christ. Never was he seen in anger with the brethren, which appears to me a thing most marvellous, and all but incredible; his admonitions to his friends were simple, and always softened by a smile. Whoever sought to employ him, he answered with the utmost courtesy, that he would do his part willingly so the prior were content.—In sum, this never-sufficiently-to-be-lauded father was most humble and modest in all his words and deeds, and in his paintings graceful and devout; and the saints which he painted have more of the air and aspect of saints than those of any other artist. He was wont never to retouch or amend any of his paintings, but left them always as they had come from his hands at first, believing, as he said, that such was the will of God. Some say that he never took up his pencil without previous prayer. He never painted a crucifix without tears bathing his cheeks; and throughout his works, in the countenance and attitude of all his figures, the correspondent impress of his sincere and exalted appreciation of the Christian religion is recognisable. Such was this verily Angelic father, who spent the whole time of his life in the service of God and in doing good to the world and to his neighbour. And truly a gift like his could not descend on any but a man of most saintly life, for a painter must be holy himself before he can depict holiness.'—*Lord Lindsay, from Vasari.*

Opposite are two Orsini tombs by the Cosmati.

In the same passage are tombs of Cardinal Alessandrino by *Giacomo della Porta;* of Cardinal Pimentel, by *Bernini;* and of Cardinal Bonelli, by *Carlo Rainaldi.*

[1] It is no honour to me to be like another Appelles, but rather, O Christ, that I gave all my gains to the poor. One was a work for earth, the other for heaven. A city, the flower of Etruria, bare me John.

Beyond this, in the **L. transept**, is the Chapel of S. Domenico, having eight black columns (bianconero), appropriate to the colour of the Order, and an interesting picture of the Saint. Here is the tomb of Benedict XIII., Vincenzo-Maria Orsini (1724–30), by *Pietro Bracci*. This Pope, who had been a Dominican monk, laboured hard in his short reign for the reformation of the Church and the morals of the clergy.

'Benoît XIII. se mettait à genoux par humilité, dans son cabinet, quand il écrivait à son général, et était d'une vanité insupportable sur sa naissance.'—*Lettres du President de Brosses.*

Over a door leading to the **sacristy** are frescoes representing the election of Eugenius IV. in 1431, and of Nicholas V. in 1447, which both took place in this church. The altar of the sacristy has a Crucifixion by *Andrea Sacchi*.

Returning down the **L. aisle**, the **2nd chapel**, counting from this end, is that of the Lante family, which contains the fine tomb of the Duchess Lante, ob. 1840, by *Tenerani*, with the Angel of the Resurrection, a sublime upward-gazing figure seated upon a sarcophagus. Here is a picture of S. James, by *Baroccio*.

The **3rd chapel** is that of S. Vincenzo Ferreri, apostle of the Order of Preachers, with a miracle-working picture by *Bernardo Castelli*. The **4th chapel**—of the Grazioli family—has on the right a statue of S. Sebastian by *Tino da Camaino* (1324), and over the altar a lovely head of our Saviour by *Perugino*. This chapel was purchased by the Grazioli from the old family of Maffei, of which there are some fine tombs. The **5th chapel**—of the Patrizi family—contains the famous miraculous picture called 'La Madonna Consolatrice degli Afflitti,' in honour of which Pope Gregory XVI. conceded many indulgences, as we read by the inscription:—

'La santità di N. S. Gregorio Papa XVI. con breve in data 17 Sept. 1836. Ho accordato l'indulgenzia plenaria a chiunque confessato e communicato visiterà divotamente questa santa immagine della B. Vergine sotto il titolo di consolatrice degli afflitti nella seconda domenica di Luglio e suo ottavo di ciascun anno: concedo altresì la parziale indulgenza di 200 giorni in qualunque giorno del: anno a chiunque almeno contrito visiterà la detta S. Immagine: le dette indulgenze poi sono pure applicabili alle benedette anime del purgatorio.'

The last chapel, belonging to a Spanish nobleman, contains the picture of the Crucifixion which is said to have conversed with S. Rosa di Lima.

Near the entrance is the tomb, by *Andrea Verrochio*, of Cardinal Giacomo Tebaldi, ob. 1446, and beneath it that of Francesco Tornabuoni, by *Mino da Fiesole*. It was for the tomb of the wife of Tornabuoni, who died in childbirth, that the wonderful relief, by *Verrochio*, now in the Bargello at Florence, was executed. In the pavement is the gravestone of Paulus Manutius, the printer, son of the famous Aldus Manutius of Venice, with the inscription, 'Paulo Manutio Aldi Filio. Obit. CIↃIↃLXXIV.'

The great **Dominican Convent of the Minerva** was the chief centre of the Dominicans, as Ara Coeli of the Franciscans. Every year, on

the feast of S. Dominic, the Abbot of Ara Coeli, General of the Franciscans, came hither to salute and dine with the General of the Dominicans, in commemoration of the famous kiss of S. Dominic and S. Francis at their meeting in 1215. The convent until recent years contained the *Bibliotheca Casanatensis* (so called from its founder, Cardinal Casanata), the largest religious library in Rome after that of the Vatican, comprising 120,000 printed volumes and 4500 MSS.[1] (It is open from 8 to 11 A.M., and 1.30 to 3.30 P.M., Via di S. Ignazio.) This convent has always been connected with the history of the Inquisition. Here, on June 22, 1633, Galileo was tried before its tribunal for the 'heresy' of saying that the earth goes round the sun, instead of the sun round the earth, and was forced to recant upon his knees this 'accursed, heretical, and detestable doctrine.' As he rose from his humiliation, he is said, on no good authority, to have consoled himself by adding, in an undertone, 'E pur si muove.'

The beautiful cloister of the convent, which has a vaulted roof richly painted in arabesques, contains fifteenth-century tombs of Cardinal Tiraso, ob. 1502, and of Cardinal Astorgius, ob. 1503. S. Antonino, Archbishop of Florence, who lived in the reigns of Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V., was prior of this convent.

The frescoes around the walls illustrate the revenges of Hungarian, Bosnian, and Slavonian peasants upon Inquisitors.

From the Minerva, the **Via del Piè di Marmo** (so called from a gigantic marble foot which stands at the entrance of a street on the right) leads to the Corso.[2] The street was formerly crossed by an Arch of Camillus, as seen in the plan of Bufalini of 1520.

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[1] The Library has been lately transferred to the Via di Sant' Ignazio behind.

[2] That part of the ancient Campus Martius which contains the Theatre of Marcellus and Portico of Octavia, is described in Chapter V.; that which belongs to the Via Flaminia, in Chapter II.

CHAPTER XV

THE BORGO AND S. PETER'S

Via Tordinona—S. Salvatore in Lauro—House of Raffaelle—S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini—Bridge and Castle of S. Angelo—S. Maria Traspontina—Palazzo Giraud—Piazza Scossa Cavalli—Hospital of Santo Spirito—Piazza and Obelisk of the Vatican—S. Peter's: its portico, tombs, crypts, dome, and sacristy—Churches of S. Stefano and S. Marta—Il Cimiterio dei Tedeschi—Palazzo del Santo Uffizio—S. Salvatore in Torrione—S. Michele in Sassia.

CONTINUING in a direct course from the Piazza Borghese we reach the Via Tor di Nona, and then skirt the Tiber, of which—with its bridge, S. Angelo, and S. Peter's—beautiful views might formerly be obtained from little courts and narrow strips of shore at the back of the houses[1] by which it was lined till 1888; now, as artistic subjects, the views are ruined.

A short distance after passing Piazza Borghese stands, at the bifurcation of two streets, the **Locanda dell' Orso**, where Montaigne stayed when he was in Rome, beneath which are some vaulted chambers. There is a tradition that Dante was one of the classic guests of the inn; but it is perhaps more likely he would have lodged with some of the Florentine bankers a little nearer to the Bridge of S. Angelo. The first of these streets (which repeatedly changed its name, **Via Tordinona**, from the Tor di Nona), was in part destroyed in 1690. The Tower was used as a prison, as is shown by the verse of Régnier—

'Qu'un barisel vous mit dedans la tour de Nonne.'

One of the narrow streets on the left of what was the Via Tordinona debouches into the Via dei Coronari, close to the **Church of S. Salvatore in Lauro**, built on the site of a laurel grove, which flourished near the porticus of Europa. It contains a picture of the Nativity by *Pietro da Cortona*, and a modern work of *Gagliardi*, representing S. Emidio, S. Nicolo da Tolentino, and S. Giacomo della Marina, the three protectors of Ancona. In a side chapel, opening out of the cloisters, is the rich tomb of Pope Eugenius IV. (Gabriele Condolmieri, formerly a canon of S. Giorgio in Alga at Venice), with a figure by Isaia de Pisa of Eugenius, who was so extravagant and magnificent that his tiara cost 38,000 gold ducats

[1] From the courtyard of No. 136 Via Tordinona the view was at its best.

—'the ransom of a king.' His magnificent tomb here is a cenotaph: he was buried in S. Peter's, in accordance with his last request—'That there may be no dispute about my funeral, bury me simply, and lay me in a lowly place by the side of Eugenius III.' Francesco Salviati painted a portrait of this Pope for the adjoining convent, to which he had belonged, as well as a fine fresco of the Marriage of Cana.[1]

There are several other monuments in the same chapel with the tomb, which in 1867 was given up as a barrack to the French Zouaves, at the great risk of injury to its delicate carvings.

At No. 113 Via dei Coronari is the **Immagine di Ponte**, an image of the Virgin (named from the lane Canale di Ponte) in a beautiful shrine of 1523, by Alberto Serra di Monferrato, from a design of Sangallo.

The Via Tordinona emerged upon the quay of the Tiber, opposite S. Angelo, at the spot where Marcantonio Massimo was beheaded for the murder of his brother Luca in 1599. The remains of an ancient marble wharf were discovered here in 1891. Hence several streets diverge into the heart of the city.

Until 1890, one of the most picturesque river views in the world was seen on approaching the Ponte S. Angelo. The massive castle rose from its projecting bastions, now destroyed, and a great solitary cypress cut the sky. Beyond and above the arches and statues of the bridge, S. Peter's stood out in hazy splendour, while below and before the bridge the uneven banks were green with brilliant fennel and spurrey. Now the river is not only a canal between banks of formal masonry, but it is crossed by the most hideous of suspension bridges, entirely blocking out the view.

At the corner of the Via del Banco is a house with a frieze, richly sculptured with lions' heads, &c. This was formerly the Fleet Street of Rome and the residence of the chief merchants, especially of the goldsmiths, from whom the district derives its name. Here Benvenuto Cellini had his workshop, and being insulted through the open window by the goldsmith Pompeo, rushed out and stabbed him to the heart. This occurred during one of the Papal conclaves, which always created scenes of licence and violence in the Banchi, which at such times became 'a kind of improvised exchange, where the rival chances of candidates were publicly quoted and eagerly discounted, amidst commotion that commonly was attended with riot.'[2] A house of *c.* 1540, with rich stucco decorations, was that of the goldsmith Gianpietro Crivelli. On the left of the street is the **Church of S. Celso**, close to which the statue of the Hermaphrodite was found, and in front of which Lorenzo Colonna, the protonotary, was murdered by the Orsini and Santa Croce, immediately after the death of Sixtus IV. (1484); and where his mother, finding his head, and seizing it by the hair, shrieked forth her curses upon his enemies. On the right, farther down the street, is the **Church of S. Caterina da Siena**, which contains an interesting altar-piece by

[1] Vasari, vol. v.

[2] See Cartwright's *Papal Conclaves.*

Girolamo Genga, representing the return of Gregory XI. from Avignon (1378), which was due to the saint's influence.

The renaissance Palazzo Altoviti, a picturesque house with a beautiful triple-arched loggia (destroyed in 1888) which adjoined the Ponte S. Angelo, was said to have been the home of Bindo Altoviti, the 'Violinista,' the friend of Raffaelle, who is familiar to us from engravings of his portrait in the Sciarra Palace. Some say that Raffaelle died while he was on a visit to him. But the best authorities maintain that he died in a house built for him by Bramante in the Piazza Rusticucci, which was pulled down in order to enlarge the Piazza of S. Peter's. The palace, one of the most beautiful features in the finest river-view in the world, had decorations by Pierino del Vaga. Here was preserved, chained to the wall by order of the Pope, the famous bust of Bindo Altoviti, modelled by Benvenuto Cellini. It was removed to Florence when the palace was pulled down, and has since been sold. No. 124 Via Coronari, not far from the Ponte S. Angelo, is shown as the house in which the great master lived previously to this, and it is that which he bequeathed to the Chapel in the Pantheon in which he lies buried. It was partly rebuilt in 1605, when Carlo Maderno painted on its façade a portrait of Raffaelle in *chiaroscuro*, now almost obliterated. The house at present belongs to the canons of S. Maria Maggiore.

The **Via S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini** leads to the **church** of that name, abutting picturesquely into the turn of the Tiber. This is the national church of the Tuscans, and was built at the expense of the city of Florence. In a niche over the door of the Sacristy is the small marble figure of S. Giovanni, by Donatello, brought from a demolished oratory on the Corso. In the **tribune** are tombs of the Falconieri family. The marbles were brought from the great temple of Juno at Veii. Here are several fine pictures: a S. Jerome writing, by *Cigoli*, who is buried in this church; S. Jerome praying before a crucifix, *Tito Santi* (1538–1603); S. Francis, *Tito Santi*; SS. Cosmo and Damiano condemned to martyrdom by fire—a grand work of *Salvator Rosa*.

'Some of the altar-pieces of Salvator Rosa (1615–73) are well conceived and full of effect, especially when they represent a horrible subject, like the martyrdom in S. Giovanni de Fiorentini.'—*Lanzi*, ii. 165.

The **Chapel of the Crucifix** is painted by *Lanfranco*; the third chapel on the right has frescoes by *Tempesta* on the ceiling relating to the history of S. Lorenzo.

The building of this church was begun in the reign of Leo X. by Sansovino, who, for want of space, laid its foundations, at enormous expense, in the bed of the Tiber. While overlooking this, he fell from a scaffold, and being dangerously hurt, was obliged to give up his place to Antonio da Sangallo. Soon after, Pope Leo died, and the work, with many others, was suspended during the cautious reign of Adrian VI. Under Clement VII. Sansovino returned, but, robbed of all his possessions, was driven away at the sack of Rome under the Constable de Bourbon. The church was finished by Giacomo della Porta in 1588, but Alessandro Galileo added the façade in 1725.

'En 1488, une affreuse épidémie décimait les malheureux habitants des environs de Rome: les mourants étaient abandonnés les cadavres restaient sans sépulture. Aussitôt quelques Florentins forment une confrérie sous le titre de *la Pitié*, pour rendre aux pestiférés les derniers devoirs de la charité chrétienne; c'est à cette confrérie qu'on doit la belle église de Saint-Jean des Florentins, à Strada Giula.'—*Gourneric*, '*Rome Chrétienne.*'

Recent excavations (Sept. 20, 1890) between the church and the bridge—*Ponte ai Fiorentini*—laid bare a wall of the eighth century, embedded in which were found the remains of the ancient altar of Dis and Proserpine, with the famous inscriptions of the Ludi Saeculares now preserved in the Museo delle Terme. The first records the revived Ludi of 17 B.C., under Augustus, and mentions the Carmen Saeculare of Horace — 'Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus'—the second records the Ludi of 204 A.D., under Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta.

The **Ponte S. Angelo** is the Pons Aelius of Hadrian, built as an approach to his mausoleum, and only intended for this purpose, as another public bridge existed close by at the time of its construction. Until the latest restoration of 1898, it was almost entirely ancient, except the parapets. Frederick III. dubbed a hundred knights on the bridge in 1452, and the conspirators against Leo X. were hung on the bridge, June 25, 1517. The statues of S. Peter and S. Paul, at the extremity, were erected here by Clement VII. in the place of two chapels, in 1530, and the angels by Clement IX. in 1688. The statue of S. Paul is the work of *Paolo Romano*, the chief Roman sculptor of the first half of the fifteenth century. The pedestal of the third angel on the right is a relic of the siege of Rome in 1849. It bears the mark of a cannon-ball.

These fluttering angels, which have been called the 'breezy maniacs of Bernini,' are only from his designs (with the exception of two), which were preserved till quite recently in the church of S. Andrea delle Fratte. The idea of Clement IX., was a fine one, that 'an avenue of the heavenly host should be assembled to welcome the pilgrim to the shrine of the great apostle.'

Dante saw the bridge of S. Angelo divided lengthways by barriers to facilitate the movement of the vast crowds going to and from S. Peter's on the occasion of the first jubilee, 1300:—

'Come i Romani per l'esercito molto,
L' anno del giubbileo, su per lo ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo tolto;
Che dall' un lato tutti hanno la fronte
Verso 'l castello, e vanno a Santo Pietro
Dall' altra sponda vanno verso 'l monte.'
—*Inferno*, xviii. 29.

It was on the bridge that Cecchino, brother of Benvenuto Cellini, was mortally wounded in a street fray. Here also the warrior-cardinal, Giovanni Vitelleschi, was cut down by assassins in the employ of Eugenius IV., for whom he had won back Rome and the patrimony of S. Peter.

The mutilation of the Ponte S. Angelo is amongst the worst of the improvements at Rome. The bridge, with its five equal arches above a yellow ditch, has entirely lost its original character.

'Besides having neither noticed nor respected any part of the characteristic and noble aspects of the sacred river, the engineers of the Tiber have not known how to avail themselves of that mastery of the water-way which Roman monuments show in the case of bridges. The Bridge of S. Angelo was one of these masterpieces: the great central arches were made to keep the bed of the river in ordinary times covered with water, and the side arches to give passage to floods, and thus form an architectural whole, the material result of needs provided by the experience of ages.'—'*The Builder*,' Sept. 3, 1892.

In the Piazza di Ponte S. Angelo was an arch of A.D. 382 in honour of Gratianus, Valentinianus, and Theodosius, destroyed by Pope Nicholas V., and used in building S. Celso, before-mentioned.

A little beyond the bridge, the *Marmoratum* was discovered in 1091, where the great marble monoliths used in the buildings of the Campus Martius, Quirinal, &c., were landed.

From the Ponte S. Angelo, when the Tiber was low, were visible the remains of a *Pons Vaticanus*.

Museo Baracco.—Corso Vittorio Emanuele: towards the bridge, on left hand. This charming little Sculpture Gallery, the noble gift of Marchese **Baracco**, a noted collector, was opened in April, 1905, and contains a number of works of exceptional interest, and some of great beauty.

1st Room.—

Head of Julius Caesar in black basalt.
Archaic, Vulcan and Minerva.
An Athlete. V. cent. B.C.
Pericles.
Attic Funeral Bas-relief. V. c. B.C.
*Bust of a wounded Amazon.
Egyptian vases, sphinx, sarcophagus.
*Doryphoros (Poticleitos).
*Diadumenos. V. c. B.C.

2nd Room.—

Attic Vase. IV. c. B.C.
Athlete.
Relief of M. Brutus.
Attic Relief. IV. c. B.C.
Heads of Sophocles and Euripedes.
Head of Apollo Lyceo.
Female head (Pergamenian).
Mosaic from Villa Livia.
Votive Relief Apollo's Oracle at Delphi, V. c. B.C.
*Diadumenos of Poticleitos.
Head of Mars.
Athlete. IV. c. B.C.
*Epicurus.
*A foot and a hand.
*Venus. IV. c. B.C.
Attic Vase, painted and inscribed, 4 feet high.

Facing the bridge is the **Castle of S. Angelo**, built (A.D. 130) by the Emperor Hadrian when the last niche in the imperial mausoleum of Augustus had become filled by the ashes of Nerva. The first to be laid here was Aelius Verus, the adopted son of Hadrian, who predeceased him. The Emperor himself died at Baiae, but his remains were transported hither from a temporary

tomb at Pozzuoli by his successor Antoninus Pius, by whom the mausoleum was completed in A.D. 140. Here, also, were buried Antoninus Pius, A.D. 161; Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 180; Commodus, A.D. 192; and Septimius Severus, in an urn of gold enclosed in one of alabaster, A.D. 212. Caracalla, in A.D. 217, was last Emperor interred here. The well-known lines of Byron:—

> 'Turn to the mole which Hadrian rear'd on high,
> Imperial mimic of old Egypt's piles,
> Colossal copyist of deformity,
> Whose travell'd phantasy from the far Nile's
> Enormous model, doomed the artist's toils
> To build for giants, and for his main earth,
> His shrunken ashes, raise this dome! How smiles
> The gazer's eye with philosophic mirth,
> To view the huge design which sprung from such a birth,'

seem rather applicable to the *Pyramid* of Cestius than to this mausoleum. It is exceedingly unjust to Hadrian.

The castle, as it now appears, is but the mighty core of the magnificent sepulchre of the emperors. Procopius, writing in the sixth century, describes its appearance in his time. 'It is built,' he says, 'of Parian marble; the square blocks fit closely to each other without any cement. It has four equal sides, each a stone's throw in length. In height it rises above the walls of the city. On the summit are statues of men and horses, of admirable workmanship, also in Parian marble.' Canina, in his 'Architettura Romana,' gives a restoration of the mausoleum, which shows it to have consisted of three storeys: (1) a quadrangular basement, the upper part intersected with doric columns, between which were spaces for epitaphs of the dead within, and surmounted at the corners by marble equestrian statues; (2) a circular storey, with fluted ionic colonnades; (3) a smaller circular storey, surrounded by corinthian columns of Phrygian marble, between which were statues. The whole was surmounted by a pyramidal roof, ending in a gilded bronze fir-cone (?).

> 'The mausoleum which Hadrian erected for himself on the farther bank of the Tiber far outshone the tomb of Augustus, which it nearly confronted. Of the size and dignity which characterised this work of Egyptian massiveness we may gain a conception from the existing remains; but it requires an effort of imagination to transform the scarred and shapeless bulk before us into the graceful pile which rose column upon column, surmounted by a gilded dome of span almost unrivalled.'—*Merivale*, ch. lxvi.

The history of the Mausoleum in the Middle Ages is almost the history of Rome. It was probably first turned into a fortress by Honorius, A.D. 423. It was certainly penetrated by the Goths under Alaric. From Theodoric it derived the name of 'Carcer Theodorici.' In 536 it was besieged by Vitiges, when the defending garrison, reduced to the last extremity, hurled down all the magnificent statues which still (?) decorated the cornice upon the besiegers. Belisarius defended the castle against Totila, whose troops captured and held it for three years, after which it [illegible] by Narses. It then became the residence of the Greek

Exarchs. It is said that in A.D. 498 Pope Symmachus removed a pigna or bronze fir-cone at the apex of the roof to the atrium of old S. Peter's, whence it was afterwards transferred to the Giardino della Pigna at the Vatican,[1] where it is to be seen between two bronze peacocks, which possibly stood on either side of the entrance.[2] The colossal head of Hadrian's statue, found here, is now in the Museo Pio Clementino. The sarcophagus which contained the ashes of the Emperor was used as a tomb for Pope Innocent II., 1143, and was destroyed in a fire at the Lateran, in the fourteenth century. Its lid, of Egyptian porphyry, first used as a tomb for the Emperor Otho II., is now said to be the font in the Baptistery (R. aisle) of S. Peter's. But if this is the case, the mouldings on it belong to a later age than Hadrian's.

It was in 590 that the event occurred which gave the building its present name. Pope Gregory the Great was leading a penitential procession to S. Peter's, in order to offer up prayers for the staying of the great pestilence which followed the inundation of 589 when, as he was crossing the bridge, even while people were falling around him, he looked up at the mausoleum, and saw an angel on its summit sheathing a bloody sword,[3] while a choir of angels around chanted with celestial voices the anthem, since adopted by the Church in her vesper service: *Regina coeli laetare — quia quem meruisti portare—resurrexit, sicut, dixit, Alleluja;*'—to which the earthly voice of the Pope solemnly responded, '*Ora pro nobis Deum, Alleluja.*'[4]

In record of this wonder, Boniface IV. (608) built a chapel upon the summit, and dedicated it to S. Michael.

In the tenth century (923) the fortress was occupied by the infamous Marozia, who, in turn, brought her three husbands (Alberic, Count of Tusculum; Guido, Marquis of Tuscany; and Hugo, King

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[1] The holes beneath the scales of the pigna, pierced for jets of water, make it unlikely that it was ever other than a fountain. It is shown as the fountain of Pope Symmachus in the fresco in S. Martino in Monti.

[2] But they are seen as ornaments of the façade of the early Basilica of S. Peter's in the Vatican drawing of the ninth century.

[3] It is interesting to observe that the same vision was seen under the same circumstances in other periods of history.

'So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel, and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men. And God sent an angel to Jerusalem to destroy it . . . and David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem.'—1 *Chron.* xxi. 14–16.

'Before the plague of London had begun (otherwise than in S. Giles), seeing a crowd of people in the street, I joined them to satisfy my curiosity, and found them all staring up into the air, to see what a woman told them appeared plain to her. This was an angel clothed in white, with a fiery sword in his hand waving it, or brandishing it over his head: she described every part of the figure to the life, and showed them the motion and the form.'—*Defoe*, '*Hist. of the Plague.*'

[4] The pictures at Ara Coeli and S. Maria Maggiore both claim to be the one carried by S. Gregory in this procession. The song of the angels is annually commemorated on S. Mark's Day, when the clergy pass by in procession to S. Peter's, and the Franciscans of Ara Coeli and the canons of S. Maria Maggiore, halting here, chant the antiphon '*Regina coeli, laetare.*'

of Italy) thither, to tyrannise with her over Rome. It was within the walls of this building that Alberic, her son by her first husband, waiting upon his royal stepfather at table, threw a bowl of water over him, when Hugo retorted by a blow, which was the signal for an insurrection, the people taking part with Alberic, putting the king to flight and imprisoning Marozia. Shut up within these walls, Pope John XI. (931–936) ruled under the guidance of his stronger-minded brother, the above Alberic; here, also, Octavian, son of Alberic, and grandson of Marozia, succeeded in forcing his election at eighteen years of age, as John XII., and scandalised Christendom by a life of murder, robbery, adultery, and incest.

In 974 the castle was seized by Cencio (Crescenzio Nomentano), the consul, who raised up an anti-pope (Boniface VII.) here, with the determination of destroying the temporal power of the Popes, and imprisoned and murdered two Popes, Benedict VI. (972) and John XIV. (984), within these walls. In 996 another lawful Pope, Gregory V., calling in his cousin the Emperor Otho III. to his assistance, took the castle and beheaded Cencio, though he had promised him life if he would surrender. From this governor the fortress long held the name of Castello de Crescenzio, or Turris Crescentii, by which it is described in mediaeval writings. A second Cencio here supported another anti-pope, Cadolaus, in 1063 against Pope Alexander II. A third Cencio imprisoned Gregory VII. here in 1084. From this time the possession of the castle was a constant point of contest between popes and anti-popes. It was from hence, on December 15, 1347, that Rienzi fled to Bohemia, at the end of his first period of power, his wife having previously made her escape disguised as a friar.

'The cause of final ruin to this monument' is described by Nibby to have been the resentment of the citizens against a French governor (Rostaing), who espoused the cause of the anti-pope (Clement VII.) against Urban VI. in 1378, and refused to surrender to the Papal troops. It was then that the marble casings (if any remained) were torn from the walls and used for street pavements. Boniface IX. restored it in 1395.

A drawing of Sangallo of 1465 shows the upper part of the fortress crowned with high square towers and turreted buildings; a cincture of bastions and massive square towers girding the whole; two square-built bulwarks flanking the extremity of the bridge, which was then so connected with these outworks that passengers would have immediately found themselves inside the fortress after crossing the river. Marliani, 1858, describes its double cincture of fortifications—a large round tower at the inner extremity of the bridge; two towers with high pinnacles, and the cross on their summits, the river flowing all around.

John XXIII., 1411, commenced the covered way to the Vatican, which was finished by Alexander VI. It was re-roofed by Urban VIII. in 1630. By the last-named Pope the great outworks of the fortress were built under Bernini's direction, and furnished with cannon made from the bronze roof of the Pantheon. Under Paul

III. the interior was decorated with frescoes by Pierino del Vaga, and a colossal wooden angel had been erected on the summit, in the place of the chapel (S. Angelo inter Nubes) built by Boniface IX. quite a hundred years before. The marble angel was exchanged by Benedict XIV. for the existing angel of bronze, by a Dutch artist, Verschaffelt.

'Paul III., voulant justifier le nom donné à cette forteresse, fit placer au sommet de l'édifice une statue de marbre, représentant un ange tenant à la main une épée nue. Cet ouvrage de Raphaël de Montelupo a été remplacé, du temps de Benoît XIV., par une statue de bronze qui fournit cette belle réponse à un officier français assiégé dans le fort: "Je me rendrai quand l'ange remettra son épé dans le fourreau."

'. . . Cet ange a l'air naïf d'une jeune fille de dix-huit ans, et ne cherche qu'à bien remettre son épée dans le fourreau.'—*Stendhal*, i. 33.

'I suppose no one ever looked at this statue critically—at least, for myself, I never could; nor can I remember now whether, as a work of art, it is above or below criticism; perhaps both. With its vast wings, poised in air, as seen against the deep blue skies of Rome, or lighted up by the golden sunset, to me it was ever like what it was intended to represent—like a vision.'—*Jameson's* '*Sacred Art*,' p. 98.

Of the castle, as we now see it externally, only the quadrangular basement and the lower mass of the round keep are of the time of Hadrian. Four round turrets of the outworks, called after the four Evangelists, were made by Nicholas V., 1447. But the noble outer bastions of the castle, which, with their solitary cypress, were familiar in all views of S. Angelo, were partly demolished in 1877 to make an approach to some of the frightful districts created in the Prati di Castello. In the spring of 1890 all Europe united in interceding that the interesting tower of Nicholas V. facing the river might be spared, and that S. Angelo might still abut upon the river as one of the few remaining ornaments of the city; but entreaty and remonstrance were alike in vain; the road along the Tiber was driven in front of the castle, and the poetry, beauty, and much of the interest of S. Angelo were diminished for ever. It was from the destroyed tower on the right of the bridge that (1447) the reformer Stefano Porcari was hung from the battlements 'in black doublet and black hose.'

The **interior** of the fortress can be visited daily from 9–11 and 1–3 with a permission, given at the office of the Commandant, 24 Via della Pilotta.[1] Excavations made in 1825 laid open the sepulchral chamber in the midst of the basement. A spiral passage, thirty feet high and eleven feet wide, up which a chariot could be driven, gradually ascends through the solid mass of masonry. There is little to be seen except the beautiful saloon of the time of Paul III., designed by Raffaello da Montelupo and Antonio da Sangallo, adorned with frescoes illustrating the life of Alexander the Great and other decorations, by Pierino del Vaga, Marco da Siena, and Giulio Romano. This room would have been used by the Popes in case of their having had to take refuge in S. Angelo. An adjoining room, exquisitely adorned with a stucco frieze of

[1] An order for S. Angelo may usually be obtained at the hotels.

Tritons and Nereids, is that in which Cardinal Caraffa was strangled[1] (1561) under Pius IV., for alleged abuses of authority under his uncle, Paul IV.—his brother, the Marquis Caraffa, being beheaded in the castle the same night. The Bath-room of Clement VII. is a copy of the antique. The reputed prison of Beatrice Cenci is shown, but it is uncertain that she was ever confined here; also the prison of Cagliostro, and that of Benvenuto Cellini, who escaped, and broke his leg in trying to let himself down by a rope from the ramparts. The statue of the angel by *Montelupo* is to be seen stowed away in a dark corner. Several *traboochette* (oubliettes) are shown.

On the **roof**, from which there is a beautiful view, are many modern prisons, where prisoners used to suffer severely from the summer sun beating upon the flat roofs.

Among the sculptures found here were the **Barberini Faun**, now at Munich; the Dancing Faun, at Florence; and the bust of Hadrian, at the Vatican. The sepulchral inscriptions of the Antonines existed until 1572, when they were cut up by Gregory XIII. (Boncompagni), and the marble used to decorate a chapel in S. Peter's! The magnificent Easter display of fireworks (an idea of Michelangelo, but carried out by Bernini), called the Girandola, was formerly exhibited here. From 1849 to 1870 the castle was occupied by French troops, and their banner floated here, except on great festivals, when it was exchanged for that of the Pope. Nothing remains of the Circus of Hadrian, which lay to the north-west of the mausoleum, nor any trace of the Gardens of Domitia, in which it was originally built.

Running behind, toward the Vatican, and crossing the back streets of the Borgo, in the walls of Leo IV. is the covered passage —**Il Corridojo di Castello**—intended for the escape of the Popes to the castle. It was used by Alexander VI. when invaded by Charles VIII. in 1494, and twice by Clement VII. (Giulio de' Medici), who fled in 1529 from Monçada, viceroy of Naples, and in May 1527, during the ferocious sack of Rome by the troops of the Constable de Bourbon.

'Pendant que l'on se battait, Clément VII. était en prières devant l'autel de sa chapelle au Vatican, détail singulier chez un homme qui avait commencé sa carrière par être militaire. Lorsque les cris des mourants lui annoncèrent la prise de la ville, il s'enfuit du Vatican au château S. Ange par le long corridor qui s'élève au-dessus des plus hautes maisons. L'historien Paul-Jove, qui suivait Clément VII., relevait sa longue robe pour qu'il pût marcher plus vite, et lorsque le pape fut arrivé au pont qui le laissait à découvert pour un instant, Paul-Jove le couvrit de son manteau et de son chapeau violet, de peur qu'il ne fût reconnu à son rochet blanc et ajusté par quelque soldat bon tireur.

'Pendant cette longue fuite le long du corridor, Clément VII. apercevait audessous de lui, par les petites fenêtres, ses sujets poursuivis par les soldats vainqueurs qui déjà se répandaient dans les rues. Ils ne faisaient aucun quartier à personne, et tuaient à coups de pique tout ce qu'ils pouvaient atteindre.'—*Stendhal*, i. 388.

[1] The execution of this cardinal was a violation of the law (of 1434) that no legal prosecution should be instituted against any cardinal, even by the Pope, without the consent and assistance of all the rest.

'One of the familiar lullabies sung to-day over the cradles of restless children begins with the words: "Fatti la ninna, è passa via Barbone!"—"Go to sleep, Barbone is gone," the name Barbone, "the man with the long beard," having usurped that of the hated conqueror. So persistent is the memory of those days of terror.'—*Lanciani*, '*The Destruction of Rome*.'

'The Escape' consists of two passages; the upper open like a loggia, the lower covered, and only lighted by loopholes. The keys of both were kept by the Pope himself.

Near this, in May 1889, was discovered the tomb of **Crepereia Tryphaena**, containing her skeleton, the myrtle wreath on her brow, and her engagement ring and its inscription, indicating that she died on the eve of her marriage to one Philetus. With her jewels was her favourite doll, which, according to the custom of young ladies of the time of the Antonines, would have been offered to Venus or Diana on her wedding-day.

S. Angelo is at the entrance to the **Borgo**, 'the suburb which contains the greatest church, the greatest palace, and the greatest tomb in the world.' To Borgo *Civitas Leonina*, or the *Leonine City*, called 'S. Peter's Porch' in the Middle Ages, is surrounded by walls of its own, which were begun A.D. 846 by Pope Leo IV., for the better defence of S. Peter's from the Saracens, who had been carrying their devastations up to the very walls of Rome, and had caused the death of Pope Sergius II., from his grief at their destruction of the basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul. These walls, 10,800 feet in circumference, in which the structure of the Aurelian wall was carefully imitated, were completed in four years by labourers summoned from every town and monastery of the Roman states. Pope Leo himself daily encouraged their exertions by his presence. In 852 the walls were solemnly consecrated by a vast procession of the whole Roman clergy barefooted (their heads strewn with ashes), who then sprinkled them with holy water, while the Pope offered a prayer composed by himself[1] at each of the three gates.

The *Piazza Pia*, at the entrance of the Borgo, is decorated with a fountain erected by Pius IX. The principal of the streets which meet here is the Via del Borgo Nuovo, the main artery to S. Peter's, originally called Via Alexandrina, from its builder Alexander VI. On its right is the **Church of S. Maria Traspontina**, built 1566, containing two columns which bear inscriptions stating that they were those to which S. Peter and S. Paul were respectively attached when they suffered flagellation by order of Nero!

This church occupies the site of the Pyramid—Meta di Borgo—supposed to have been erected to Scipio Africanus, who died at Liternum, 183 B.C., and which was regarded in the Middle Ages as the tomb of Romulus Its sides were once coated with marble,

[1] 'Deus, qui apostolo tuo Petro collatis clavibus regni coelistis ligandi et solvendi potificium tradidisti, concede ut intercessionis ejus auxilio a peccatorum nostrorum legibus liberemur: et hanc civitatem, quam te adjuvante fundavimus, fac ab ira tua in perpetuum permanere securam, et de hostibus, quorum causa constructa est, novos et multiplicatos habere triumphos, per Dominum nostrum,' &c.

which was stripped off by Donus I. (678). This pyramid is mentioned by Petrarch as 'Memoria Romuli' in one of his Epistles. It was destroyed by Alexander VI. in 1495.[1]

Close by was a circular structure of marble called the Terebinth of Nero, destroyed by Pope Donus when building the portico of S. Peter's.

A little farther is the beautiful **Palazzo Giraud**, belonging to Prince Torlonia. It was built at the end of the fifteenth century with stones and marbles from the Basilica Emilia by Ant. Montecavallo, with additions by Bramante,[2] for Cardinal Adriano da Corneto,[3] and was given in 1504 by Cardinal Castellari to Henry VII. of England. It was confiscated by the Pope in 1532. Henry VIII. gave the Palace to Cardinal Campeggio, when it became for a short time the residence of the last English ambassador to the court of Rome before the Reformation. Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York and Cardinal of S. Prassede, inhabited it in 1544. From hence the Earl of Castlemaine, ambassador from James II. to Innocent XI., set out to present his credentials in a coach and six, escorted by six pages and thirty-two outriders, and followed by 335 carriages. Campeggio died in it. Innocent XII. converted it into a college for priests, by whom it was sold to the Marquis Giraud (1760). His descendant sold it in 1840.

Facing this palace is the **Piazza Scossa Cavalli**, with a pretty fountain. Its name bears witness to a curious legend, which tells how when S. Helena returned from Palestine, bringing with her the stone on which Abraham was about to sacrifice Isaac, &c., and that on which the Virgin Mary sate down at the time of the presentation of the Saviour in the Temple, the horses drawing these astonishing relics stood still at this spot, and refused every effort to make them move. Then Christian people, 'recognising the finger of God,' erected a church on this spot to—*S. Giacomo Scossa Cavalli*—where the stones are still to be seen! To the L. of the church stands the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri (1480).

The Strada del Borgo Santo Spirito contains the immense **Hospital of Santo Spirito**, running along the bank of the Tiber. The name Santo Spirito *in Sassia* commemorates the hospice of the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, dating from the memorable visits to Rome of the Anglo-Saxon kings, Ina and Ceadwalla, and Offa, who lodged in what was then called the Burgo Saxonum. It was confided to the care of the Hospitallers of S. Spirito, under Guy de Montpelier. This establishment was founded in 1198 by Innocent III. Sixtus IV., in 1471, ordered it to be rebuilt by Baccio Pintelli, who added a hall 376 feet long by 44 high, and 37 wide. The octagonal cupola

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[1] The Pyramid is often represented in early renaissance art—in the fresco by Giotto in the sacristy of S. Peter's, on the bronze doors of Filarete, on the panel of a ciborium in the Grotte Vaticane, &c. It is also seen with the mausoleum of Hadrian in the background of Raffaelle's fresco of 'The Vision of Constantine.'

[2] Who only came to Rome in 1499.

[3] The same whom Alexander VI. had intended to poison.

is one of the best works executed under Sixtus, whose life is represented in decaying frescoes in the hall. These works, of earlier date than the introduction of Tuscan artists for the Sistine Chapel, are of great interest, especially the fresco which represents the Pope giving a dowry to his adopted daughter Sophia Palaeologus on her marriage with the Czar Ivan of Russia. Under Benedict XIV., Fernando Fuga built another great hall. The altar in the chapel is the only work of Andrea Palladio in Rome. The church was also designed by Baccio Pintelli, but built by Antonio di San Gallo under Paul III. Under Gregory XIII. Ottaviano Mascherino built the palace of the Governor which unites the hospital with the church. This is called Palazzo del Commendatore.

The institution comprises a hospital for every kind of disease, containing in ordinary times 1620 beds, a number which can be almost doubled in time of necessity; a lunatic asylum containing an average of 450 inmates; a foundling hospital, and a fine medical library. Upwards of 3000 foundlings pass through the hospital annually. The person who wishes to deposit an infant rings a bell, when a little bed is turned toward the grille near the door, in which the baby is deposited. Close to this is another grille, without any apparent use. 'What is that for?' you ask. 'Because when nurses come in from the country they might be tempted to take the children for money, and yet not feel any natural tenderness towards them; but by looking through the second grille they can see the child, and discover if it is *simpatico*, and if not, they can go away and leave it.'

At the end of the street one enters the **Piazza Rusticucci** (where Raffaelle died), from which, in this remotest corner of the city, open the magnificent colonnades of Bernini, like great arms of stone, leading the eye up to the façade of S. Peter's, while the middle distance is broken by the blown spray of its glittering fountains. The whole external effect of **S. Peter's** depends upon a sudden entrance into the sunlit piazza from the gloomy street. It is proposed (1903) to demolish the whole central block of buildings between the church and the Ponte S. Angelo, so as to display the church.

'The piazza, with Bernini's colonnades, and the gradual slope upwards to the mighty temple, gave me always a sense of having entered some millennial new Jerusalem, where all small or shabby things were unknown.'—*George Eliot*, 1860.

The **Colonnades** have 284 columns, are sixty-one feet wide and sixty-four high; they enclose an area of 777 English feet; they were built by Bernini for Alexander VII., 1657–67. In the centre stands the famous red granite **Obelisk of the Vatican**, brought to Rome from Heliopolis by Caligula, in a ship which Pliny describes as being 'nearly as long as the left side of the port of Ostia.' It was used to adorn the Circus of Nero, and is therefore of unrivalled interest, although it is only a Roman imitation of an Egyptian monument.

'On the left of the Via Cornelia was a circus, begun by Caligula, and finished by Nero. This circus was the scene of the first sufferings of the Christians, described by Tacitus in the well-known passage of the "Annals," xv. 45 Some of the Christians were covered with the skins of wild beasts, so that savage dogs might tear them to pieces; others were besmeared with tar and tallow and burnt at the stake; others were crucified, while Nero in the attire of a vulgar *auriga* ran his races around the goals. This took place A.D. 65. Two years later S. Peter, the leader of the Christians, shared the same fate at the same place. He was affixed to a cross like the others, and we know exactly where. A tradition current in Rome from time immemorial says S. Peter was executed *inter duas metas* (between the two metae), that is, in the *spina* or middle line of Nero's circus, at an equal distance from the two end goals; in other words, he was executed at the foot of the obelisk which now towers in front of his great church. For many centuries after the peace of Constantine, the exact spot of S. Peter's execution was marked by a chapel called "the chapel of the Crucifixion." The meaning of the name, and its origin, as well as the topographical details connected with the event, were lost in the darkness of the Middle Ages. The memorial chapel lost its identity and was believed to belong to "Him who was crucified," that is, to Christ Himself. It disappeared seven or eight centuries ago.'—*Lanciani.*

'S. Peter, when he was come to the place of execution, requested of the officers that he might be crucified with his head downwards, alleging that he was not worthy to suffer in the same manner his Divine Master had died before him. He had preached the cross of Christ, had borne it in his heart, and its marks in his body, by sufferings and mortification, and he had the happiness to end his life on the cross. The Lord was pleased, not only that he should die for His love, but in the same manner Himself had died for us, by expiring on the cross, which was the throne of His love. Only the apostle's humility made a difference, in desiring to be crucified with his head downward. His Master looked towards heaven, which by His death He opened to men: but he judged that a sinner formed from dust, and going to return to dust, ought rather in confusion to look on the earth, as unworthy to raise his eyes to heaven. S. Ambrose, S. Austin, and S. Prudentius ascribe this his petition partly to his humility, and partly to his desire of suffering more for Christ. Seneca mentions that the Romans sometimes crucified men with their heads downward; and Eusebius testifies that several martyrs were put to that cruel death. Accordingly, the executioners easily granted the apostle his extraordinary request. S. Chrysostom, S. Austin, S. Austerius, say that he was nailed to the cross; Tertullian mentions that he was tied with cords. He was probably both nailed and bound with ropes.'—*Alban Butler.*

The obelisk itself was brought from a position close at hand from which it had never been displaced, near the present sacristy of S. Peter's, by Sixtus V. in 1586. It was elevated here by Domenico Fontana, who estimated its weight at 963,537 Roman pounds, and employed 800 men, 150 horses, and 46 cranes in its removal.

The obelisk was first exorcised as a pagan idol, and then dedicated to the Cross. Its removal was preceded by high mass in S. Peter's, after which Pope Sixtus bestowed a solemn benediction upon Fontana and his workmen, and ordered that none should speak, on pain of death, during the raising of the obelisk. The immense mass was slowly rising upon its base when suddenly it ceased to move, and it became suspected that the ropes were giving way. An awful moment of suspense ensued, when the breathless silence was broken by a cry of 'Acqua alle funi!' (*wet the ropes*), and the workmen, acting on the advice so unexpectedly received, again saw the monster move, and gradually settle on to its base. The man who saved the obelisk was Bresca, a sailor of Bordighera, a village of

the Riviera di Ponente, and Sixtus V., in his gratitude, promised him that his native village should ever thenceforth have the privilege of furnishing the Easter palms to S. Peter's. A vessel laden with palm-branches, which abound in Bordighera, is annually sent to the Tiber in the week before Palm Sunday, and the palms, after being prepared and plaited by the nuns of S. Antonio Abbate, are used in the ceremonial in S. Peter's. The obelisk was formerly called 'S. Peter's Needle'—'aguglia di S. Pietro.' In the Middle Ages it was believed that the bronze globe on the summit contained the ashes of Julius Caesar.

The height of the whole obelisk is 132 feet, that of the shaft 83 feet. Upon the shaft is the inscription to Augustus and Tiberius: 'DIVO. CAES. DIVI. JULII. F. AUGUSTO.—TI. CAESARI. DIVI. AUG. F. —AUGUSTA. SACRUM.' The inscriptions on the base show its modern dedication to the Cross[1]—Ecce Crux Domini—Fugite partes adversae—Vicit Leo de tribu Juda.'

'Sixte-Quint s'applaudissait, du succès, comme de l'œuvre la plus gigantesque des temps modernes; des médailles furent frappées; Fontana fut créé noble romain, chevalier de l'Eperon d'or, et reçut une gratification de 5000 écus indépendamment des matériaux qui avaient servi à l'entreprise, et dont la valeur s'élevait à 20,000 écus (108,000 fr.); enfin des poèmes, dans toutes les langues, sur ce nouveau triomphe de la croix, furent adressés aux différents souverains de l'Europe.'—*Gournerie*, '*Rome Chrétienne*,' ii. 232.

'In summer the great square basks in unalluring magnificence in the midday sun. Its tall obelisk sends but a slim shadow to travel round the oval plane, like the gnomon of a huge dial; its fountains murmur with a delicious dreaminess, sending up massive jets like blocks of crystal into the hot sunshine, and receiving back a broken spray, on which sits serene an unbroken iris, but present no "cool grot," where one may enjoy their freshness; and, in spite of the shorter path, the pilgrim looks with dismay at the dazzling pavement and long flight of unsheltered steps between him and the church, and prudently plunges into the forest of columns at either side of the piazza, and threads his way through their uniting shadows, intended, as an inscription[2] tells him, for this express purpose.'—*Cardinal Wiseman.*

'Un jour Pie V. traversait, avec l'ambassadeur de Pologne, cette place du Vatican. Pris d'enthousiasme au souvenir du courage des martyrs qui l'ont arrosée de leurs larmes, et fertilisée par leur sang, il se baisse, et saisissant dans sa main une poignée de poussière: "Tenez," dit-il au représentant de cette noble nation, "prenez cette poussière formée de la cendre des saints, et imprégnée du sang des martyrs."

'L'ambassadeur ne portait pas dans son cœur la foi d'un pape, ni dans son âme les illuminations d'un saint; il reçut pourtant avec respect cette relique étrange à ses yeux; mais revenu en son palais, retirant, d'une main indifférente peut-être, le linge qui la contenait, il le trouva ensanglanté.

'La poussière avait disparu. La foi du pontife avait évoqué le sang des martyrs, et ce sang généreux reparaissait à cet appel pour attester, en face de l'hérésie, que l'Eglise romaine, au xvie siècle, était toujours celle pour laquelle ces héros avaient donné leur vie sous Néron.'—'*Une Chrétienne à Rome.*'

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[1] At the time of its erection, Sixtus V. conceded an indulgence of ten years to all who, passing beneath the obelisk, should adore the cross on its summit, repeating a 'Paternoster.'

[2] The inscription is from Isaiah iv. 6: 'A tabernacle for a shade in the daytime from the heat, and a security and covert from the whirlwind and from the rain.'

In the Jubilee of 1500, Cesare Borgia, son of the reigning Pope, Alexander VI., enclosed the piazza as a bull-ring, and slew six bulls there—Spanish fashion—with his own hand.

No one can look upon the Piazza of S. Peter's without associating it with the great religious ceremonies with which it has been connected, especially that of the Easter Benediction.

'Out over the great balcony stretches a white awning, where priests and attendants are collected, and where the Pope will soon be seen. Below, the piazza is alive with moving masses. In the centre are drawn up long lines of soldiery, with yellow and red pompons, and glittering helmets and bayonets. These are surrounded by crowds on foot, and at the outer rim are packed carriages filled and overrun with people, mounted on the seats and boxes. What a sight it is!—above us the great dome of S. Peter's, and below, the grand embracing colonnade, and the vast space, in the centre of which rises the solemn obelisk thronged with masses of living beings. Peasants from the Campagna and the mountains are moving about everywhere. Pilgrims in oil-cloth cape and with iron staff demand charity. On the steps are rows of purple, blue, and brown umbrellas, for there the sun blazes fiercely. Everywhere crop forth the white hoods of Sisters of Charity, collected in groups, and showing, among the parti-coloured dresses, like beds of chrysanthemums in a garden. One side of the massive colonnade casts a grateful shadow over the crowd beneath, that fill up the intervals of its columns: but elsewhere the sun burns down and flashes everywhere. Mounted on the colonnade are crowds of people leaning over, beside the colossal statues. Through all the heat is heard the constant plash of the sun-lit fountains, that wave to and fro their veils of white spray. At last the clock strikes. In the far balcony are seen the two great showy peacock fans, and between them a figure clad in white, that rises from a golden chair, and spreads his great sleeves like wings as he raises his arms in benediction. That is the Pope, Pius the Ninth. All is dead silence, and a musical voice, sweet and penetrating, is heard chanting from the balcony; the people bend and kneel; with a cold grey flash, all the bayonets gleam as the soldiers drop to their knees, and rise to salute as the voice dies away, and the two white wings are again waved;—then thunder the cannon—the bells clash and peal—a few white papers, like huge snowflakes, drop wavering from the balcony;—these are Indulgences, and there is an eager struggle for them below;—then the Pope again rises, again gives his benediction,[1] waving to and fro his right hand, three fingers open, and making the sign of the cross—and the peacock fans retire, and he between them is borne away—and Lent is over.'—*Story's 'Roba di Roma.'*

The first church which existed near the site of the present building was the oratory founded on the Via Cornelia in A.D. 90 by Anacletus, Bishop of Rome, who is said to have been ordained by S. Peter himself, and who thus marked the spot where many Christian martyrs had suffered in the Circus of Nero, and where S.

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[1] It may not be uninteresting to give the actual words of the benediction:—

'May the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, in whose power and dominion we trust, pray for us to the Lord! Amen.

'Through the prayers and merits of the blessed Mary, ever Virgin, of the blessed Archangel Michael, the blessed John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and all saints—may the Almighty God have mercy upon you, may your sins be forgiven you, and may Jesus Christ lead you to eternal life. Amen.

'Indulgence, absolution, and forgiveness of all sins—time for true repentance, a continual penitent heart and amendment of life—may the Almighty and merciful God grant you these! Amen.

'And may the blessing of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, descend upon you, and remain with you for ever. Amen.'

Peter was buried after his crucifixion. It must be confessed that at this moment Domitian was the malignant foe to both Jew and Christian. Few will be able to agree with the following:—

'For the archaeologist the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence. There was a time when persons belonging to different creeds made it almost a case of conscience to affirm or deny *a priori* those facts, according to their acceptance or rejection of the tradition of any particular Church. This state of feeling is a matter of the past, at least for those who have followed the progress of recent discoveries and of critical literature.'—*Lanciani.*

In 324 Constantine the Great, trying to gratify first one religion, then another, yielded to the request of Pope Sylvester, and began the erection of a basilica on this spot, labouring, like Vespasian, with his own hands at the work, and himself carrying away twelve basket-loads of earth, in honour of the twelve apostles.[1] Anastasius, who lived about five hundred and forty years later, minutely describes how the body of the great apostle was exhumed at this time, and re-interred in a shrine of silver, enclosed in a sarcophagus of gilt bronze. The early basilica measured 395 feet in length by 212 in width. Its naves and double aisles were divided by eighty-six columns.[2] It was constructed on the five-nave system observed in the great Basilicas of the Forum; not upon the nave with right and left aisle as in that of the Domus Flaviorum on the Palatine. Its width consequently much exceeded its height, although the central nave, as usual, rose into a second (or clear) storey. Christianity perforce depended upon classical example at the period in question. A transverse nave, or aisle, crossed the others at the eastern extremity, subtending them equally on the north and south sides; and opposite the central nave this threw out a short semi-circular apsis. At the western end (or entrance) was likewise a transverse vestibule (or narthex), which was prefaced by a noble court, or atrium (quadriporticus), surrounded by beautiful arcades, and enclosing a large fountain (cantharus). In S. Peter's this was elaborated by Pope Symmachus (498–518) into an architectural canopied structure, beneath which stood the great pine-cone (pigna) now in the Vatican. One entered this atrium from a two-storied propylon, having three enriched external doors opening on to a broad marble terrace gained by a flight of steps. All the left flank of this imposing structure lay parallel to and within a few feet of the Spina of **Caligula's Circus**, the present obelisk (which adorned it and which has witnessed the cruel martyrdom of the first Christian victims of Nero) having been left undisturbed, *in situ*, on a spot corresponding to the present sacristy of S. Peter's. Though only

[1] 'Exuens se chlamyde, et accipiens bidentem, ipse primus terram aperuit ad fundamenta basilicae Sancti Petri construenda; deinde, in numero duodecim apostolorum, duodecim cophinos plenos suis humeris superimpositos bajulans, de eo loco, ubi fundamenta basilicae Apostoli erant jacienda.' —*Cod. Vat. Santa Caecil.*, 7-2.

[2] The façade of the old basilica is seen in Raffaelle's fresco of the Incendio del Borgo, and its interior in that of the Coronation of Charlemagne.

half the size of the present church, still it covered a greater space than any mediaeval cathedrals except those of Milan and Seville, with which it ranked in size.

The old basilica suffered severely in the Saracenic invasion of 846, when some authorities maintain that even the tomb of the great apostle was rifled of its contents; but it was restored by Leo IV., who raised the fortifications of the Borgo for its future defence. On the north side stood two small churches, S. Petronilla and S. Maria della Febbre, circular and detached. To the former the relics of the legendary daughter of S. Peter were brought from a tomb on the Via Ardeatina, and the Emperors Honorius (423), his wife Maria, and Theodosius II. (451) were buried there.

'The Vatican began to be the official mausoleum of the Popes with Leo I. in 461. The place selected was not the interior of the church, but the vestibule, and more exactly the space between the middle doorway (the *Porta Argentea*) and the south-west corner, occupied by the *secretarium*, or sacristy, a hall of basilican shape, in which the Popes donned their official robes before entering the church. For nearly two and a half centuries they were laid side by side, until every inch of space was occupied, the graves being under the floor, and marked by a plain slab inscribed with a few Latin distichs of semi-barbaric style. At the time of Gregory the Great there was but a small space left near the secretarium. This was occupied by Pelasgius I., Johannes III., Benedict I., and a few others.'—*Lanciani*, '*Pagan and Christian Rome.*'

Among the most remarkable of its early *pilgrims* were Theodosius I. (391), who came to pray for victory over Engenius; Valentinian III., emperor of the East, with his wife Eudoxia, and his mother Galla Placidia; Belisarius, the great general under Justinian; Totila; Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons, who came for baptism, died immediately afterwards—'candidus inter oves Christi' —and was buried in the Porticus Pontificum near the grave of S. Gregory; Kenred, king of the Mercians, who came to remain as a monk, having cut off and consecrated his long hair at the tomb of S. Peter; Luitprand, king of the Lombards; Ina of Wessex, who founded a church here in honour of the Virgin, that Anglo-Saxons might have a place of prayer, and those who died a grave; Carloman of France, who came for absolution and remained as a monk, first at S. Oreste (Soracte), then at Monte Cassino; Bertrade, wife of Pepin, and mother of Charlemagne; Offa, the Saxon, who lightly made his kingdom tributary to S. Peter; Charlemagne (four times), who was crowned here by Leo III.; Lothaire, crowned by Paschal I.; and, in the last year of the reign of Leo IV., Ethelwolf, king of the Anglo-Saxons, who was crowned here, remaining a year, and who brought with him his boy of six years old, afterwards Alfred the Great. Likewise came Canute and Richard, Earl of Cornwall.

Of the **old basilica**, the much patched-up **crypt** is now the only remnant, and therein are collected the few relics preserved of the endless works of art with which the church was filled, and which for the most part were lost or wilfully destroyed when it was pulled down. Its destruction was first planned by Nicholas V. (1450), but was not carried out till the time of Julius II.

'Men may praise at the present day the magnificence of S. Peter's; they forget what was destroyed to make room for it. No more wanton or barbarous

act of destruction was ever deliberately committed; no bishop was ever so untrue as was Julius II. to his duty as keeper of the fabric of his church. The church which he strove to raise never met with the reverence which had been paid to the venerable building which he overthrew; it was never to be the great central church of the Germanic peoples.'—*Creighton.*

In 1506 Julius II. began the new S. Peter's from designs of Bramante (d. 1514), whose plans and theories influenced the designs of all the succeeding architects of the church. The four great piers and their arches above were completed before the deaths of both Bramante and Pope Julius interrupted the work. The next Pope, Leo X., obtained a design of a church in the form of a Latin cross from Raffaelle, which was changed after his death (on account of expense) to a Greek cross by Baldassare Peruzzi, who, however, only lived to complete the tribune. Paul III. (1534) employed Antonio di Sangallo as an architect, who returned to the design of a Latin cross, but died before he could carry out any of his intentions. Giulio Romano succeeded him, and died also. Thereupon the Pope, 'being inspired by God,' says Vasari, sent for Michelangelo, then in his seventy-second year, who continued the work under Julius III., returning to the plan of a Greek cross, enlarging the tribune and transepts, and beginning the dome on a new plan, which he said would 'raise the Pantheon into the air.' The dome designed by Michelangelo, however, was very different from that which we now admire, being much lower, flatter, and heavier, resembling that of the Pantheon. He carried it only to the completion of the drum when he died (1563). The present dome is due to Giacomo della Porta, who brought the great work to a conclusion in 1590, under Sixtus V., who devoted 100,000 gold crowns annually to the building. The ball and cross were fixed in 1593. In 1605 Paul V. destroyed all that remained of the old basilica, and employed Carlo Maderno as his architect, who once more returned to the plan of the Latin cross, and completed the present ugly façade in 1614. The church was dedicated by Urban VIII., 18th November 1626; the colonnade added by Alexander VII., 1667, the sacristy by Pius VI., in 1780. The building of the present S. Peter's extended altogether over 176 years, and its expenses were so great that Julius II. and Leo X. were obliged to meet them by the sale of indulgences, which led to the Reformation. The expense of the main building alone has been estimated at £10,000,000. The annual expense of repairs is £6300.

'The rebuilding of S. Peter's alone, from the pontificate of Martin V. to that of Pius VII., caused more destruction, did more injury to ancient classic remains, than ten centuries of so-called barbarism. Of the huge and almost incredible mass of marbles, of every nature, colour, value, and description, used in building S. Peter's, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, not an inch, not an atom (except in the case of a few columns of *cottanello*) comes from modern quarries; they were all removed from classic buildings, many of which were levelled to the ground for the sake of one or two pieces only.' —*Lanciani*, '*Ancient Rome.*'

'S. Pierre est une sorte de ville à part dans Rome, ayant son climat, sa température propre, sa lumière trop vive pour être religieuse, tantôt déserte, tantôt traversée par des sociétes de voyageurs, ou remplie d'une foule attirée

par les cérémonies religieuses (à l'époque des jubilés le nombre des pèlerins s'est parfois élevé, à Rome, jusqu'à 400,000). Elle a ses réservoirs d'eau, sa fontaine coulant perpétuellement au pied de la grande coupole, dans un bassin de plomb, pour la commodité des travaux; ses rampes, par lesquelles les bêtes de somme peuvent monter; sa population fixe, habitant ses terasses. Les San Pietrini, ouvriers chargés de tous les travaux qu'exige la conservation d'un aussi précieux édifice, s'y succèdent de père en fils, et forment une corporation qui a ses lois et sa police.'—*A. Du Pays.*

The **façade** of S. Peter's is 357 feet long and 144 feet high. It is surmounted by a balustrade six feet in height, bearing statues of the Saviour and the Twelve Apostles. Over the central entrance is the loggia where the Pope used to be crowned, and whence he gave the Easter Benediction. The inscription runs: 'In . Honorem . Principis . Apost. . Paulus V. . Burghesius . Romanus . Pont. . Max. . A . MDCXII . Pont. VII.'

The amount of space which Paul V. occupies in the inscription gave rise to the pasquinade:—

'Angulus est Petri, Pauli frons tota. Quid inde?
Non Petri, Paulo stat fabricata domus.'

'Even the Dome is for the most part hidden by the front, and the Vatican has no business by its side.'—*Hazlitt.*

'I don't like to say the façade of the church is ugly and obtrusive. As long as the dome overawes, that façade is supportable. You advance towards it through—oh, such a noble court! with fountains flashing up to meet the sunbeams; and right and left of you two sweeping half-crescents of great columns; but you pass by the courtiers and up to the steps of the throne, and the dome seems to disappear behind it. It is as if the throne were upset, and the king had toppled over.'—*Thackeray*, '*The Newcomes.*'

A wide flight of steps leads by five entrances to the modern **Vestibule**, which is 486 feet long, 66 feet high, and 50 feet wide. At its foot are statues of S. Peter by *De Fabris*, and S. Paul by *Tadolini*. We must recollect that this church faces east instead of west.

'There is no doubt that the likenesses of SS. Peter and Paul have been carefully preserved in Rome ever since their lifetime, and that they were familiar to every one, even to school children. These portraits have come down to us by scores. They are painted in the cubiculi of the catacombs, engraved in gold leaf in the so-called *vetri cemeteriali*, cast in bronze, hammered in silver or copper, and designed in mosaic. The type never varies—S. Peter's face is full and strong, with short curly hair and beard, while S. Paul appears more wiry and thin, slightly bald, with a long pointed beard. The antiquity and the genuineness of both types cannot be doubted.'—*Lanciani.*

Closing the vestibule on the right is a statue of Constantine by *Bernini*, on the left that of Charlemagne by *Cornacchini*. Over the principal entrance (facing the door of the church) is the celebrated **Mosaic of the Navicella**, designed in 1298 by *Giotto* and completed by *Pietro Cavallini.*

'For the ancient basilica of S. Peter, Giotto executed his celebrated mosaic of the Navicella, which has an allegorical foundation. It represents a ship, with the disciples, on an agitated sea; the winds, personified as demons, storm against it; above appear the Fathers of the Old Testament speaking comfort to the sufferers. According to the early Christian symbolisation, the ship denoted the Church. Nearer, and on the right, in a firm attitude, stands Christ, the Rock of the Church, raising Peter from the waves. Oppo-

site sits a fisherman in tranquil expectation, denoting the hope of the believer. The mosaic has frequently changed its place, and has undergone so many restorations that the composition alone can be attributed to Giotto. The fisherman and the figures hovering in the air are, in their present form, the work of Marcello Provenzale.'—*Kugler*, i. 127.

'This mosaic is ill-placed and ill-seen for an especial reason. Early converts from Paganism retained the heathen custom of turning round to venerate the sun before entering the church, so that in the old basilica, as here, the mosaic was thus placed to give a fitting object of worship. The learned Cardinal Baronius never, for a single day, during the space of thirty years, failed to bow before this symbol of the primitive Church, tossed on the stormy sea of persecution and of sin, saying, "Lord, save me from the waves of sin, as Thou didst Peter from the waves of the sea."'—*Mrs. Elliot's 'Historical Pictures.'*

The magnificent **central door** of bronze is a remnant from the old basilica, having been made in the time of Eugenius IV., 1431–39, by Antonio Filarete and Simone di Ghini. The bas-reliefs of the compartments represent the martyrdoms of SS. Peter and Paul, and the principal events in the reign of Eugenius—the Council of Florence, the coronation of Sigismund, Emperor of Germany, &c. The bas-reliefs of the framework are entirely mythological; Ganymede, Leda and her Swan, &c., are to be distinguished.

'Corinne fit remarquer à Lord Nelvil que sur les portes étaient représentés en bas-relief les métamorphoses d'Ovide. On ne se scandalise point à Rome, lui dit-elle, des images du paganisme, quand les beaux-arts les ont consacrées. Les merveilles du génie portent toujours à l'âme une impression religieuse, et nous faisons hommage au culte chrétien de tous les chefs-d'œuvre que les autres cultes ont inspirés.'—*Mme. de Staël.*

Let into the wall between the doors are three remarkable inscriptions: 1. Commemorating the donations made to the church by Gregory II., of certain olive-grounds to provide oil for the lamps; 2. The bull of Boniface VIII. (1300), granting the indulgence proclaimed at every jubilee; 3. In the centre the Latin epitaph of Adrian I. (Colonna, 772–795), by Charlemagne,[1] one of the most ancient memorials of the Papacy:—

'The father of the Church, the ornament of Rome, the famous writer Adrian, the blessed Pope, rests in peace:
God was his life, love was his law, Christ was his glory;
He was the apostolic shepherd, always ready to do that which was right.
Of noble birth, and descended from an ancient race,
He received a still greater nobility from his virtues.
The pious soul of this good shepherd was always bent
Upon ornamenting the temples consecrated to God.
He gave gifts to the churches, and sacred dogmas to the people;
And showed us all the way to heaven.
Liberal to the poor, his charity was second to none,
And he always watched over his people in prayer.
By his teachings, his treasures, and his buildings, he raised,
O illustrious Rome, thy monuments, to be the honour of the town and of the world.
Death could not injure him, for its sting was taken away by the death of Christ:
It opened for him the gate of the better life.

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[1] As in the portico of the Temple of Mars were preserved the verses of the poet Attius upon Junius Brutus.

I, Charles, have written these verses, while weeping for my father
Oh my father, my beloved one, how lasting is my grief for thee.
Dost thou think upon me, as I follow thee constantly in spirit?
Now reign blessed with Christ in the heavenly kingdom.
The clergy and people have loved thee with a heart-love.
Thou wert truly the love of the world, O excellent priest.
O most illustrious, I unite our two names and titles,
Adrian and Charles, the king and the father.
O thou who readest these verses, say with pious heart the prayer:
O merciful God, have pity upon them both.
Sweetly slumbering, O friend, may thy earthly body rest in the grave,
And thy spirit wander in bliss with the saints of the Lord,
Till the last trumpet sounds in thine ears,
Then arise with Peter to the contemplation of God.
Yes, I know that thou wilt hear the voice of the merciful judge
Bid thee to enter the paradise of thy Saviour.
Then, O great father, think upon thy son,
And ask, that with the father the son may enter into joy.
Go, blessed father, enter into the kingdom of Christ,
And thence, as an intercessor, help thy people with thy prayers.
Even so long as the sun rolls upon its fiery axis
Shall thy glory, O heavenly father, remain in the world.

'Adrian the Pope, of blessed memory, reigned for three-and-twenty years, ten months, and seventeen days, and died on the 25th of December.'

The body of Adrian I., with those of Leo the Great and Gregory the Great, were removed from the vestibule to the interior of the old basilica in the ninth century. At that time the vestibule also contained many other papal tombs; Helpis, first wife of the philosopher Boëthius; Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons, and many other illustrious persons. Ceadwalla's tomb was found and recognised during the rebuilding, but has perished utterly.

The walled-up door on the right is the **Porta Santa**, only opened for the jubilee, which has taken place every twenty-fifth year since the time of Sixtus IV.[1] The Pope himself gives the signal for the destruction of the wall on the Christmas Eve before the sacred year.

'After preliminary prayers from Scripture singularly apt, the Pope goes down from his throne, and, armed with a silver hammer, strikes the wall in the doorway, which, having been cut round from its jambs and lintel, falls at once inwards, and is cleared away in a moment by the San Pietrini. The Pope, then, bareheaded and torch in hand, first enters the door, and is followed by his cardinals and his other attendants to the high altar, where the first vespers of Christmas Day are chanted as usual. The other doors of the church are then flung open, and the great queen of churches is filled.'—*Cardinal Wiseman.*

'Arrêtez-vous un moment ici, dit Corinne à Lord Nelvil, comme il était déjà, sous le portique de l'église; arrêtez-vous, avant de soulever le rideau qui couvre la porte du temple; votre cœur ne bat-il pas à l'approche de ce sanctuaire? et ne ressentez-vous pas, au moment d'entrer, tout ce que ferait éprouver l'attente d'un événement solennel?'—*Mme. de Staël.*

We now push aside the heavy double curtain and enter the Basilica.

'Hilda had not always been adequately impressed by the grandeur of this mighty cathedral. When she first lifted the heavy leathern curtains at one

[1] Urban VI. had ordained that the jubilee should be every thirty-third year, as representing the age attained by Christ.

of the doors, a shadowy edifice in her imagination had been dazzled out of sight by the reality.'—*Hawthorne.*

'The interior burst upon our astonished gaze, resplendent in light, magnificence, and beauty, beyond all that imagination can conceive. Its apparent smallness of size, however, mingled some degree of surprise, and even disappointment, with my admiration; but as I walked slowly up its long nave, empanelled with the rarest and richest marbles, and adorned with every art of sculpture and taste, and caught through the lofty arches opening views of chapels, and tombs, and altars of surpassing splendour, I felt that it was, indeed, unparalleled in beauty, in magnitude, and magnificence, and one of the noblest and most wonderful of the works of man.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'S. Peter's, that glorious temple—the largest and most beautiful, it is said, in the world—produced upon me the impression rather of a Christian pantheon than of a Christian church. The aesthetic intellect is edified more than the God-loving or God-seeking soul. The exterior and interior of the building appear to me more like an apotheosis of the Popedom than a glorification of Christianity and its doctrine. Monuments to the popes occupy too much space. One sees all round the walls angels flying upwards with papal portraits, sometimes merely with papal tiaras.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

'The building of S. Peter's surpasses all powers of description. It appears to me like some great work of nature, a forest, a mass of rocks, or something similar; for I never can realise the idea that it is the work of man. You strive to distinguish the ceiling as little as the canopy of heaven. You lose your way in S. Peter's; you take a walk in it, and ramble till you are quite tired; when divine service is performed and chanted there, you are not aware of it till you come quite close. The angels in the Baptistery are enormous giants—the doves, colossal birds of prey; you lose all sense of measurement with the eye or proportion; and yet who does not feel his heart expand when standing under the dome and gazing up at it?'—*Mendelssohn's Letters.*

'But thou, of temples old or altars new,
Standest alone—with nothing like to thee—
Worthiest of God, the holy and the true.
Since Zion's desolation, when that He
Forsook His former city, what could be
Of earthly structures, in His honour piled,
Of a sublimer aspect? Majesty,
Power, Glory, Strength, and Beauty—all are aisled
In this eternal ark of worship undefiled.

Enter: its grandeur overwhelms thee not;
And why? it is not lessened; but thy mind,
Expanded by the genius of the spot,
Has grown colossal, and can only find
A fit abode wherein appear enshrined
Thy hopes of immortality; and thou
Shalt one day, if found worthy, so defined,
See thy God face to face, as thou dost now
His Holy of Holies, nor be blasted by His brow.'
—*Byron, 'Childe Harold.'*

'On pousse avec peine une grosse portière du cuir, et nous voici dans Saint-Pierre. On ne peut qu'adorer la religion qui produit de telles choses. Rien du monde ne peut-être comparé à l'intérieur de Saint-Pierre. Après un an de séjour à Rome, j'y allais encore passer des heures entières avec plaisir.'—*Fontana, 'Tempio Vaticano Illustrato.'*

'Tandis que, dans les églises gothiques, l'impression est de s'agenouiller, de joindre les mains avec un sentiment d'humble prière et de profond regret; dans Saint-Pierre, au contraire, le mouvement involontaire serait d'ouvrir les bras en signe de joie, de relever la tête avec bonheur et épanouissement. Il semble que là, le péché n'accable plus; le sentiment vif du pardon par le triomphe de la résurrection remplit seul le cœur.'—*Eugénie de la Ferronays.*

'In this church one learns how art as well as nature can set aside every standard of measurement.'—*Goethe.*

'The temperature of S. Peter's seems, like the happy islands, to experience no change. In the coldest weather, it is like summer to your feelings, and in the most oppressive heats it strikes you with a delightful sensation of cold—a luxury not to be estimated except in a climate such as this.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

On each side of the nave are four pillars with corinthian capitals, and a rich entablature supporting the arches. The roof is vaulted, coffered, and richly gilded. The pavement is of coloured marble, inlaid from designs of Giacomo della Porta and Bernini. In the centre of the floor, immediately within the chief entrance, is a round slab of porphyry, upon which the mediaeval Emperors were crowned.

The proportionate size of the statues and ornaments in S. Peter's does away with the impression of its vastness, and it is only by observing the living, moving figures that one can form any idea of its colossal proportions. A line in the pavement is marked with the comparative lengths of the other great Christian churches. According to this, the length of S. Peter's is 613½ feet; of S. Paul's, London, 520½ feet; Milan Cathedral, 443 feet; S. Sophia, Constantinople, 360½ feet. The height of the dome in the interior is 405 feet; on the exterior, 448 feet. The height of the baldacchino is 94½ feet.

The first impulse will be to go up to the shrine, at which a circle of eighty-six golden lamps is always burning around the tomb of the poor fisherman of Galilee, and to look down into the **Confession**, where there is a beautiful kneeling statue of Pope Pius VI. (Braschi, 1785–1800) by **Canova.**[1] Hence one can gaze up into the dome and read its huge letters in purple-blue mosaic on a gold ground, each six feet long.[2] 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum.' Above this occur four colossal mosaics of the Evangelists from designs of the Cav. d'Arpino; the pen in the hand of S. Luke is seven feet in length.

'The cupola is glorious, viewed in its design, its altitude, or even its decorations; viewed either as a whole or as a part, it enchants the eye, it satisfies the taste, it expands the soul. The very air seems to eat up all that is harsh or colossal, and leaves us nothing but the sublime to feast on—a sublime peculiar as the genius of the immortal architect, and comprehensible only on the spot.'—*Forsyth.*

'Ce dôme, en le considérant même d'en bas, fait éprouver une sorte de terreur; on croit voir des abîmes suspendus sur sa tête.'—*Mme. de Staël.*

'But when, having traversed the length of the nave without uttering a word, he passed from under the gilded roofs, and the spacious dome, lofty as a firmament, expanded itself above him in the sky, covered with tracery of the celestial glories, and brilliant with mosaic and stars of gold; when,

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[1] The Pope, on the third Sunday in Advent, used to go down and perform a service in the *confessio*, seated *in subsellio.* See *Ordo Romanus Benedicti* in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* ii. 122.

[2] These letters are in real mosaic. Those in the nave and transepts are in paper—to complete them in mosaic would have been too expensive.

opening on all sides to the wide transepts, the limitless pavement stretched away beyond the reach of sense; when, beneath this vast work and finished effort of man's devotion, he saw the high altar, brilliant with lights, surmounted and enthroned by its panoply of clustering columns and towering cross: when all around him, he was conscious of the hush and calmness of worship, and felt in his inmost being the sense of vastness, of splendour, and of awe;—he may be pardoned if, kneeling upon the polished floor, he conceived for a moment that this was the house of God, and that the gate of heaven was here.'—'*John Inglesant.*'

The **Baldacchino**, designed by Bernini in 1633, is of bronze, with gilt ornaments, and was made chiefly with bronze from Venice. A niece of Urban VIII., whom Bernini had aspired to marry in vain, promised the pillars if she were safely delivered of a son. All the months of her pregnancy are peculiarly portrayed on the coats of arms of pedestals, and the last is represented by a beautiful babe. The baldacchino covers the high altar, which is only used on the most solemn occasions. Only the Pope can celebrate mass there, or a cardinal who is authorised by a Papal brief.

'Without a sovereign priest officiating before and for his people, S. Peter's is but a grand aggregation of splendid churches, chapels, tombs, and works of art. With him, it becomes a whole, a single, peerless temple, such as the world never saw before. That central pile, with its canopy of bronze as lofty as the Farnese Palace, with its deep-diving stairs leading to a court walled and paved with precious stones, that yet seems only a vestibule to some cavern or catacomb, with its simple altar, that disdains ornament in the presence of what is beyond the reach of human price—that which in truth forms the heart of the great body, placed just where the heart should be, is then animated, and surrounded by living and moving sumptuousness. The immense cupola above it ceases to be a dome over a sepulchre, and becomes a canopy over an altar; the quiet tomb beneath is changed into the shrine of relics below the place of sacrifice—the saints under the altar; the quiet spot at which a few devout worshippers at most times may be found, bowing under the hundred lamps, is crowded by rising groups, beginning from the lowest step, increasing in dignity and in richness of sacred robes, till, at the summit and in the centre, stands supreme the Pontiff himself, on the very spot which becomes him, the one living link in a chain, the first ring of which is riveted to the shrine of the Apostle below. . . . S. Peter's is only itself when the Pope is at the high altar, and hence only by or for him it is used.'—*Cardinal Wiseman.*

The **four monster piers** which support the dome are used as shrines for the four great relics of the church: viz., 1. The lance of S. Longinus, the soldier who pierced the side of the Saviour, presented to Innocent VIII. by Pierre d'Aubusson, Grand-Master of the Knights of Rhodes, who had received it from the Sultan Bajazet;[1] 2. The head of S. Andrew, said to have been brought from Achaia in 1460, when its arrival was celebrated by Pius II.; 3. A portion of the true cross, brought by S. Helena; 4. The napkin of S. Veronica, said, doubtless from the affinity of names, to bear the impression—vera-iconica—of our Saviour's face.

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[1] Innocent sent two bishops to receive it at Ancona, two cardinals to receive it at Narni, and went himself, with all his court, to meet it at the Porta del Popolo. In the old S. Peter's it was preserved in the exquisite shrine of the Santa Lucia, a masterpiece of the school of Mino da Fiesole, destroyed by Paul V. in 1606.

'The "Volto-Santo," said to be the impress of the countenance of our Saviour on the handkerchief of S. Veronica, or Berenice, which wiped His brow on the way to Calvary, was placed in the Vatican by John VII. in 707, and afterwards transferred to the Church of Santo Spirito, where six Roman noblemen had the care of it, each taking charge of one of the keys with which it was locked up. Among the privileges enjoyed for this office was that of receiving every year, from the Hospital of Santo Spirito at the feast of Pentecost, two cows, whose flesh, an ancient chronicle says, "si mangiavano li, con gran festa." In 1440 this picture was carried back to S. Peter's, whence it has not since been moved. When I examined the head on the Veronica handkerchief, it struck me as undoubtedly a work of early Byzantine art, perhaps of the seventh or eighth century, painted on linen. It is with implicit acceptance of its claims that Petrarch alludes to it—"verendam populis Salvatoris Imaginem" (Ep. ix. lib. 2). During the Republican domination in 1849, it was rumoured that, about Easter, the Canons of S. Peter saw the Volto-Santo turn pale, and ominously change colour while they gazed upon it.'—*Hemans*, '*Catholic Italy*,' vol. i.

The ceremony of exhibiting the relics from the balcony above the statue of S. Veronica takes place on Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter Day, but the height is so great that nothing can really be distinguished.

'To-day we gazed on the Veronica—the holy impression left by our Saviour's face on the cloth S. Veronica presented to Him to wipe his brow, bowed under the weight of the Cross. We had looked forward to this sight for days, for seven thousand years of indulgence from penance are attached to it.

'But when the moment came we could see nothing but a black board hung with a cloth, before which another white cloth was held. In a few minutes this was withdrawn, and the great moment was over, the glimpse of the sacred thing on which hung the fate of seven thousand years.'—'*Schönberg-Cotta Chronicles*.'

The statue of S. Veronica marks the spot where the first stone of the new basilica was laid, April 26, 1506. The original shrine was profaned and the veil dragged through the streets by the drunken soldiery of Charles de Bourbon in May 1527.

The niches in the piers are occupied by four statues of S. Longinus, S. Andrew, S. Helena, and S. Veronica (by Mocchi—the best) holding the napkin or '**sudarium**.'[1]

'Malheureusement toutes ces statues pèchent par la goût. Le rococo, mis à la mode par le Bernin, est surtout exécrable dans le genre colossal. Mais la présence du génie de Bramante et de Michel-Ange se fait tellement sentir, que les choses ridicules ne le sont plus ici; elles ne sont qu'insignifiantes. Les statues colossales des piliers représentent: S. André, par François Quesnoy (Fiammingo), elle excita la jalousie du Bernin; S. Véronique par M. Mochi, dont il blâmait les draperies volantes (dans un endroit clos). Un plaisant lui répondait que leur agitation provenait du vent qui souffiait par les crevasses de la coupole, depuis qu'il avait affaibli les piliers par des niches et tribunes. S. Hélène par A. Bolgi, S. Longin par Bernin.'—*A. Du Pays*.

Not very far from the confession, against the last pier on the right of the nave, stands the **statue of S. Peter**, long supposed to have been cast by Leo the Great from the old statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, to commemorate the deliverance of Rome from the invasion of Attila, but we are told by one educated in the Vatican—

[1] It was at this spot that the first stone of the basilica was laid, April 26, 1506.

'The statue is not the Capitoline Jupiter transformed into an apostle; nor was it cast with the bronze of that figure; it never held the thunderbolt in the place of the keys of heaven. The statue was cast as a portrait of S. Peter; the head belongs to the body; the keys and the uplifted fingers of the right hand are essential and genuine details of the original composition.'—*Lanciani.*

The figure is of rude workmanship, and belongs, as the keys declare, to a much later day than the Apostle. Its extended foot is eagerly kissed by devotees. Gregory II. (A.D. 716) wrote of it to Leo the Isaurian: 'Christ is my witness, that when I enter the temple of the Prince of the Apostles, and contemplate his image, I am filled with such emotion, that tears roll down my cheeks like the rain from heaven.' On high festivals this statue is dressed in a mitre and pontifical robes.

Above the statue of S. Peter is the mosaic picture of Pius IX., erected by the clergy of the Vatican in 1871, to commemorate the length of his reign, which had then equalled that of the supposed episcopate of S. Peter, a period it was hitherto believed no Pope could survive.

Along the piers of the nave and transepts are ranged statues of the various founders of religious Orders, male and female.

Returning to the main entrance, we will now make the tour of the basilica. Those who expect to find monuments of ancient historical interest will, however, be disappointed. Scarcely anything remains above ground which is earlier than the sixteenth century. Of the tombs of the eighty-seven Popes who were buried in the old basilica, the greater part were totally lost at its destruction —a few were removed to other churches (those of the Piccolomini to S. Andrea della Valle, &c.), and some fragments are still to be seen in the crypt. Only two monuments were replaced in the new basilica, those of the two Popes who lived in the time and excited the indignation of Savonarola—'Sixtus IV., with whose cordial concurrence the assassination of Lorenzo de' Medici was attempted, and Innocent VIII., the main object of whose policy was to secure place and power for his illegitimate children.'

'The side-chapels are splendid, and so large that they might serve for independent churches. The monuments and statues are numerous, but all are subordinate, or unite harmoniously with the large and beautiful proportions of the chief temple. Everything there is harmony, light, beauty—an image of the church-triumphant, but a very worldly, earthly image; and whilst the mind enjoys its splendour, the soul cannot, in the higher sense, be edified by its symbolism.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

The **1st chapel R.** derives its name from the ill-seen **Pietà of Michelangelo,** representing the dead Saviour upon the knees of the Madonna, a work of the master in his twenty-fourth year, upon an order from the French ambassador, Cardinal Jean de Villiers, Abbot of S. Denis. The sculptor has inscribed his name (the only instance in which he has done so) upon the girdle of the Virgin. When critics observed to Michelangelo that his Madonna was too young, he answered that 'Purity enjoys eternal youth.' Francis I. attempted to obtain this group from Michelangelo in 1507, together with the statue of Christ at the Minerva, 'comme de choses que l'on m'a assuré estre des

plus exquises et excellentes en votre art.' The Pietà was first placed in a chapel of the old basilica dedicated to 'La Madonne della Febbre,' and in front of it the corpse of Alexander VI., Rodrigo Borgia, lay in state—'the most repulsive, monstrous, and deformed corpse which had ever yet been seen.'[1] Opening from this chapel are two smaller ones. That on the right has a crucifix by *Pietro Cavallini;* the mosaic, representing S. Nicholas of Bari, is by *Cristofori.* That on the left is called **Cappella della Colonna Santa,** from a column (in spite of its obvious style) said to have been brought from Jerusalem, and to have been that against which the Saviour leant when He prayed and taught in the Temple. It was formerly used for the exorcism of evil spirits, and was enclosed in a marble *pluteus* or screen by Cardinal Orsini in 1438. It is inscribed:[2]—

'Haec est illa columna in qua DNS Nr Jesus XPS appodiatus dum populo praedicabat et Deo pño preces in templo effundebat adhaerendo, stabatque una cum aliis undecim hic circumstantibus. De Salomonis templo in triumphum hujus Basilicae hic locata fuit: demones expellit et immundis spiritibus vexatos liberos reddit et multa miracula cotidie facit. P. reverendissimum prem et Dominum Dominum Card. de Ursinis. A.D. MDCCCXXVIII.'

A more interesting object in this chapel is the sarcophagus (used as a font in the old Basilica) of Anicius Probus, a prefect of Rome in the fourth century, of the family of the Anicii, to which S. Gregory the Great belonged. Its five compartments have bas-reliefs representing Christ and the Apostles.

Returning to the aisle, on the R. is the tomb of Leo XII., Annibale della Genga (1823–29), by *De Fabris;* on the left is the tomb of Christina of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, who died at Rome, 1689, by *Carlo Fontana,* with a bas-relief by *Teudon,* representing her abjuration of Protestantism in 1655 in the Cathedral of Innsbruck.

On the R. is the altar of S. Sebastian, with a mosaic copy of Domenichino's picture at S. Maria degli Angeli; beyond which is the tomb of Innocent XII., Antonio Pignatelli (1691–1700). This was the last Pope who wore the martial beard and moustache, which we see represented in his statue.[3] *Pignatella* is Italian for a little cream-jug; in allusion to this we may see three little cream-jugs in the upper decorations of this monument, which is by *Filippo Valle.*

'Son nom, ses armes sont des pots,
Une Caraffe était sa mère.'
—*M. de Coulanges to Mme. de Sévigné.*

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[1] Dispacci di Antonio Giustiniani.

[2] The real interest of the column consists in its having been one of the 138 columns used in the church of Constantine. Of these, eight others ornament the balconies under the dome, and two the altar of S. Mauritius.

[3] This Pope either forgot to inscribe his family amongst the Roman aristocracy, or thought that they were above it. Consequently no place is reserved for the Pignatelli amongst the Roman princes in the ceremonies of the Sistine. They were, however, always noble, and can say, 'We gave a Pope to the Church, but are not of Papal origin.'

'C'était un grand et saint pape, vrai pasteur et vrai père commun, tel qu'il ne s'en voit plus que bien rarement sur la chaire de Saint-Pierre, et qui emporta les regrets universels, comblé de bénédictions et de mérite.'—*S. Simon*, '*Mémoires*,' 1700.

On the L. is the tomb, by *Bernini*, of the Countess Matilda, foundress of the temporal power of the Popes, who died in 1115, was buried in a monastery near Mantua, and transported hither by Urban VIII. in 1635. The bas-relief represents the absolution of Henry IV. of Germany, by Hildebrand, which took place at her intercession, and in her presence.

We now reach, on the R., the large **Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento**, decorated with a fresco altar-piece, representing the Trinity, by *Pietro da Cortona*, and a tabernacle of lapis-lazuli and gilt bronze, copied from Bramante's little temple at S. Pietro in Montorio. Here is the magnificent tomb of Sixtus IV., Francesco della Rovere (1471–84), removed from the choir of the old S. Peter's, where it was erected by his nephew, Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II. He was of such lowly origin that he had no name of his own, and took that of the Rovere family in Piedmont, with whom he lived as tutor. His reign was entirely occupied with politics, and he was secretly involved in the conspiracy of the Pazzi at Florence; he carried nepotism to such an extent as to found a principality (Imola and Forli) for his nephew Girolamo Riario. Battista Mantovano describes the venality of his times—

'Venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronae,
Ignes, thura, preces, coelum est venale
Deusque.'
—*De Calamitatibus Temporum*, 1, iii.

'Son pontificat colérique, impudent, effréné, passe tous les récits de Suétone.' —*Michelet*, '*Hist. de France*.'

The tomb is a beautiful work of the Florentine artist, *Antonio Pollajuolo*, in 1493. The figure of the Pope reposes upon a bronze couch, surrounded (in memory of his having taught successively in the six great universities of Italy) with allegorical bas-reliefs of Arithmetic, Astrology, Philology, Rhetoric, Grammar, Perspective, Music, Geography, Philosophy, and Theology, which last is represented like a Pagan Diana with a bow and a quiver of arrows on her shoulders. Close to this monument of his uncle, a flat stone in the pavement marks the grave of Julius II., for whom the grand tomb at S. Pietro in Vincoli was intended.

Returning to the aisle, we see on the R. the chapel and tomb of Gregory XIII., Ugo Buoncompagni (1572–85), during whose reign the new calendar was invented, an event commemorated in a bas-relief upon the monument, which was not erected till 1723, and is by *Camillo Rusconi*. The figure of the Pope (he died aged eighty-four) is in the attitude of benediction: beneath are Wisdom, represented as Minerva, and Fortitude, holding a tablet inscribed, 'Novi opera hujus et fidem.' The marbles used here were plundered

from the Mausoleum of Hadrian and the Augusteum of the Fratres Arvales. Opposite this is the paltry tomb of Gregory XIV., Nicolo Sfondrati (1590–91).

'Le tombeau de Grégoire XIII., que le massacre de Saint-Barthélemy réjouit si fort, est de marbre. Le tombeau de stuc où d'abord il avait été placé, a été accordé, après son départ, aux cendres se Grégoire XIV.'—*Stendhal.*

On the L., against the great pier, is a mosaic copy of Domenichino's Communion of S. Jerome. On the right is the chapel of the Madonna,[1] founded by Gregory XIII., and built by Giacomo della Porta. The cupola has mosaics by Girolamo Muziano. Beneath the altar is buried S. Gregory Nazianzen, removed hither from the Convent of S. Maria in the Campo Marzo by Gregory XIII.

S. Gregory Nazianzen (or S. Gregory Theologos) was son of S. Gregory and S. Nonna, and brother of S. Gorgonia and S. Cesarea. He was born *c.* A.D. 328. In his childhood he was influenced by a vision of the two virgins, Temperance and Chastity, summoning him to pursue them to the joys of Paradise. Being educated at Athens (together with Julian the Apostate), he formed there a great friendship with S. Basil. He became first the coadjutor, afterwards the successor of his father, in the bishopric of Nazianzen, but removed thence to Constantinople, where he preached against the Arians. By the influence of Theodosius, he was ordained Bishop of Constantinople, but was so worn out by the cabals and schisms in the Church, that he resigned his office, and retired to his paternal estate, where he passed the remainder of his life in the composition of Greek hymns and poems. He died May 9, A.D. 390.

On the R. is the tomb of Benedict XIV., Prospero Lambertini (1743–58), by *Pietro Bracci*, a huge and ugly monument, in which 'mannerism pushed to an extreme point caused a wholesome reaction in art.' On the left is the tomb of Gregory XVI., Mauro-Cappellari (1831–46), by *Amici*, erected in 1855 by the cardinals he had created.

Turning into the R. **transept** (used as a council-chamber, for which purpose it proved thoroughly unsatisfactory, 1869-70), we find several fine mosaics after pictures: viz., the Martyrdom of SS. Processus and Martinianus from Valentino at the Vatican Library; the Martyrdom of S. Erasmus from Poussin; S. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, from Caroselli; Christ walking on the sea to the boat of S. Peter, after Lanfranco. The south apse occupies the site of a church of S. Petronilla.

Opposite to the last-named mosaic is the **monument of Clement XIII.**, Carlo Rezzonico (1758–69). This tomb, the finest of its period and the greatest work of **Canova**, was uncovered April 4, 1795, in the presence of an immense crowd, with whom the sculptor mingled, disguised as an abbé, to hear their opinion of his work. The Pope (aged 75) is represented devoutly kneeling in prayer upon a pedestal, beneath which is the entrance to a vault, guarded by

[1] The picture of the Madonna del Soccorso is one of the two pictures from the old basilica preserved in the present building; the other is the Madonna della Colonna in the south transept.

two grand marble lions. On the right is Religion, standing erect with a cross; on the left a lovely but rather conventional Genius of Death, holding a torch reversed—an 'Apollo Belvidere of modern times.'[1] The beauty of this work of Canova is only felt when it is compared with the monuments of the seventeenth century in S. Peter's; 'then it seems as if they were separated by an abyss of centuries.'[2]

Beyond this are mosaics from the S. Michael of Guido, at the Cappuccini, and—the best mosaic in the church—from the Martyrdom of S. Petronilla, of Guercino, at the Capitol. Each of these large mosaics has cost about 150,000 francs.

On the R. is the tomb of Clement X., Gio. Battista Altieri (1670–86), by *Rossi*, the statue by *Ercole Ferrata;* and, on the left, is a mosaic of S. Peter raising Tabitha from the dead, by Costanzi.

Ascending into the **tribune**, we see at the end of the church, beneath the ugly window of yellow glass, the 'Cathedra Petri' of *Bernini*, supported by figures of four Fathers of the Church, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Athanasius. Enclosed in this is an ancient wooden senatorial chair, encrusted with ivory, which is believed to have been the episcopal **throne of S. Peter** and his immediate successors. Recent Roman Catholic authorities (Mgr. Gerbet, &c.) consider that it may have been the chair of the senator Pudens, with whom the Apostle lodged. A magnificent festival in honour of S. Peter's Chair ('Natale Petri de Cathedra') has been annually celebrated here from the earliest times, and is mentioned in a calendar of Pope Liberius of A.D. 354. It used to be said that if any pope were to reign longer than the traditional years of the government of S. Peter, S. Peter's chair would be again brought into use; but this occurred in the case of Pius IX., and nothing happened. The framework and a few panels of the relic may possibly date from the second century.

'Prior to the seventeenth century it was always kept in the baptistery of the basilica, with the exception only of a period of time between the destruction of the baptistery of Damasus and Symmachus in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the destruction of the upper part of S. Peter's in 1507. During this interval of perhaps two hundred and fifty or three hundred years, it seems to have been kept at an altar close to the tomb of S. Leo, to the left of the high altar.'—*A. S. Barnes, 'S. Peter at Rome.'*

On the right of the chair is the tomb of Urban VIII., Matteo Barberini (1623–44), who was remarkable from his passion for building, and who is perpetually brought to mind through the number of his edifices—some of them very good—which still exist. The tomb is by *Bernini*, the architect of his endless fountains and public buildings, and exemplifies the usual fault of this sculptor in loading his figures (except in that of Urban himself[3]) with meaningless drapery. Figures of Charity and

[1] Lanciani. [2] Gregorovius, *Grabmäler der Päpste.*
[3] There is a fine portrait of Urban VIII. by Pietro da Cortona in the Capitoline gallery.

Justice stand by the black marble sarcophagus of the Pope, and a gilded bronze skeleton is occupied in inscribing the name of Urban on the list of Death. The whole monument is alive with the bees of the Barberini. The pendant tomb on the left is that of Paul III., Alessandro Farnese (1534–50), in whose reign the Order of Jesus was founded. This Pope (the first Roman who had occupied the throne for 103 years, since Martin V.) was learned, brilliant, and witty. He was adored by his people, in spite of his intense nepotism, which induced him to form Parma into a duchy for his natural son Pierluigi, to build the Farnese Palace, and to marry his grandson Ottavio to Marguerite, natural daughter of Charles V., to whom he gave the Palazzo Madama and the Villa Madama as a dowry. His tomb, by *Guglielmo della Porta*, perhaps the finest in S. Peter's, cost 24,000 Roman crowns; it was erected in the old basilica just before its destruction in 1562, and in 1574 was transferred to this church, where its position was the source of a quarrel between the sculptor and Michelangelo, by whose interest he had obtained his commission.[1] It was first placed on the site where the Veronica now stands, whence it was moved to its present position in 1629. The noble figure of the aged Pope is of bronze. He seems to be absorbed in thought.[2] In its former place four marble statues adorned the pedestal; two (Abundance and Tenderness) are now removed to the Farnese Palace: those which remain, of Prudence and Justice, were once entirely nude, but were draped by Bernini. The statue of Prudence is said to represent Giovannella Caëtani da Sermoneta, the mother of the Pope,[3] and that of Truth his infamous sister-in-law, Giulia Bella, the mistress of Alexander VI., to whom he owed his promotion to the purple, though some say that the younger figure represents the Pope's daughter Constance, wife of Bosio Sforza. There is a covert satire in the representation of her as Truth, as in that of her mother as Prudence.

'On a dit de ces figures que c'était le Rubens en sculpture.' — *A. Du Pays.*

Near the **steps of the tribune** are two marble slabs on which Pius IX. immortalised the names of the cardinals and bishops who, on December 8, 1854, accepted, on this spot, his dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

Turning toward the **left transept**;—on the left is a mosaic of S. Peter healing the lame man, from *Mancini*. On the right is the tomb of Alexander VIII., Pietro Ottobuoni (1689–91), by *Giuseppe Verlosi* and *Angelo Rossi*, gorgeous in its richness of bronze, marbles, and alabasters. Beyond this is the altar of Leo the Great, over which is a huge bas-relief by *Algardi*, representing S. Leo calling down the assistance of SS. Peter and Paul against the invasion of Attila.

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[1] See Vasari, vi. 264.

[2] Ferdinand Gregorovius was inspired to write his history while gazing at the monument of Paul III.

[3] The likeness of this figure to Dante has caused it to be called 'La Dantesca di S. Pietro.'

'The king of the Huns, terrified by the apparition of the two apostles in the air, turns his back and flies. We have here a picture in marble, with all the faults of taste and style which prevailed at that time, but the workmanship is excellent; it is, perhaps, the largest bas-relief in existence, excepting the rich sculpture of the Indians and Egyptians—at least fifteen feet in height.' —*Jameson's* '*Sacred Art*,' p. 685.

A tomb, adorned with precious marbles and mosaics, had been erected to Leo I. by his successor, Sergius I. (687–701), in the south transept of the old S. Peter's, but was destroyed by Paul V. in 1607.

Next to this (in the far left corner) is the **Cappella della Colonna**, possessing a much revered Madonna from a column of the old basilica, and beneath it an ancient Christian sarcophagus containing the remains of Leo II. (ob. 683), Leo III. (ob. 816), and Leo IV. (ob. 855). In the pavement near these two altars is the slab tomb of Leo XII. (ob. 1828), with an epitaph illustrating Invocation of Saints, but touching in its humility:—

'Commending myself, a suppliant, to my great celestial patron Leo, I, Leo XII., his humble client, unworthy of so great a name, have chosen a place of sepulture near his holy ashes.'

Over the door known as the **Porta S. Marta** (from the church in the square behind S. Peter's, to which it leads) is the tomb of Alexander VII., Fabio Chigi (1655–67), the last work of *Bernini*, who had built for this Pope the **Scala Regia** and the **Colonnade** of S. Peter's. This is, perhaps, the worst of all the Papal monuments —a hideous figure of Death is pushing aside the alabaster curtain and exhibiting his hour-glass to the kneeling Pope.

Opposite to this tomb is an oil-painting on slate, by *Francesco Vanni*, of the Fall of Simon Magus. The south transept has a series of mosaic pictures: the Incredulity of S. Thomas from Camuccini, the Crucifixion of S. Peter and a S. Francis from Guido, and, on the pier of the cupola, Ananias and Sapphira from the Roncalli at S. Maria degli Angeli, and the transfiguration from Raffaelle.[1] It terminates with the grave of Palestrina.

Opposite the mosaic of Ananias and Sapphira is the tomb of Pius VIII., Francesco Castiglione (1827–31), by *Tenerani*. It represents the Pope kneeling, and above him the Saviour in benediction, with SS. Peter and Paul. In the last bay of this N. aisle is the door to the *Chapter* and *Sacristy*.

The **Cappella Clementina**, by Alessandro Cocchi and Francesco Castellini, has the miracle of S. Gregory the Great from the Andrea Sacchi at the Vatican, which was formerly the altar-piece here. The great Pope lies here in a coffin of cypress enclosed in one of marble, inscribed: 'Here lies S. Gregory the Great, the first of his name and doctor of the church.' He was first laid in the portico, whence, after 200 years, Gregory IV. moved his remains to a magnificent tomb in the church, with panels of silver and golden mosaics. Hence Pius II. moved the porphyry vase containing the remains of S. Gregory to the chapel of S. Andrew. The tomb and vase were destroyed by Paul V. Close to this is the

[1] This mosaic occupied ten men constantly for nine years, and cost 60,000 francs.

tomb of Pius VII., Gregorio Chiaramonte (1800–23), who crowned Napoleon—who suffered exile for seven years for refusing to abdicate the temporal power—and who returned in triumph to die at the Quirinal, after having re-established the Order of Jesuits. His monument is the work of *Thorwaldsen*, graceful and simple, though perhaps too small to be in proportion to the neighbouring tombs. The figure of the Pope, a gentle old man (he died at the age of eighty-one, having reigned twenty-three years), is seated in a chair; figures of Courage and Faith adorn the pedestal. The tomb was erected by Cardinal Consalvi, the faithful friend and minister of this Pope (who died very poor, having spent all his wealth in charity), at an expense of 27,000 scudi.

Turning into the **left aisle**;—between the two piers on the **R.** is the tomb of Leo XI., Alessandro de' Medici (1605), to which one is inclined to grudge so much space, considering that the Pope it commemorates only reigned twenty-six days. The tomb, in allusion to this short life, is sculptured with flowers, and bears the motto *Sic Florui*. It is the work of *Algardi*. The figures of Wisdom and Abundance, which adorn the pedestal, are fine specimens of this allegorical type.

Opposite is the tomb of Innocent XI., Benedetto Odescalchi (1676–89), by *Etienne Monot*, with a bas-relief representing the raising of the siege of Vienna by King John Sobieski.

Near this is the entrance to the **Cappella del Coro** (decorated with gilding and stucco by Giacomo della Porta), in which the vesper services are held. The altar-piece is a mosaic copy of the Conception by Pietro Bianchi at the Angeli. In the pavement is the gravestone of Clement XI., Giov. Francesco Albani (1700–21).

In the next bay of the aisle, L., is the interesting tomb of Innocent VIII., Gio. Battista Cibo (1484–92), by Pietro and Antonio Pollajuolo. The Pope is represented asleep upon his sarcophagus, and a second time above, seated on a throne, his right hand extended in benediction, and his left holding the sacred lance of Longinus (said to have been that which pierced the side of our Saviour), sent to him by the Sultan Bajazet.[1] It is supposed that it was owing to the representation of this relic, that this tomb alone (except those of Paul III. and of Sixtus IV., uncle of the destroyer) was replaced after the destruction of the old basilica. Upon the sarcophagus of the Pope (wrapt for burial in a Persian robe), in allusion to the name of Innocent, is inscribed the 11th verse of the 26th Psalm, 'In Innocentiâ meâ ingressus sum, redime me, Domine, et miserere mei.' Some, however, find in the epitaph an allusion to the fact that, when Innocent VIII. was dying, three young boys, to each of whom one ducat was paid, were forced, as a last resource, to infuse their young blood into his stiffening veins. The discoveries of his reign enabled him to present John II. of Portugal with 'the lands of Africa, whether known or unknown.'[2]

[1] Formerly preserved in the magnificent renaissance shrine—ciborio della santa lancia.

[2] It was only eight days after his death that Columbus set forth to discover another continent.

He had had sixteen children, and his chief virtue was that he continued to be a good father of his family. Bacon says that 'he knew himself to be lazy and unprofitable.'

'Avide pour les siens et corrompu, Innocent tolérait tous les crimes des autres. Il n'y eut plus de sûreté. Vol et viol, tout devint permis dans Rome. Des dames nobles étaient enlevées le soir, rendues le matin : le pape riait. Quand on le vit si bon, on commença à tuer : il ne s'émut pas davantage Un homme avait tué deux filles, à ceux qui dénonçaient le fait, le camérier du pape dit gaiement : "Dieu ne veut pas la mort du pécheur, mais qu'il paye et qu'il vive." '—*Michelet*, '*Hist. de France.*'

'If we reflect that, besides the importance of this monument in the history of art, it brings back to our memory the fall of Constantinople and Granada, the discovery of the new world, the figures of Bayazid, Ferdinand, and Christopher Columbus, we have a subject for meditation, as well as aesthetic enjoyment.'—*Lanciani.*

Opposite the tomb of Innocent VIII. over the door, is one which is a kind of *Memento Mori* to the living Pope, which always bears the name of his predecessor, and in which his corpse will be deposited while his real tomb is prepared.

Passing the **Cappella della Presentazione**, which contains a mosaic from the 'Presentation of the Virgin' by *Romanelli*, we reach the last bay, which contains the tombs of the Stuarts. On the right is the monument, by *Filippo Barigioni*, of Maria Clementina Sobieski, wife of James Francis Edward, called in the inscription 'Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland;' on the left is that by *Canova* to the three Stuart princes, James III.[1] and his sons, Charles Edward and Henry—Cardinal York. The *calzoni* on the figures of the angel guardians were added by the folly of Leo XII. The monument (in which the Royal titles are given) is said to have been erected at the expense of George IV.[2] It bears the inscription :—

JACOBO III.
JACOB II. MAGNAE IBRIT. REGIS FILIO,
KAROLO EDVARDO
ET HENRICO, DECANO PATRUM
CARDINALIUM,
JACOBI III. FILIIS,
REGIAE STIRPIS STVARDIAE POSTREMIS,
ANNO MDCCCXIX.
BEATI MORTUI QUI IN DOMINO MORIUNTUR.

'George IV., fidèle à sa réputation du *gentleman* le plus accompli des trois royaumes, a voulu honorer la cendre des princes malheureux que de leur vivant il eût envoyés à l'échafaud s'ils fussent tombés en son pouvoir.'—*Stendhal.*

'Beneath the unrivalled dome of S. Peter's lie mouldering the remains of what was once a brave and gallant heart; and a stately monument from the chisel of Canova, and at the charge, as I believe, of the House of Hanover, has since arisen to the memory of *James the Third, Charles the Third, and Henry the Ninth, Kings of England*—names which an Englishman can scarcely read without a smile or a sigh. Often at the present day does the British traveller turn from the sunny crest of the Pincian, or the carnival throng of

[1] 'Il Serenissimo Pretendente,' contemporary Italian newspapers used to call him. See Gray's Works, Letter xx.
[2] It was really paid for by Pius VII.

the Corso, to gaze, in thoughtful silence, on that mockery of human greatness, and that last record of ruined hopes! The tomb before him is of a race justly expelled; the magnificent temple that enshrines it is of a faith wisely reformed; yet who at such a moment would harshly remember the errors of either, and might not join in the prayer even of that erring Church for the departed, "Requiescant in pace"?'—*Lord Mahon.*

The last chapel is the Baptistery, and contains, as a font, the ancient porphyry cover of the sarcophagus of Hadrian, which was afterwards used for the tomb of the Emperor Otho II. The mosaic of the Baptism of our Saviour is from Carlo Maratta.

Distributed around the whole basilica are confessionals for every Christian tongue.

'Au milieu de toutes les créations hardies et splendides de l'art dans la basilique de S. Pierre, il est une impression morale qui saisit l'esprit, à la vue des confessionnaux des diverses langues. Il y a là encore une autre espèce de grandeur.'—*A. Du Pays.*

The last important service held here was on the last day of the Papal rule, when Monte Mario was white with the tents of the 70,000 Piedmontese who were about to bombard the city. All Rome, in tears and in deepest mourning, met to pray that the Pope might be preserved from his enemies, and when the solitary white figure of Pius IX. appeared through the dense throng, his face streaming with tears—such a wail of anguish and sympathy arose from the whole vast multitude as can never be forgotten by those who heard it.

The Congress of Sacred Archaeology petitioned in 1900 to have the Sacre Grotte Vaticane reopened, together with the closed stairs to the tomb of S. Peter. An order to visit **The Crypt of S. Peter's** must still be obtained from a Monsignore. The entrance is near the statue of S. Veronica. It is now lit with electric light. The visitor is usually hurried in his inspection of this, historically the most interesting part of the basilica, and the works of art it contains are so ill arranged as to be difficult to investigate or remember. The crypt is divided into two portions, the **Grotte Nuove**, occupying the area beneath the dome, and opening into ancient lateral chapels — and the **Grotto Vecchie**, which extended under the whole nave of the old basilica, and reach as far only as the Cappella del Coro of the present edifice. We may believe that they enclose the sacred plot of ground in which S. Peter was buried close to his place of execution, and where the graves of the early popes clustered around that of their great predecessor, 'like bishops assisting at a synod or council.'

'In 1615, when Paul V. built the stairs leading to the Confession and the crypts, "several bodies were found lying in coffins, tied with linen bands, as we read of Lazarus in the Gospel; *ligatus pedibus et manibus institis.* One body only was attired in a sort of pontifical robe. Notwithstanding the absence of written indications, we thought they were the graves of the ten bishops of Rome buried *in Vaticano.*" So speaks Giovanni Severano in his book, "Memorie sacre delle sette chiese di Roma," which was printed in 1629. Francesco Maria Torrigio, who witnessed the exhumations with Cardinal Evangelista Pallotta, adds that the linen bands were from two to three inches wide, and that they must have been soaked in aromatics. One of the coffins bore, however, the name Linus. Let us now refer to the "Liber Pontificalis," the authority of which, as a historical text-book, cannot be doubted, since the

critical publication of Louis Duchesne. After describing the "deposition" of S. Peter in the Vatican, near the Circus of Nero, between the Via Aurelia and the Via Triumphalis, *juxta locum ubi crucifixus est* (near the place of his execution), it proceeds to say that Linus "was buried side by side with the remains of the blessed Peter in the Vatican, October 24." Even if we are disposed to doubt Torrigio's correctness in copying the name of the second Bishop of Rome, the fact of his burial in this place seems to be certain, because Hrabanus Maurus, a poet of the ninth century, speaks of Linus's tomb as visible and accessible in the year 822.'—*Lanciani.*

This takes one direct into an ambulacrum corresponding to the curve of the Dome far above. The **entrance** is effected by the pedestal of the statue of S. Veronica.

The first portion of the crypt which is entered is a semicircular corridor in the Grotte Nuove. Hence, after a statue of S. James the Less, by A. Pollajuolo, open, **R.**, two ancient chapels. The next, **S. Maria in Portico**, derives its name from a picture of the Virgin, attributed to *Simone Memmi*, which stood in the portico of the old basilica; it contains an ancient marble copy of the bronze statue of S. Peter, seated on a gothic throne which was once occupied by the statue of Benedict XII., by *Paolo da Siena.* Several statuettes here come from the magnificent monument of Nicholas V., which perished with the old church. Here also is a statue of S. Peter which stood in the ancient portico, and the cross which crowned it. The 3rd chapel, **S. Maria delle Partorienti**, has a relief half-figure of Boniface VIII., attributed to *Andrea Pisano;* a mosaic of our Saviour in benediction, from the tomb of Otho II.; a mosaic of the Virgin, of the eighth century; several ancient inscriptions; and at the entrance, statues of the two apostles James, from the tomb of Nicholas V. A portrait in mosaic of John VII. An inscription of Pope Damasus. Behind this chapel were preserved the remains of Leo II., III., and IX., till they were removed to the upper church of Leo XII.

Entering the **Grotte Vecchie** (really the old Basilica), we find a whitewashed nave and aisles separated by pilasters carrying low arches. Following the south aisle, we are first arrested by the marble inscription on the left relating to the donation of lands made by the Countess Matilda (of Tuscany) to the church in 1102. Near this is the **Altare del Salvatore**, close to which are a bas-relief of the Virgin and Child by *Arnolfo*, which once decorated the tomb of Boniface VIII.,—and the epitaph of Charlotte, Queen of Cyprus, who died in 1487. We next reach the sepulchral urns of the three Stuart princes, commemorated in the upper church; then the epitaph of Nicholas I. (867), and the tombs of Cardinal Tebaldeschi (1378) and the deacon Felix (495). At the extremity of the aisle is an early Christian sarcophagus used as the tomb of Pope Gregory V. (999), and, close by it, the huge sarcophagus of his cousin the Emperor Otho II., who died at Rome in A.D. 983; this formerly stood in the portico of the ancient basilica.

Close by, at the end of the central aisle or nave, is the empty tomb of Alexander VI., Rodrigo Borgia (1492–1503), the infamous father of Caesar and Lucrezia, who is believed to have died of the poison which he intended for one of his cardinals.

'All Rome ran with indescribable gladness to visit the corpse. Men could not satiate their eyes with feeding on the carcase of the serpent, who by his unbounded ambition and pestiferous perfidy, by every demonstration of horrible cruelty, monstrous lust, and unheard-of avarice, selling without distinction things sacred and profane, had filled the world with venom.'—*Guicciardini.*

The body of this Pope was not allowed to rest in peace. Julius II., the bitter enemy of the Borgias, turned it out of its tomb, and had it carried to S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, whence, when that church was dismantled, it was taken (1610) to S. Maria di Monserrato. The empty sarcophagus is surmounted by the figure of Alexander, who was himself a handsome old man, and in whose features may be traced the lineaments of the splendid Caesar Borgia, known to us from the picture formerly in the Borghese Palace.

Crossing the central nave, we reach the huge tomb of **Adrian IV.** (Nicholas Breakspeare, 1154–59), the only Englishman who ever occupied the Papal throne, who began life as a beggar-boy, and for whom the great Barbarossa afterwards held the stirrup.[1] He burnt Arnold of Brescia, and crowned Frederick I. He is buried in a pagan sarcophagus of red granite, adorned with Medusa heads in relief, and bearing no inscription. At the destruction of the old S. Peter's, his undersized body was seen wearing slippers of Turkish make, and a large emerald ring.

Beyond this are two early Christian sarcophagi appropriated as the tombs of Pius II., Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1458–64), and Pius III., Antonio Todeschini Piccolomini (1503), whose monuments are removed to S. Andrea della Valle.

Next to these comes a noble fragment of the tomb of **Boniface VIII.**, Benedetto Caëtani (1294–1303), at the extremity of the other aisle.

'The last prince of the Church who understood the Papacy in the sense of universal dominion, in the spirit of Gregory VII., of Alexander and Innocent III. Two kings held the bridle of his palfrey as he rode from S. Peter's to the Lateran after his election. He received Dante as the ambassador of Florence; in 1300 he instituted the jubilee; and his reign—filled with contests with Philip le Bel of France and the Colonnas—ended in his being taken prisoner in his palace at Anagni by Sciarra Colonna and William of Nogaret, and subjected to the most cruel indignities. He was rescued by his fellow-citizens and conducted to Rome by the Orsini, but he died thirty-seven days after, of grief and mortification. The Ghibelline story relates that he sate alone silently gnawing the top of his staff, and at length dashed out his brains against the wall, or smothered himself with his own pillows. But the contemporary verse of the Cardinal of S. George describes him as dying quietly in the midst of his cardinals, at peace with the world, and having received all the consolations of the Church.'—*See Milman's 'Latin Christianity,'* vol. v.

The character of Boniface has ever formed one of the battlefields of history. He was scarcely dead when the epitaph, 'He came in like a fox, he ruled like a lion, he died like a dog,' was proclaimed to Christendom. He was consigned by Dante to the lowest circle of hell; yet even Dante expressed the universal shock with which

[1] He had been Bishop of S. Albans, and a missionary for the conversion of Norway.

Christendom beheld 'the fleur-de-lis enter Anagni, and Christ again captive in his Vicar—the mockery, the gall and vinegar, the crucifixion between living robbers, the cruelty of the second Pilate.' In later times, Tosti, Drumann, and Cardinal Wiseman have engaged in his defence.

Boniface VIII., with whom the mediaeval Papacy came to an end, was buried with the utmost magnificence in a splendid chapel, which he had built and adorned with mosaics, and where a grand tomb was erected to him. Of this nothing remains now but the sarcophagus, which bears a majestic figure of the Pope by *Arnolfo del Cambio* (?).

'The head is unusually beautiful, severe and noble in its form, and corresponds perfectly with the portrait which we have (at the Lateran) from the hand of Giotto, which represents his face as beardless and of the most perfect oval. His head is covered by a long, pointed mitre, like a sugar-loaf, decked with two crowns. This proud man was indeed the first who wore the double crown—all his predecessors having been content with a simple crowned mitre. This new custom existed till the time of Urban V., by whom the third crown was added.'—*Gregorovius*, '*Grabmäler der Päpste*.'

Passing the tomb of a nephew of Boniface VIII., we reach (turning back) against the north wall, a sarcophagus bearing the figure of **Nicholas V.**, Tommaso di Sarzana (1447–55), being nearly all that has been preserved of the glorious tomb of that Pope, who founded the Vatican library, collected around him a court of savants and poets, and with whom opened the period of the Papacy to which belonged Julius II. and Leo X., and the destruction of old S. Peter's. His epitaph, attributed to Pius II., is by his secretary, Maffeo Vegio:—

'The bones of Nicholas V. rest in this grave,
Who gave to thee, O Rome! thy golden age.
Famous in council, more famous in shining virtue,
He honoured wise men, who was himself the wisest of all.
He gave healing to the world, long wounded with schism,
And renewed at once its manners and customs, and the buildings
and temples of the city.
He gave an altar to S. Bernardino of Siena
When he celebrated the holy year of jubilee.
He crowned with gold the forehead of Frederick and his wife,
And gave order to the affairs of Italy by the treaty which he made.
He translated many Greek writings into the Latin tongue;—
Then offer incense to-day at his holy grave.'

Next comes a remnant of the **tomb of Paul II.**, Pietro Barbo (1464–71), remarkable for his personal beauty, of which he was so vain that, when he issued from the conclave as Pope, he wished to take the name of Formosus. This pontiff built the Palazzo Venezia, where he collected a marvellous museum of precious works of art. He gave a name to the Corso, by establishing the races there. He also prepared for himself one of the most splendid tombs in the old basilica, for which he obtained the services of Mino da Fiesole as architect. It was his unfulfilled wish to lie in the renowned porphyry sarcophagus of S. Costanza, which he stole from her church for this purpose; hence the simplicity of the existing sarcophagus, which bears his effigy. Beyond this are sarcophagi of Julius III.,

Gio. Maria Ciocchi del Monte (1550–55), builder of the Villa Papa Giulio; and Nicholas III., Gaëtano Orsini (1277–81), who made a treaty with Rudolph of Hapsburg, and obtained from him a ratification of the donation of the Countess Matilda. Dante finds him by a burning gulf, the head within, the feet without, red with the flames of hell.

'Le pontificat de Nicolas III. est l'archétype du *népotisme*, devenu depuis endémique dans la papauté. D'autres, avant lui, avient essayé d'agrandir leurs familles et de les rapprocher des maisons souveraines par la possession du pouvoir ou l'acquisition de la richesse ; le premier, Gaetano Orsini érigea le népotisme en systéme, lui donna un but précis, le soumit à des règles et en fit une des suprêmes sciences de la cour de Rome.'—*Alexis de Saint-Priest*, '*Hist. de la Conquête de Naples.*'

Next follows the sarcophagus of **Urban VI.**, Bartolommeo Prignano (1378–87), the sole relic of a magnificent tomb of this cruel Pope, who is credited with having walled up three or four of his cardinals while at Genoa, during the Schism, and is believed to have died of poison.[1] It bears his figure, and, in the front, a bas-relief of him receiving the keys from S. Peter. The sarcophagus, emptied of its contents, was used as a water trough by the workmen employed in building the present S. Peter's, and the ring of the pope was given to Giacomo della Porta. Its epitaph runs:—

'Here rests the just, wise, and noble prince,
Urban VI., a native of Naples.
He, full of zeal, gave a safe refuge to the teachers of the faith,
That gained for him, noble one, a fatal poison cup at the close of the repast.
Great was the schism, but great was his courage in opposing it,
And in the presence of this mighty Pope Simony sat dumb.
But it is needless to reiterate his praises upon earth,
While heaven is shining with his immortal glory.'

'Sepelitur in beati Petri Basilica, paucis admodum ejus mortem, utpote hominis rustici et inexorabilis, flentibus. Hujus autem sepulchrum adhuc visitur cum epitaphio satis rustico et inepto.'—*Platina.*

We next find the sarcophagi of Innocent VII., Cosmato de Miliorati (1404–6), bearing his figure; of Marcellus II., Marcello Cervini (1555), who only reigned twenty-five days, and was buried with a gold mitre ; and of Innocent IX., Giov. Antonio Facchinetti (1591–92), who reigned but sixty days.

Passing the tombs of Cardinal Fonseca, Cardinal della Porta (1434), and Cardinal Eruli, each with a statue, and the grave of Archbishop Piccolomini, we reach the monument of Agnese Caëtani Colonna, the only lady not of royal birth buried in the basilica. At the head (L.) of this aisle, close to the central altar (del Salvatore) is the tomb of Christina of Sweden. On our R. subtends the Cappella di S. Longinus.

Hence we reach the other corridor of the Grotte Nuove, containing a number of mosaics and statues detached from different Papal tombs, the best being those from that of Nicholas V. (Tommaso Parentucelli of Sarzana) and that of Paul II. by **Mino da Fiesole** (a figure of **Charity** is especially beautiful), and a bas-relief of the Virgin and Child, by *Arnolfo*, from the tomb of Benedict VIII.

[1] Cf. *Charles III. and Urban VI.* (St. C. Baddeley). Heinemann & Co.

Near the entrance of the shrine are marble reliefs of the martyrdoms of S. Peter and S. Paul. Opposite to the entrance is the magnificent sarcophagus of **Junius Bassus**, Christian prefect of Rome, who died A.D. 359. It was discovered near its present site in 1595. It is adorned with admirable sculptures from the Old and New Testament.

An opening from the centre of the semicircular passage leads to the **Confession** or **Shrine of SS. Peter and Paul**, which contains the sarcophagus brought from the catacomb near S. Sebastiano in 257, and which the Roman Church has always revered as that of S. Peter. On the altar, consecrated in 1122, are two ancient pictures of S. Peter and S. Paul. Only half the bodies of the saints were held to be preserved here, the other portion of that of S. Peter being at the Lateran, and of S. Paul at S. Paolo fuori le Mura.

To the Roman Catholic this is naturally one of the most sacred spots in the world, since it holds literally the words of S. Ambrose, that 'where Peter is, there is the Church—and where the Church is, there is no death, but life eternal.'[1]

'From this place Peter, from this place Paul, shall be caught up in the resurrection. Oh, consider with trembling that which Rome will behold when Paul suddenly rises with Peter from his sepulchre, and is carried up into the air to meet the Lord.'—*S. John Chrysostom*, '*Homily on the Epistle to Romans.*'

'Among the cemeteries ascribed by tradition to apostolic times, the crypts of the Vatican would have the first claim on our attention, had they not been almost destroyed by the foundations of the vast basilica which guards the tomb of S. Peter. . . . The *Liber Pontificalis* says that Anacletus, the successor of Clement in the Apostolic See, "*built* and adorned the sepulchral monument (*construxit memoriam*) of blessed Peter, since he had been ordained priest by S. Peter, and other burial-places where the bishops might be laid." It is added that he himself was buried there; and the same is recorded of Linus and Cletus and of Evaristus, Sixtus I., Telesephorus, Hyginus, Pius I., Eleutherius, and Victor, the last of whom was buried A.D. 263; and after S. Victor, no other pontiff is recorded to have been buried at the Vatican until Leo the Great was laid in S. Peter's, A.D. 461. The idea conveyed by the words *construxit memoriam* is that of a monument above ground, according to the usual Roman custom; and we have seen that such a monument, even though it covered the tomb of Christian bishops, would not be likely to be disturbed at any time during the first or second century. For the reason we have already stated, it is impossible to confront these ancient notices with any existing monuments. It is worth mentioning, however, that De Rossi believes that the sepulchre of S. Linus was discovered in this very place early in the seventeenth century, bearing simply the name of *Linus*.'—*Northcote and Brownlow*, '*Roma Sotterranea.*'

'The *Liber Pontificalis* describes, among the gifts of Constantine, a cross of pure gold, weighing one hundred and fifty pounds, which he placed over the gold lid of the coffin of S. Peter. The golden cross bore the following inscription in *niello* work: "Constantine the emperor and Helena the empress have richly decorated this royal crypt, and the basilica which shelters it." If this precious object is there, the remains must *a fortiori* be there also. Here comes the decisive test. In the spring of 1594, while Giacomo della Porta was levelling the floor of the church above the confession, removing at

[1] 'The principal authorities for the fact of S. Peter being at Rome—so often denied by ultra-Protestants—are: S. Jerome, *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, in Pietro; Tertullian, *De Præscriptionibus*, cap. xxxvi.; and Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. ii. cap. 24.

the same time the foundations of the Ciborium of Julius II., the ground gave way, and he saw through the opening what nobody had beheld since the time of Sergius II.—the grave of S. Peter, and upon it the golden cross of Constantine. On hearing of the discovery, Pope Clement VIII., accompanied by Cardinals Bellarmino, Antoniano, and Sfondrato, descended to the Confession, and with the help of a torch, which Giacomo della Porta had lowered into the hollow space below, could see with his own eyes, and could show to his followers, the cross, inscribed with the names of Constantine and Helena. The impression produced upon the Pope by this wonderful sight was so great that he caused the opening to be closed at once. The event is attested not only by a manuscript deposition of Torrigio, but also by the present aspect of the place. The materials with which Clement VIII. sealed the opening, and rendered the tomb once more invisible and inaccessible, can still be seen through the "cataract" below the altar.'—*Lanciani*, '*Pagan and Christian Rome.*'

The ascent of the **Dome of S. Peter's** is allowed from 8 to 11 A.M., but a permesso[1] is necessary except on Saturdays, and not more than twenty persons are permitted to ascend at the same time. The entrance is from the first door on the left aisle, near the tomb of Maria Clementina Sobieski. The ascent is by an easy staircase *a cordoni*, the walls of which bear memorial tablets to all the royal personages who have ascended it. The aspect of the roof is exceedingly curious from the number of small domes and houses of workmen with which it is studded—quite a little village in themselves.

'We climbed up to the roof of the church, where one finds the image of a well-built town in miniature—houses and shops, fountains (in semblance, at least), churches, and a great temple—all in the air, and beautiful walks between.'—**Goethe.**

A chamber in one of the pillars which support the dome contains a model of the ancient throne of S. Peter, and a model of the church, by Michelangelo and his predecessor, Antonio di Sangallo. The dome rises 300 feet above the roof, and is 613½ feet in circumference. An iron staircase leads thence to the ball, which is capable of containing sixteen persons.

'"Cette hauteur fait frémir," dit Beyle, "quand on songe aux tremblements de terre qui agitent fréquemment l'Italie, et qu'un instant peut vous priver du plus beau monument qui existe. Certainement jamais il ne serait relevé : nous sommes trop *raisonables.*"

'De Brosses raconte que deux moines espagnols, qui se trouvaient dans la boule de S. Pierre lors de la secousse de 1730, eurent une telle peur, que l'un d'eux mourut sur la place.'—*A. Du Pays.*

The Sacristy of S. Peter's, which is entered by a grey marble door on the left, before turning into the south transept, was built by Pius VI. in 1755, from designs of *Carlo Marchionni.* It consists of three halls with a corridor adorned by red granite columns and inscriptions from the old church, and by statues of SS. Peter and Paul which stood in front of it, and were executed by Paolo, the favourite sculptor of Pius II. The central hall, *Sagrestia Commune*, is decorated with eight fluted pillars of grey marble (*bigio*) from Hadrian's Villa. On the left is the *Sagrestia dei Canonici*, with the

[1] Obtained at 8 Via della Sagrestia.

Cappella dei Canonici, which has two pictures, the Madonna and Saints (Anne, Peter, and Paul), by *Francesco Penni*, and the Madonna and Child, *Giulio Romano*. Hence opens the *Stanza Capitolare*, containing an interesting remnant of the many works of Giotto painted for the old basilica under Boniface VIII. (for which he received 3020 gold florins), in three panel pictures (once a triptych) belonging to the ciborium for the high altar ordered by Cardinal Stefaneschi (1298), and representing—Christ adored by that Cardinal—the Crucifixion of S. Peter—the Execution of S. Paul—and on the back of the second panel, another picture, in which Cardinal Stefaneschi is offering his ciborium to S. Peter.

'The fragments which are preserved of the painting which Giotto executed for the Church of S. Peter cannot fail to make us regret its loss. The fragments are treated with a grandeur of style which has led Rumohr to suspect that the susceptible imagination of Giotto was unable to resist the impression which the ancient mosaics of the Christian basilicas must have produced upon him.'—*Rio*, '*Poetry of Christian Art*.'

'The colour is fine, the design rich and imposing, and the attitude and expression of the cardinal, clasping the bar of the throne, are full of reverent devotion. The presence of the donor in the courts of heaven was in itself an innovation which no artist before Giotto had attempted.'—*Cartwright*, '*The Painters of Florence*.'

Here also are beautiful fragments, full of style and poesy, of the frescoes by **Meloozo da Forli** (1438–94), which decorated the former dome of SS. Apostoli, but of which the finest portion is at the Quirinal Palace. On the right is the *Sagrestia dei Benefiziati*, which contains a picture of the Saviour giving the keys to S. Peter, by *Muziano*, and an image called La Madonna della Febbre, which stood in the old Sacristy. The Ciborium is by Donatello. Opening hence is the **Treasury of S. Peter's** containing many ancient jewels, crucifixes, and candelabra, by Benvenuto Cellini and Michelangelo, and amongst its glorious collection of church vestments the sacerdotal robe called the *Dalmatica di San Leone*, said to have been embroidered at Constantinople for the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West, but it is a production, in any case, of the Byzantine artists in their best period. The Holy Roman emperors used to wear it while serving as deacons at the Pope's altar during their coronation mass.

'It is a large robe of stiff brocade, falling in broad and unbroken folds in front and behind—broad and deep enough for the Goliath-like stature and the herculean chest of Charlemagne himself. On the breast, the Saviour is represented in glory, on the back the Transfiguration, and on the two shoulders Christ administering the Eucharist to the Apostles. In each of these last compositions, our Saviour, a stiff but majestic figure, stands behind the altar, on which are deposited a chalice and a paten or basket containing crossed wafers. He gives, in the one case, the cup to S. Paul, in the other the bread to S. Peter—they do not kneel, but bend reverently to receive it; five other disciples await their turn in each instance—all are standing.

'I do not apprehend your being disappointed with the Dalmatica di San Leone, or your dissenting from my conclusion that a master, a Michelangelo I would almost say, then flourished at Byzantium.

'It was in this Dalmatica—then *semée* all over with pearls and glittering in freshness—that Cola di Rienzi robed himself over his armour in the sacristy of S. Peter's and thence ascended to the Palace of the Popes, after the

manner of the Caesars, with sounding trumpets and his horsemen following him—his truncheon in his hand and his crown on his head—"terribile e fantastico," as his biographer describes him—to wait upon the Legate.'— *Lord Lindsay's 'Christian Art,'* i. 137.

In the papal tiara are set some of the jewels robbed in 1544 from the tomb and person of Maria, the wife of Honorius—daughter of Stilicho. Originally the popes were only crowned with a low Phrygian mitre decorated with two peacock's feathers, to which was added a single circlet of gold; Benedict XI. (at Avignon) (perhaps Boniface VIII.) added a second circlet, and Urban V. a third. The peacock's feathers are of good omen, the flesh of this bird, according to S. Augustine, being held to be incorruptible.

Above the Sacristy are the **Archives of S. Peter's**, containing, among many other ancient MSS., a life of S. George, with miniatures by *Giotto*. The entrance to the Archivio, at the end of the corridor, is adorned with fragments of the chains of the ports of Smyrna and Tunis. Here, also, is a statue of Pius VI., by *Agostino Penna*.

It is quite worth while to leave S. Peter's by the Porta S. Marta, beneath the tomb of Alexander VII., in order to examine the exterior of the church from behind, where it completely dwarfs all the surrounding buildings. Among these are the **Church of S. Stefano**, built by Abyssinian Christians, with a fine door composed of antique fragments; and the dismal **Church of S. Marta**, which contains several of the Roman weights known as 'Pietre di Paragone,' *mensae ponderariae*, standard measures of weight, said to have been used in certain martyrdoms. Beyond the Sacristy is the pretty little **Cimiterio dei Tedesci**, one of the oldest of Christian burial-grounds, said to have been set apart by Constantine and filled with earth from Calvary. It was granted to the Germans in 1779 by Pius VI. Close by is the **Church of S. Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo.**

Not far from hence (in a street behind the nearest colonnade) is the **Palazzo del Sant' Uffizio—or of the Inquisition.** This Body was established here in 1536 by Paul III., acting on the advice of Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV., for inquiry into cases of heresy and the punishment of ecclesiastical offences. It was by the authority of the 'Holy Office' that the 'Index' of prohibited books was first drawn up. Paul IV., on his deathbed, summoned the cardinals to his side, and recommended to them this 'Santissimo Tribunale,' as he called it, and succeeding Popes protected and encouraged it. Even in the last years of Papal rule the Inquisition frequently exercised its powers with extreme severity. The tribunal was formally abolished by the Roman Assembly in February 1849, but was re-established by Pius IX. in the following June; its meetings now take place in the Vatican.

In the interior of the building is a lofty hall, containing gloomy frescoes of Dominican saints, and many underground cells, in which the victim was unable to stand upright, having their vaulted ceilings lined with reeds to deaden sound. When the people rushed into the Inquisition during the revolution, a number of human bones

were found in these vaults, which so excited the popular fury, that an attack on the Dominican convent at the Minerva was anticipated. Defenders of the Inquisition maintain that these bones had been previously transported to the Holy Office from a cemetery, to get up a sensation,[1] just as in mediaeval Europe the bodies of dead Christian children used to be purposely left in Jewish houses, or backyards, in order to create a motive for death and plunder.

Built up into the back of this palace is the tribune of the **Church of S. Salvatore in Torrione** or **in Macello**, whose foundation is ascribed to Charlemagne (797). Severano ('Sette Chiese') supposes that the French had here their schola or special centre—Schola Francorum—for worship and assemblage. The windows of this building are among the few examples of gothic in Rome, and there are good terra-cotta mouldings. It may best be seen from the **Porta Cavalleggieri**, which was designed by Sangallo, and derives its name from the cavalry barracks close by.

In the neighbouring **Palazzo Serristori** was the barrack of the Papal Zouaves, blown up in 1867 by 'the friends of Italy,' though, owing to the plot being carried out too soon, only thirty lives of the gallant and loyal defenders of the Church were sacrificed.

A short distance from the lower end of the colonnade is the **Church of S. Michele in Sassia**, whose handsome tower is a relic of the church founded by Leo IV. (who built the walls of the Borgo), especially for funeral masses for the souls of those who fell in the defence of Rome against the Saracens. Raphael Mengs is buried in the modern church.

The name of this church commemorates the Saxon settlement 'called Burgus Saxonum, Vicus Saxonum, Schola Saxonum, and simply Saxia or Sassia,' oldest of the foreign settlements which clustered around S. Peter's, founded *c.* 727 by Ina, king of Wessex, and enlarged in 794 by Offa, king of Mercia, when he made a pilgrimage to Rome in penance for the murder of Ethelbert, king of East Anglia. Ina had founded here a church, 'S. Maria quae vocatur Schola Saxonum,' which is mentioned as late as 854. Dyer (*Hist. of the City of Rome*) says that 'when Leo IV. enclosed this part of the city, it obtained the name of Borgo from the Burgus Saxonum, and one of the gates was called Saxonum Posterula.'[2]

The neighbouring church of **S. Lorenzo in Piscibus** is of ancient origin, though rebuilt in 1659.

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[1] See Hemans' *Catholic Italy*, vol. i.

[2] Here probably were lodged many eminent Englishmen who visited Rome in the later Middle Ages, such as Anselm, Rahere of S. Bartholomew, Smithfield, and Thomas à Becket.

CHAPTER XVI

THE VATICAN

History of the Vatican Quarter and of the Palace—Scala Regia—Paoline Chapel—Sistine Chapel—Sala Ducale—The Stanze—Chapel of S. Lorenzo—The Loggie—The Picture Gallery—The Sala a Croce Greca—Sala della Biga—Galleria dei Candelabri—Galleria degli Arazzi—Sala Rotonda—Sala degli Animali—Cortile del Belvidere—The Vestibules—Museo Chiaramonti—Braccio Nuova—Museo Lapidario—Library—Appartamento Borgia—Etruscan Museum—Egyptian Museum—Gardens—Villa Pia.

THE hollow of the Janiculum between S. Onofrio and the Monte Mario is believed to have been a site used in Etruscan divination:

> **'Fauni vatesque canebant.'**
>
> —*Ennius.*

Pliny (*H. N.* xvi. 87) says that an oak stood in the Vatican region which had been worshipped from immemorial time, and that it was inscribed with bronze letters in the language of Etruria. Hence the name, which is now only used in regard to the Papal palace and the Basilica of S. Peter, was once applied to the whole district between the foot of the hill and the Tiber near S. Angelo.

> **'. . . Ut paterni**
> **Fluminis ripae, simul et jocosa**
> **Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani**
> **Montis imago.'**
>
> —*Horace, Od.* i. 20.

Tacitus speaks of the unwholesome air of this quarter. It was also rich in the clay from which were made most of the Roman bricks. In this district was built a Circus by Caligula, adjoining the gardens of his mother Agrippina. It was made for the Green faction, and decorated by the obelisk which now stands in the front of S. Peter's, near which many believe that S. Peter suffered martyrdom [1] among the victims of Nero.

> **'Supervenit autem populus infinitus ad locum qui appellatur Naumachia iuxta obeliscum Neronis. Illic enim crux posita est.'**—*Acta SS. Petri et Pauli.*

Here Seneca relates that while Caligula was once walking by torchlight he amused himself by the slaughter of a number of distinguished persons—senators and Roman ladies. Afterwards it became the Circus of Nero, who here watched the martyrdoms of the Christians [2]—mentioned by Suetonius as 'a race given up to a new and evil superstition'—whose conflicts with the orthodox Hebrews

[1] Pliny, xxxv. 15.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44.

of the Synagogue brought them into evil repute with the magistrates, and gave the tyrant an opportunity of attributing to them the burning of Rome. He nailed some to crosses, disguised some as wild beasts and worried them with dogs; while others he smeared with pitch and set on fire, to serve as torches for his nocturnal revels.

The first residence of the Popes at the Vatican was erected by S. Symmachus (A.D. 498–514) adjoining the forecourt of the ancient S. Peter's, and here Charlemagne is believed to have resided on the occasion of his visit to Rome at Christmas, A.D. 800. This palace having fallen into decay during the twelfth century, it was rebuilt in the thirteenth by Innocent III. It was greatly enlarged by Nicholas III. (1277–81); but the Lateran continued to be the Papal residence, and the Vatican palace was only used on State occasions, and for the reception of foreign sovereigns visiting Rome. After the return of the Popes from Avignon (1377), for the sake of the greater security afforded by the vicinity of S. Angelo, it was determined to make the pontifical residence at the Vatican, and the first Conclave was held there in that year. In order to increase its security, John XXIII. restored the covered passage 'Lo Andare' to S. Angelo in 1411. On January 23 of that year five large wolves were killed in the Vatican garden. Nicholas V. (1447–55) formed the idea of making it the most magnificent palace in the world, and of uniting in it all the government offices and the dwellings of the cardinals. He wished to make it for Christendom the centre whence all the messengers of the spiritual empire should go forth, bearing words of life, truth, and peace. Unfortunately Nicholas died before he could carry out his designs. The building which he commenced was finished by Alexander VI., and still exists under the name of Tor di Borgia. In the reign of this latter Pope, his son Cesare murdered Alphonso, Duke of Bisceglia, husband of his sister Lucrezia, in the Vatican (August 18, 1500). To Paul II. was due the court of S. Damasus. In 1473 Sixtus IV. built the Sixtine Chapel, and in 1490 'the Belvedere' was erected on a separate garden-house by Innocent VIII. from designs of Antonio da Pollajuolo. Julius II., with the aid of Bramante, united this villa to the palace by means of one vast courtyard, and erected the Loggie around the court of S. Damasus; he also laid the foundation of the Vatican Museum in the gardens of the Belvedere. The Loggie were completed by Leo X.; the Sala Regia and the Paoline Chapel were built by Paul III. Sixtus V. divided the great court of Bramante into two by the erection of the library, and began the present residence of the Popes, which was finished by Clement VIII. (1592–1605). Alexander VII. built the Scala Regia; Clement XIV. and Pius VI., the Museo Pio-Clementino (for which the latter pulled down the chapel of Innocent VIII., full of precious frescoes by Mantegna); Pius VII., the Braccio Nuovo; Leo XII., the picture-gallery; Gregory XVI., the Etruscan Museum, and Pius IX., the handsome staircase (by Martinucci) leading to the court of Bramante.

'What is the Papacy but the ghost of the deceased Roman empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof?'—*Hobbes.*

The Vatican is the largest palace in the world: its length is 1151 English feet; its breadth, 767 feet. It has eight grand staircases, twenty courts, and is said to contain 11,000 chambers of different sizes.

(The **Pictorial Treasures** of the Vatican—the Sistine Chapel, the Stanze and Loggie of Raffaelle, and the Pinacoteca or Gallery of Pictures, may be visited daily from 9 to 3, except on festivals, and on Saturdays only from 10 to 1, and are reached by the 'Portone di Bronzo,' on the **left** in ascending the Scala Regia.

On Monday mornings a portion of the Pinacoteca is closed, on account of the Papal audiences, which are held in the rooms beneath.)

The greater portion of the **Collection of Sculpture** in the Vatican may be visited from 9 to 3, except on festivals, and on Saturdays only from 10 to 1. On Tuesdays and Fridays the Galleria dei Candelabri, the Arazzi, and the Etruscan and Egyptian antiquities are open: these portions are closed on other days. The **Library** is open from 10 to 3 daily, except on Saturdays, when it closes at 1.

The present entrance to all the Sculpture Galleries is by the Garden Gate (Cancello del Giardino) which is reached by the Via dei Fondamenti at the back of S. Peter's. A coachman should always be directed to drive to the Cancello del Giardino, which is at a great distance from the front entrance to the Vatican.

(Open daily. Entrance 1 lira. Free on Saturdays.)

The principal entrance (Porta di Bronzo) to the Vatican is at the start of the right colonnade of S. Peter's. Hence a door on the right opens upon the staircase leading up to the **Cortile di S. Damaso**, and is the nearest way to all the collections, and the one by which visitors were admitted until the fall of the Papal government. The fountain of the Cortile, designed by Algardi in 1649, is fed by the Acqua Damasiana, due to Pope Damasus in the fourth century: the arcades are by Bramante.

Following the great corridor, and passing on the left the entrance to the portico of S. Peter's, we reach the **Scala Regia**, a magnificent work of Bernini, watched by the picturesque Swiss guard of the Pope. Hence we enter the **Sala Regia**, built in the reign of Paul III. by Antonio di Sangallo, and used as a hall of audience for ambassadors. It is decorated with frescoes illustrative of the history of the Popes, and a waggon-roof richly panelled at both ends.

Entrance Wall:

Vasari: Alliance of the Venetians with Paul V. against the Turks, and Battle of Lepanto, 1571.

R. *Wall:*

Federigo and *Taddeo Zuccari:* Absolution of the Emperor Henry IV. by Gregory VII.

L. *Wall:*

Vasari: The Triumph of the Church in the Massacre of S. Bartholomew. The death of Admiral Coligny is represented in 'Caedis

Coligni et sociorum ejus,' and the approval of the massacre by Charles IX.—'Rex Coligni necem probat.'

Opposite Wall towards the Sala Regia: ΓΕ..ΓΟΣ ΟΥΑΣΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΡΕΤΙΝΟ ΕΠΟΙΕ

Return of Gregory XI. from Avignon.
Giuseppe Porta: Benediction of Frederick Barbarossa by Alexander III. in the Piazza of S. Marco.

On the right is the entrance of the **Paoline Chapel** (Cappella Paolina), also built (1540) by Antonio di Sangallo for Paul III. Its decorations are chiefly the work of *Sabbatini* and *F. Zuccari*, but it contains two frescoes which are late works (1550) of *Michelangelo.*

The long Hall leading out of the Sala Regia, now called Cappella Leonina, stands over the Portico of S. Peter's. Papal Benedictions used to be given from its central balcony.

'Two excellent frescoes, executed by Michelangelo on the side wall of the Pauline Chapel, are little cared for, and are so much blackened by the smoke of lamps that they are seldom mentioned. The Crucifixion of S. Peter, under the large window, is in a most unfavourable light, but is distinguished for its grand, severe composition. That on the opposite wall—the Conversion of S. Paul—is still tolerably distinct. The long train of his soldiers is seen ascending in the background. Christ, surrounded by a host of angels, bursts upon his sight from the storm-flash. Paul lies stretched on the ground—a noble and finely-developed form. His followers fly on all sides, or are struck motionless by the thunder. The arrangement of the groups is excellent, and some of the single figures are very dignified; the composition has, moreover, a principle of order and repose, which, in comparison with the Last Judgment, places this picture in a very favourable light. If there are any traces of old age to be found in these works, they are at most discoverable in the execution of details.'—*Kugler*, p. 308.

On the left of the approach from the Scala Regia and Porta di Bronzo is reached the **Sixtine Chapel** (Cappella Sistina), built by Giovanni di Dolce in 1473 for Sixtus IV.,[1] entered from the Sala Regia.

'Une sorte de salle rectangulaire, très haute, avec sa fine cloison de marbre qui la coupe aux deux tiers, la partie où se tiennent les invités, les jours de grande cérémonie, et le chœur où s'assoient les cardinaux sur de simples bancs de chêne, tandis que les prélats restent debout, derrière. Le trône pontifical, sur une estrade basse, est à droite de l'autel, d'une richesse sobre. A gauche, dans la muraille, s'ouvre l'étroite loge, à balcon de marbre, réservée aux chanteurs. Il faut lever la tête, il faut que les regards montent de l'immense fresque du Jugement dernier, qui occupe la paroi entière du fond, aux peintures de la voûte, qui descendent jusqu'à la corniche, entre les douze fenêtres claires, six de chaque côté, pour que, brusquement, tout s'élargisse, tout s'écarte et s'envole, en plein infini.'—*Zola.*

The lower part of the walls of this wonderful chapel was formerly hung on festivals with the tapestries executed from the cartoons of Raffaelle; the upper portion is decorated in fresco by the great Florentine masters of the fifteenth century, called together for the purpose.

'It was intended to represent scenes from the life of Moses on one side of the chapel, and from the life of Christ on the other, so that the old law might be confronted by the new—the type by the typified.'—*Lanzi.*

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[1] Travellers are often only admitted by a small door on the staircase to the Stanze, which is reached by the Portone di Bronzo, on the left of the Scala Regia.

The following is the order of the frescoes, type and antitype together, six scenes from the life of Moses having opposite to them six from the life of Christ.

Over the altar—destroyed to make way for the Last Judgment, were :

1. *Perugino:* Moses in the Bulrushes.

1. *Perugino:* Christ in the Manger.

(Between these was the Assumption of the Virgin, in which Pope Sixtus IV. was introduced kneeling : *Perugino.*)

On the left wall, still existing :

2. *Pinturicchio:* Moses and Zipporah on the way to Egypt, and the circumcision of their son.

3. *Sandro Botticelli:* Moses killing the Egyptian, and driving away the shepherds from the well.

4. *Piero di Cosimo:* Moses and the Israelites after the passage of the Red Sea.

5. *Cosimo Rosselli:* Moses giving the Law from the Mount, and the Adoration of the Golden Calf.

6. *Sandro Botticelli:* The punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who aspired uncalled to the priesthood. Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, afterwards Alexander VI., and Cardinal Raffaelle Sansoni Riario, are introduced as spectators.

7. *Bartolommeo della Gatta:* The last interview of Moses and Joshua.

On the right wall, still existing :

2. *Pinturicchio:* The Baptism of Christ.

3. *Sandro Botticelli:* The Temptation of Christ.

4. *Domenico Ghirlandajo:* The Calling of the Apostles on the Lake of Gennesareth.

5. *Cosimo Rosselli:* Christ's Sermon on the Mount.

6. *Perugino:* The institution of the Christian Priesthood. Christ giving the keys to Peter. This is perhaps the best work of Perugino ; but an attempt has been made to prove it to have been executed by Fra Diamante, an inferior artist of the middle of the fifteenth century.

7. *Cosimo Rosselli:* The Last Supper.

On the entrance wall :

8. *Francesco Salviati:* Michael bears away the body of Moses (Jude 9).

8. *Domenico Ghirlandajo*, restored by *Arrigo Fiammingo:* The Resurrection.

On the pillars between the windows are the figures of twenty-eight Popes, by *Sandro Botticelli, Ghirlandajo*, and *Fra Diamante.*

'Vasari (labouring under the delusion that No. 3 and No. 6, on the left wall, were the work of Signorelli) says that the two works of Luca Signorelli surpass in beauty all those which surround them—an assertion which is at least questionable as far as regards the frescoes of Perugino ; but with respect to all the rest, the superiority of Botticelli is evident, even to the most inexperienced eye. The subject of the first picture is the journey of Moses and Zipporah into Egypt ; the landscape is charming, although evidently ideal ; there is great depth in the aërial perspective ; and in the various groups scattered over the different parts of the picture there are female forms of such beauty that they may have afforded models to Raffaelle. The same graceful treatment is also perceptible in the representation of the death of Moses, the mournful details of which have given scope to the poetical imagination of the artist. The varied group to whom Moses has just read the Law for the last time, the sorrow of Joshua, who is kneeling before the man of God, the charming landscape, with the river Jordan threading its way between the mountains, which are made singularly beautiful, as if to explain the regrets of Moses when the angel announces to him that he will not enter into the promised land—all form a series of melancholy scenes perfectly in harmony with one another, the only defect being that the whole is crowded into too small a space.'—*Rio*, '*Poetry of Christian Art.*'

The avenue of pictures is a preparation for the surpassing grandeur of the **vaulting**, which is distributed into nine panels.

'The *ceiling* of the Sistine Chapel contains the most perfect works done by Michelangelo in his long and active life. Here his great spirit appears in its noblest dignity, in its highest purity; here the attention is not disturbed by that arbitrary display to which his great power not unfrequently seduced him in other works. The ceiling forms a flattened arch in its section: the central portion, which is a plain surface, contains a series of large and small pictures, representing the most important events recorded in the book of Genesis—the Creation and Fall of Man, with its immediate consequences. In the large triangular compartments at the springing of the vault are sitting figures of the prophets and Sibyls, as the foretellers of the coming of the Saviour. In the soffits of the recesses between these compartments, and in the arches underneath, immediately above the windows, are the ancestors of the Virgin, the series leading the mind directly to the Saviour. The external connection of these numerous representations is formed by an architectural framework of peculiar composition, which encloses the single subjects, tends to make the principal masses conspicuous, and gives to the whole an appearance of that solidity and support so necessary, but so seldom attended to, in soffit decorations, which may be considered as if suspended. A great number of figures are also connected with the framework; those in unimportant situations are executed in the colour of stone or bronze; in the more important, in natural colours. These serve to support the architectural forms, to fill up and to connect the whole. This may be best described as the living and embodied *genii* of architecture. It required the unlimited power of an architect, sculptor, and painter to conceive a structural whole of so much grandeur, to design the decorative figures with the significant repose required by the sculpturesque character, and yet to preserve their subordination to the principal subjects, and to keep the latter in the proportions and relations best adapted to the space to be filled.'—*Kugler*, p. 301.

'Cette voûte obscure et solitaire, dans laquelle il passa au moins cinq ans (1507–1512), fut pour Michel-Ange l'antre du Carmel, et il y vécut comme Élie. Il y avait un lit, sur lequel il peignait pendu à la voûte, la tête renversée. Nulle compagnie que les prophètes et les sermons de Savonarole.'—*Michelet*.

The pictures from the Old Testament, beginning from the altar, are:—

1. The Separation of Light and Darkness.
2. The Creation of the Sun and Moon.
3. The Creation of Trees and Plants.
4. The Creation of Adam.
5. The Creation of Eve.
6. The Fall and the Expulsion from Paradise.
7. The Sacrifice of Noah.
8. The Deluge.
9. The Intoxication of Noah.

'The scenes from Genesis are the most sublime representations of these subjects;—the Creating Spirit is unveiled before us. The peculiar type which the painter has here given of the form of the Almighty Father has been frequently imitated by his followers, and even by Raffaelle, but has been surpassed by none. Michelangelo has represented Him in majestic flight, sweeping through the air, surrounded by *genii*, partly supporting, partly borne along with Him, covered by His floating drapery; they are the distinct syllables, the separate virtues of His creating word. In the first (large) compartment we see Him with extended hands, assigning to the sun and moon their respective paths. In the second, He awakens the first man to life. Adam lies stretched on the verge of the earth, in the act of raising himself; the Creator touches him with the point of His finger, and appears thus to endow him with feeling and life. This picture displays a wonderful depth of thought in the composition, and the utmost elevation and majesty in the general treatment and execution. The third subject is not less im-

portant, representing the Fall of Man and his Expulsion from Paradise. The tree of knowledge stands in the midst, the serpent (the upper part of the body being that of a woman) is twined around the stem; she bends down towards the guilty pair, who are in the act of plucking the forbidden fruit. The figures are nobly graceful, particularly that of Eve. Close to the serpent hovers the angel with the sword, ready to drive the fallen beings out of Paradise. In this double action, this union of two separate moments, there is something peculiarly poetic and significant; it is guilt and punishment in one picture. The sudden and lightning-like appearance of the avenging angel behind the demon of darkness has a most impressive effect.' —*Kugler*, p. 304.

'Pheidias created tranquil Divinities; Michelangelo, suffering Heroes.'—*Goethe.*

The lower portion of the ceiling is divided into curvilinear triangular spaces occupied by the Prophets and Sibyls in solemn contemplation, accompanied by angels and genii. Beginning from the left of the entrance, their order is:

1. Joel.
2. Sibylla Erythraea.
3. Ezekiel.
4. Sibylla Persica.
5. Jonah.
6. Sibylla Libyca.
7. Daniel.
8. Sibylla Cumaea.
9. Isaiah.
10. Sibylla Delphica.

'The Prophets and Sibyls in the triangular compartments of the curved portion of the ceiling are the largest figures in the whole work; these, too, are among the most wonderful forms that modern art has called into life. They are all represented seated, employed with books or rolled manuscripts: genii stand near or behind them. These mighty beings sit before us pensive, meditative, inquiring, or looking upwards with inspired countenances. Their forms and movements, indicated by the grand lines and masses of the drapery, are majestic and dignified. We see in them beings who, while they feel and bear the sorrows of a corrupt and sinful world, have power to look for consolation into the secrets of the future. Yet the greatest variety prevails in the attitudes and expression—each figure is full of individuality. Zacharias is an aged man, busied in calm and circumspect investigation; Jeremiah is bowed down absorbed in thought—the thought of deep and bitter grief; Ezekiel turns with hasty movement to the genius next to him, who points upwards with joyful expectation, &c. The Sibyls are equally characteristic: the Persian, a lofty, majestic woman, very aged; the Erythraean—full of power, like the warrior-goddess of wisdom; the Delphic—like Cassandra, youthfully soft and graceful, but with strength to bear the awful seriousness of revelation.'—*Kugler*, p. 304.

'The belief of the Roman Catholic Church in the testimony of the Sibyl is shown by the well-known hymn, beginning with the verse:—

> "Dies irae, dies illa,
> Solvet saeclum in favilla;
> Teste David cum Sibylla."

It may be inferred that this (fourteenth-century) hymn, admitted into the liturgy of the Roman Church, gave sanction to the adoption of the Sibyls into Christian art. They are seen from this time accompanying the prophets and apostles in the cyclical decorations of the Church. . . . But the highest honour that art has rendered to the Sibyls has been by the hand of Michelangelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. Here, in the conception of a mysterious Order of women, placed above and without all considerations of the graceful or the individual, the great master was peculiarly in his element. They exactly fitted his standard of art, not always sympathetic, nor comprehensible to the average human mind, of which the grand in form and the abstract in expression were the last and first conditions. In this respect the Sibyls on the Sistine ceiling are more Michelangelesque than their companions the

Prophets. For these, while types of the highest monumental treatment, are yet men, while the Sibyls belong to a distinct class of beings, who convey the impression of the very obscurity in which their history is wrapt—creatures who have lived far from the abodes of men, who are alike devoid of the expression of feminine sweetness, human sympathy, or sacramental beauty; who are neither Christians nor Jewesses, Witches nor Graces, yet living, grand, beautiful, and true, according to laws revealed to the great Florentine genius only. Thus their figures may be said to be unique, as the offspring of a peculiar sympathy between the master's mind and his subject. To this sympathy may be ascribed the prominence and size given them—both Prophets and Sibyls—as compared to their usual relation to the subjects they environ. They sit here in twelve throne-like niches, more like presiding deities, each wrapt in self-contemplation, than as tributary witnesses to the truth and omnipotence of Him they are intended to announce. Thus they form a gigantic framework round the subjects of the Creation, of which the birth of Eve, as the type of the Nativity, is the intentional centre. For some reason, the twelve figures are not Prophets and Sibyls alternately—there being only five Sibyls to seven Prophets—so that the Prophets come together at one angle. Books and scrolls are given indiscriminately to them.

'The Sibylla Persica, supposed to be the oldest of the sisterhood, holds the book close to her eyes, as if from dimness of sight, which fact, contradicted as it is by a frame of obviously herculean strength, gives a mysterious intentness to the action.

'The Sibylla Libyca, of equally powerful proportions, but less closely draped, is grandly bringing herself to lift a massive volume from a height above her head on to her knees.

'The Sibylla Cumana, also aged, and with her head covered, is reading with her volume at a distance from her eyes.

'The Sibylla Delphica, with waving hair escaping from her turban, is a beautiful young being — the most human of all—gazing into vacancy or futurity. She holds a scroll.

'The Sibylla Erythraea, a grand bare-headed creature, sits reading intently with crossed legs, about to turn over her book.

'The Prophets are equally grand in structure, and though, as we have said, not more than men, yet they are the only men that could well bear the juxtaposition with their stupendous female colleagues. Ezekiel, between Erythraea and Persica, has a scroll in his hand that hangs by his side, just cast down, as he turns eagerly to listen to some voice.

'Jeremiah, a magnificent figure, sits with elbow on knee and head on hand, rapt in the meditation appropriate to one called to utter lamentation and woe. He has neither book nor scroll.

'Jonah is also without either. His position is strained and ungraceful—looking upwards, and apparently remonstrating with the Almighty upon the destruction of the gourd, a few leaves of which are seen above him. His hands are placed together with a strange and trivial action, supposed to denote the counting on his fingers the number of days he was in the fish's belly. A formless marine monster is seen at his side.

'Daniel has a book on his lap, with one hand on it. He is young, and a piece of lion's skin seems to allude to his history.'—*Lady Eastlake*, '*History of our Lord*,' i. 248.

'Le désespoir de Jérémie qui laisse tomber sa tête dans sa main, et n'est plus que le gigantesque soupir de tout un peuple.'—*Michelet*.

In the recesses between the Prophets and Sibyls is a series of lovely family groups representing the Genealogy of the Virgin. The four corners of the ceiling contain triangular groups illustrative of the power of Jehovah displayed in the deliverance of His chosen people.

Near the altar are:

R.—The deliverance of the Israelites by means of the brazen serpent.
L.—The execution of Haman.

Near the entrance are:

R.—Judith and Holofernes.
L.—David and Goliath.

Only 3000 ducats were paid to Michelangelo for all his great work on the ceiling of the Sistine. It was uncovered November 1512, and fairly astonished the world.

It was when Michelangelo was already in his sixtieth year that Clement VII. formed the idea of effacing the three pictures of Perugino at the end of the chapel, and employing him to paint in their place the vast fresco of **The Last Judgment.** It occupied the master for seven years, and was finished in 1541, when Paul III. occupied the throne. During this time Michelangelo, a devout Dante-lover, frequently read and re-read the wonderful sermons of Savonarola, to refresh his mind, and that he might drink in and absorb, and reproduce, their religious grandeur. To induce him to pursue his work with application, Paul III. went himself to his house attended by ten cardinals: 'an honour,' says Lanzi, 'unique in the annals of art.' The Pope wished that the picture should be painted in oil, to which he was persuaded by Sebastiano del Piombo, but Michelangelo refused to work, except in fresco, saying that oil-painting was for women and lazy persons.

'In the **upper half** of the picture we see the judge of the world, surrounded by the apostles and patriarchs; beyond these, on one side, are the martyrs; on the other, the saints and a numerous host of the blessed. Above, under the two arches of the vault, two groups of angels bear the instruments of the Passion. Below the Saviour another group of angels holding the books of life sound the trumpets to awaken the dead. On the right is represented the resurrection; and higher, the ascension of the blessed. On the left, hell, and the fall of the condemned, who audaciously strive to press to heaven.

'The day of wrath ("dies irae") is before us—the day of which the old hymn says—

"Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando judex est venturus,
Cuncta strictè discussurus."

The Judge turns in wrath towards the condemned and raises His right hand with an expression of rejection and condemnation; beside Him the Virgin veils herself with her drapery, and turns with a countenance full of anguish towards the blessed. The martyrs, on the left, hold up the instruments and proofs of their martyrdom, in accusation of those who had occasioned their temporal death: these the avenging angels drive from the gates of heaven, and fulfil the sentence pronounced against them. Trembling and anxious, the dead rise slowly, as if still fettered by the weight of an earthly nature; the pardoned ascend to the blessed; a mysterious horror pervades even their hosts—no joy, nor peace, nor blessedness are to be found here.

'It must be admitted that the artist has laid a stress on this view of his subject, and this has produced an unfavourable effect upon the upper half of his picture. We look in vain for the glory of heaven, for beings who bear the stamp of divine holiness and renunciation of human weakness; everywhere we meet with the expression of human passion, of human efforts. We see no choir of solemn, tranquil forms, no harmonious unity of clear, grand lines, produced by ideal draperies; instead of these, we find a confused crowd of the most varied movements, naked bodies in violent attitudes, unaccompanied by any of the characteristics made sacred by holy tradition. Christ, the principal figure of the whole, wants every attribute but that of the Judge: no expression of divine majesty reminds us that it is the Saviour

who exercises this office. The upper part of the composition is in many parts heavy, notwithstanding the masterly boldness of the drawing; confused, in spite of the separation of the principal and accessory groups; capricious, notwithstanding a grand arrangement of the whole. But, granting for a moment that these defects exist, still this upper portion, as a whole, has a very impressive effect, and, at the great distance from which it is seen, some of the defects alluded to are less offensive to the eye. The lower half deserves the highest praise. In these groups, from the languid resuscitation and upraising of the pardoned, to the despair of the condemned, every variety of expression, anxiety, anguish, rage, and despair is powerfully delineated. In the convulsive struggles of the condemned with the evil demons, the most passionate energy displays itself, and the extraordinary skill of the artist here finds its most appropriate exercise. A peculiar tragic grandeur pervades alike the beings who are given up to despair and their hellish tormentors. The representation of all that is fearful, far from being repulsive, is thus invested with that true moral dignity which is so essential a condition in the higher aims of art.'—*Kugler*, p. 308.

'The Last Judgment is now more valuable as a school of design than as a fine painting, and it will be sought more for the study of the artist, than the delight of the amateur. Beautiful it is not—but it is sublime; sublime in conception, and astonishing in execution. Still, I believe, there are few that do not feel that it is a labour rather than a pleasure to look at it. Its blackened surface—its dark and dingy sameness of colouring, the obscurity which hangs over it—the confusion and multitude of naked figures which compose it—their unnatural position suspended in the air, and the sameness of form and attitude, confound and bewilder the senses. These were, perhaps, defects inseparable from the subject, although it was one admirably calculated to call forth the powers of Michelangelo. To merit in colouring it has confessedly no pretensions, and I think it is also deficient in expression—that in the conflicting passions, hopes, fears, remorse, despair, and transport, that must agitate the breasts of so many thousands in that awful moment, there was room for powerful expression which we do not see here. But it is faded and defaced: the touches of immortal genius are lost for ever; and from what it is we can form but a faint idea of what it was. Its defects daily become more glaring—its beauties vanish; and, could the spirit of its great author behold the mighty work upon which he spent the unremitting labour of seven years, with what grief and mortification would he gaze upon it now..

'It may be fanciful, but it seems to me that in this, and in every other of Michelangelo's works, you may see that the ideas, beauties, and peculiar excellences of statuary were ever present to his mind; that they are the conceptions of a sculptor embodied in painting.

'. . . S. Catharine, in a green gown, and somebody else in a blue one, are supremely hideous. Paul IV., in an unfortunate fit of prudery, was seized with the resolution of whitewashing over the whole of the Last Judgment, in order to cover the scandal of a few naked female figures. With difficulty was he prevented from utterly destroying the grandest painting in the world, but he could not be dissuaded from ordering these poor women to be clothed in this unbecoming drapery. Daniele da Volterra, whom he employed in this office (in the lifetime of Michelangelo), received, in consequence, the name of Il Braghettone (the breeches-maker).'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

Michelangelo avenged himself upon Messer Biagio da Cesena, master of the ceremonies, who first suggested the indelicacy of the naked figures to the Pope, by introducing him in hell, as Midas with ass's ears. When Biagio begged Paul III. to cause this figure to be obliterated, the Pope sarcastically replied, 'I might have released you from purgatory, but over hell I have no power.'

'Michel-Ange est extraordinaire, tandis qu'Orcagna [1] est religieux. Leurs compositions se résument dans les deux Christs qui jugent. L'un est un

[1] In the Campo-Santo of Pisa.

bourreau qui foudroie, l'autre est un monarque qui condamne ne montrant la plaie sacrée de son côté pour justifier sa sentence.'—*Cartier*, '*Vie du Père Angelico*.'

'The Apostles in Michelangelo's Last Judgment stand on each side of the Saviour, who is not here Saviour and Redeemer, but inexorable Judge. They are grandly and artificially grouped, all without any drapery whatever, with forms and attitudes which recall an assemblage of Titans holding a council of war, rather than the glorified companions of Christ.'—*Jameson's* '*Sacred and Legendary Art*,' i. 179.

'The Last Judgment produced to my eye the same sort of confusion that perplexes my ear at a grand concert consisting of a great variety of instruments, or rather when a number of people are talking at once.'—*T. Smollett, Letter xxxiii.*

The Sistine Chapel is associated in the minds of all sojourners in Rome with the great ceremonies of the Church, but especially with the Miserere of Holy Week, the beauty of which greatly depends upon the manner in which it is sung. (Novello has printed the music.)

'On Wednesday afternoon began the Miserere in the Sixtine Chapel. . . . The old cardinals entered in their magnificent violet-coloured velvet cloaks, with their white ermine capes; and seated themselves side by side, in a great half circle, within the barrier, whilst the priests who had carried their trains seated themselves at their feet. By the little side door of the altar the holy father now entered in his purple mantle and silver tiara. He ascended his throne. Bishops swung the vessels of incense around him, while young priests in scarlet vestments knelt, with lighted torches in their hands, before him and the high altar.

'The reading of the lesson began.[1] But it was impossible to keep the eyes fixed on the lifeless letters of the missal—they raised themselves, with the thoughts, to the vast universe which Michelangelo had breathed forth in colours upon the ceiling and the walls. I contemplated his mighty sibyls and wondrously glorious prophets, every one of them a subject for a painting. My eyes drank in the magnificent processions, the beautiful groups of angels; they were not to me painted pictures, all stood living before me. The rich tree of knowledge, from which Eve gave the fruit to Adam: the Almighty God, who floated over the waters, not borne up by angels, as the old masters had represented Him — no, the company of angels rested upon Him and His fluttering garments. It is true I had seen these pictures before, but never as now had they seized upon me. My excited state of mind, the crowd of people, perhaps even the lyric of my thoughts, made me wonderfully alive to poetical impressions; and many a poet's heart has felt as mine did!

'The bold foreshortenings, the determinate force with which every figure steps forward, is amazing, and carries one quite away! It is a spiritual Sermon on the Mount in colour and form. Like Raffaelle, we stand in astonishment before the power of Michelangelo. Every prophet is a Moses like that which he formed in marble. What giant forms are those which seize upon our eye and our thoughts as we enter! But, when intoxicated with this view, let us turn our eyes to the background of the chapel, whose whole wall is a high altar of art and thought. The great chaotic picture, from the floor to the roof, shows itself there like a jewel, of which all the rest is only the setting. We see there the Last Judgment.

'Christ stands in judgment upon the clouds, and the apostles and His mother stretch forth their hands beseeching for the poor human race. The dead raise the gravestones under which they have lain; blessed spirits float upwards, adoring, to God, whilst the abyss seizes the victims. Here one of the ascending spirits seeks to save his condemned brother, whom the abyss

[1] Fifteen Psalms are sung before the Miserere begins, and one light is extinguished for each—the Psalms being represented by fifteen candles.]

already embraces in its snaky folds. The children of despair strike their clenched fists upon their brows and sink into the depths! In bold foreshortening, float and tumble whole legions between heaven and earth. The sympathy of the angels; the expression of lovers who meet; the child that, at the sound of the trumpet, clings to the mother's breast, are so natural and beautiful, that one believes oneself to be among those who are waiting for judgment. Michelangelo has expressed in colours what Dante saw and has sung to the generations of the earth.

'The descending sun, at that moment, threw his last beams in through the uppermost windows. Christ and the blessed around Him were strongly lighted up; while the lower part, where the dead arose, and the demons thrust their boat, laden with damned, from shore, was almost in darkness.

'Just as the sun went down the last Psalm was ended, and the last light which now remained was extinguished, and the whole picture-world vanished in the gloom from before me; but, in that same moment, burst forth music and singing. That which colour had bodily revealed arose now in sound; the day of judgment, with its despair and exultation, resounded above us.

'The father of the Church, stripped of his papal pomp, stood before the altar and prayed to the holy cross; and upon the wings of the trumpet resounded the trembling quire, "Populo meus, quid feci tibi?" Soft angel notes rose above the deep song, tones which ascended not from a human breast: it was not a man's nor a woman's: it belonged to the world of spirits: it was like the weeping of angels dissolved in melody.'—*Andersen's 'Improvisatore.'*

'Le *Miserere*, c'est-à-dire, *ayez pitié de nous*, est un psaume composé de versets qui se chantent alternativement d'une manière très différente. Tour à tour une musique céleste se fait entendre, et le verset suivant, dit en récitatif, et murmuré d'un ton sourd et presque rauque, on dirait que c'est la réponse des caractères durs aux cœurs sensibles, que c'est le réel de la vie qui vient flétrir et repousser les vœux des âmes généreuses; et quand le chœur si doux reprend, on renaît à l'espérance; mais lorsque le verset récité recommence, un sensation de froid saisit de nouveau; ce n'est pas la terreur qui la cause, mais le découragement de l'enthousiasme. Enfin le dernier morceau, plus noble et plus touchant encore que tous les autres, laisse au fond de l'âme une impression douce et pure: Dieu nous accorde cette même impression avant de mourir.

'On éteint les flambeaux; la nuit s'avance; les figures des prophètes et des sibylles apparaissent comme des fantômes enveloppés du crépuscule. Le silence est profond, la parole ferait un mal insupportable dans cet état de l'âme, où tout est intime et intérieur; et quand le dernier son s'éteint, chacun s'en va lentement et sans bruit; chacun semble craindre de rentrer dans les intérêts vulgaires de ce monde.'—*Mad. de Staël.*

In 1770, Mozart, then aged fourteen, wrote down the entire 'Miserere' from memory, and on the Good Friday of Holy Week revised it as the service proceeded. Cristoforo, the leading soprano, declared it to be perfect.

'Never for a moment during the services in the Sistine are you allowed to forget that the highest potentate on this earth is present in the chapel; never can you forget that you look on an aged being, living in the passing generation of the existing century, but laden with the traditions and courtesies, the superstitions and falsehoods, of 1500 years.'—*A. P. Stanley.*

The fact that English, American, and other foreigners are admitted to the Sistine when natives are turned back is the subject of a well-known pasquinade. Pasquino says to Marforio—

'Where are you going, brother, with your black dress and sword?'
Marforio. 'I am going to the Sistine Chapel to hear the Miserere.'

Pasquino. 'You will go in vain. The Swiss Guard will turn you out, and the Pope's camerieri will send you about your business.'
Marforio. 'There is no danger, brother; I am certain to get in: I turned heretic yesterday.'

Opposite the entrance of the Sistine Chapel from the Sala Regia is that to the **Sala Ducale**, in which the Popes formerly gave audience to foreign princes. It is now used for Consistories for the admission of cardinals to the Sacred College. Its decorations were chiefly executed by Bernini for Alexander VII. The landscapes are by *Brill*. This hall is used as a passage to the Loggie of Bramante. The finest ecclesiastical sight still to be seen in Rome is the carrying of the Pope through the Sala Ducale to the ceremonies of the Sistine Chapel. In one of the principal frescoes the Pope (Gregory XIII.) is seen surveying the massacre of S. Bartholomew.

The small portion of the Vatican inhabited by the Pope is only seen by those who are admitted to a special Audience. The rooms occupied by the Pontiff are furnished with a simplicity which would be inconceivable in the abode of any other sovereign prince. The furniture is confined to the merest necessaries of life. The apartment consists of the bare Green Saloon; the Red Saloon, containing a throne flanked by benches; and the bedroom, with yellow draperies, a large writing-table, and a few pictures by old masters. The Papal life is a somewhat lonely one, as possibly the dread of an accusation of nepotism has prevented the later Popes from having members of their family much with them. and etiquette always obliges them to dine, &c., alone. Pius IX. seldom saw his family. Leo XIII., however, was often visited by his relations—'la Sainte Famille,' as they are generally called. The present Pontiff has confirmed this sensible change. No Pontiff, perhaps, ever reigned who so clearly and naturally draws the distinction between his own person and his supreme office as Pius X.

'Dès six heures, Léon XIII. est debout, dit sa messe dans sa chapelle particulière, déjeune d'un peu lait. Puis, de huit heures à midi, c'est un défilé ininterrompu de cardinaux, de prélats, toutes les affaires des congrégations qui lui passent sous les yeux, il n'est pas de plus nombreuses ni de plus compliquées. A midi, le plus souvent, ont lieu les audiences publiques et collectives. A deux heures, il dine. Vient alors la sieste, qu'il a bien gagnée, ou la promenade dans les jardins, jusqu'à six heures. Les audiences particulières, parfois, le tiennent ensuite pendant une heure ou deux. Il soupe à neuf heures, et il mange à peine, vit de rien, toujours seul à sa petite table. Depuis dix-huit ans, il n'a pas une convive, éternellement à l'écart dans sa grandeur! Et, à dix heures, après avoir dit le Rosaire avec ses familiers, il s'enferme dans sa chambre. Mais, s'il se couche, il dort peu, il est pris de fréquentes insomnies, se relève, appelle un secrétaire, pour lui dicter des notes, des lettres. Lorsqu'une affaire intéressante l'occupe, il s'y donne tout entier, y songe sans cesse. C'est sa vie, sa santé même; une intelligence continuellement en éveil, en travail, une force et une autorité qui ont le besoin de se dépenser.'—*Zola*, '*Roma*.'

No one, whatever the difference of creed, can look upon this building, inhabited by the venerable men who have borne so im-

portant a part in the history of Christianity and of Europe, with other than the deepest interest.

> 'Je la vois, cette Rome, où d'augustes vieillards,
> Héritiers d'un apôtre et vainqueurs des Césars,
> Souverains sans armée et conquerants sans guerre,
> A leur triple couronne ont asservi la terre.'—*Racine.*

'The Pope is a mine of deep and curious interest—the most ancient of all the rulers of Europe. He may be considered—i. as the representative of the customs of Christian antiquity; ii. as the representative of the ancient Roman Empire; iii. as an Italian Bishop and Italian Prince; iv. as the "Pope," or chief oracle of Christendom; v. as the head of the ecclesiastical profession; vi. as an element in the future arrangements of Christendom.'—*A. P. Stanley, 'Christian Institutions.'*

'Peasant and prince have an equal chance of wearing the triple crown; but in history it will be found that it has been more often worn by peasants than princes, and most often by men issuing from the middle classes.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

'If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the sallies of youth, the expenses of luxury, and the calamities of war.'—*Gibbon*, xx. vol. viii. 259, 262.

Peter's Pence, once the chief stay and support of the Papacy, originated in a voluntary tribute first paid by the English kings in 701. England subsequently became nicknamed, with no little reason, 'The Virgin's Dower.' The collection varies from six to seven million francs, of which two-thirds is provided by France, whilst poverty-stricken Ireland contributes twenty times more than Italy! In 1888 the convent of the Grande Chartreuse sent the Pope half a million, a larger gift than that of any sovereign. It will never do so again.

'It is a common saying here, that "as long as the Pope can finger a pen, he can want no pence."'—*Howell, 'Familiar Letters,'* 1621.

Innocent III. first assumed the title of Vicar of Christ. Two hundred and fifty-seven Popes are reckoned from S. Peter to Pius X. inclusive. A famous prophecy of S. Malachi, first printed in 1595, is contained in a series of mottoes, one for each of the whole line of pontiffs until the end of time. Following this, it will be seen that only eight more Popes are needed to exhaust the mottoes, and to close the destinies of Rome and of the world. The later ones run thus:—

'Pius VII. Aquila rapax.	. . . Fides intrepida.
Leo XII. Canis et coluber.	. . . Pastor angelicus.
Pius VIII. Vir religiosus.	. . . Pastor et nauta.
Gregory XVI. De Balneis Etruriae.	. . . Flos florum.
Pius IX. Crux de cruce.	. . . De medietate lunae.
Leo XIII. Lumen in coelo.	. . . De labore solis.
Pius X. Ignis ardens.	. . . Gloria olivae.
. . . Religio depopulata.	

In persecutione extrema sacra Romanae Ecclesiae sedebit PETRUS Romanus, qui pascet oves in multis tribulationibus: quibus transactis, civitas septicollis diruetur, et JUDEX tremendus judicabit populum.'

'The Pope, for twenty years, has been living in the Vatican, surrounded by the cardinals, by the functionaries of the Church, inviolable and inviolate, a constant and incorrigible conspirator.'—*Crispi*, 1890.

The Cardinal[1] Secretary of State has rooms above the pontifical apartments. In the later years of Pius IX. no less than 2348 persons resided in the Vatican. Alterations naturally occur on the accession of each Pontiff.

To reach the *Stanze* (according to late regulations) we must ascend the Scala Regia to the first landing, and then turn to the left through an open door, cross a court, and ascend a long staircase (on the right of which a door gives admission to the Sistine Chapel).

The Stanze are entered through two rooms hung with modern pictures presented to Pius IX.: those in the upper room represent the miracles or martyrdoms of those who were canonised in his reign.

Hence we reach a magnificent Chamber decorated under Pius IX. with frescoes by *Fracassini*, in honour of the recent dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The Proclamation of the Dogma; the Adoration of the Image of the Virgin; and the Reception of the News by the Virgin in Heaven from an angelic messenger, are duly represented!

'The lower part of the picture represents Pope Pius IX. standing with arms outstretched, while all around are the princes of the Church. At the extreme right some angels are represented as holding the cross, from which a shaft of light shines and rests on the head of the Pope, illumining his mind while he enunciates the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception. Above the Pope three colossal figures are portrayed. On the right hand sits Christ, and the centre is the Virgin Mary, whose snowy feet stand on a globe representing the earth; on the left side God the Father, who holds the world in his hand. The three figures are of equal size, and each is represented as having equal authority. Each has a halo round the head, and each forms a part of the Godhead. Above the head of the Virgin Mary, however, is the figure of a dove, representing the Holy Spirit.'—*Joseph Hocking.*

These pictures, which are fine works as to composition and colour, are interesting as a portrait gallery of ecclesiastics living at the time they were painted. Hence we enter the Stanze, three rooms built by Nicholas V. (1447–55), which Julius II. chose as his dwelling, and which were decorated for him and Leo X. with frescoes by Raffaelle, for each of which he received 1200 ducats.

The *Stanza of the* Incendio del Borgo is decorated with frescoes,

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[1] The name Cardinal was applied in the fourth century to the minister of the court of Theodosius at Constantinople, and was probably introduced thence to the Papal court. Cardinals had no precedence over bishops at the time of the Council of Clermont, in 1005. The privilege of the election of a Pope was granted them at the Lateran Council of 1179. The scarlet hat was granted them by Innocent IV. at the Council of Lyons; a share in the temporal power and state revenues by Eugenius IV. in 1434. First in rank was the Cardinal Nephew, whose duties were those of a prime minister; then came the Cardinal Camerlengo (a post often sold by the Popes), who took possession of the palace on the death of a pontiff, and reigned supreme till the next election. The Cardinal Datari had the disposal of pensions and benefices. The Cardinal Vicar is the acting Bishop of Rome.

illustrative of the triumphs of the Church, from events in the reigns of Leo III. (795) and Leo IV. (847). The roof has four frescoes by *Perugino*, illustrative of the Saviour in glory.

Entrance Wall.—The Coronation of Charlemagne in the old S. Peter's. Leo X. is again represented as Leo III., and Francis I. as Charlemagne. This fresco is partly by *Raffaelle*, partly by *Pierino del Vaga*. On the socle is Charlemagne, by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*.

R. Wall.—The '**Incendio del Borgo,**' a fire in the Leonine City in 847, by *Raffaelle*. In the background Leo IV. is seen in the portico of the old S. Peter's arresting with a cross the progress of the flames, on their approach to the basilica. In the foreground is a group of fugitives by *Giulio Romano*, resembling Aeneas escaping from Troy with Anchises, followed by Ascanius and Creusa. Beneath are Godfrey de Bouillon and Astulf (Ethelwolf), the latter with the inscription: 'Astulphus Rex sub Leone IV. Pont. Britanniam Beato Petro vectigalem fecit.'

L. Wall.—The Justification of Leo III. before Charlemagne, by *Pierino del Vaga*. The Pope is a portrait of Leo X.; the Emperor, of Francis I.

Wall of Egress.—The Victory of Leo IV. over the Saracens at Ostia, by *Giovanni da Udine*, from designs of Raffaelle. The Pope is represented with the features of Leo X.; behind him are Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (Clement VII.), Cardinal Bibbiena, and others. The Castle of Ostia is seen in the background. Beneath are Ferdinand the Catholic and the Emperor Lothaire, by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*.

The *Stanza* **della Segnatura** is so called from a judicial assembly once held here. The frescoes in this chamber are illustrative of Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence, represented on the ceiling by **Raffaelle**, in the midst of arabesques by *Sodoma*. The Theology was the first picture he executed here. The square pictures by Raffaelle refer—the Fall of Man—to Theology; the Study of the Globe—to Philosophy; the Flaying of Marsyas—to Poetry; and the Judgment of Solomon—to Jurisprudence. The master was aged twenty-five when he painted here.

Entrance Wall.—'**The Disputa,**' the most beautiful representation of the Christian world in existence, derives its name from an impression that it represents a dispute upon the Sacrament. In the upper part of the composition the heavenly host are present: Christ between the Virgin and S. John Baptist;—on the left, S. Peter, Adam, S. John, David, S. Stephen, and Jeremiah;—on the right, S. Paul, Abraham, S. James, Moses, S. Laurence, and S. George. Below is an altar surrounded by the Latin doctors, Gregory, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. Near S. Augustine stand S. Thomas Aquinas, S. Anacletus with the palm of a martyr, and S. Buonaventura reading. In front is Innocent III., and in the background Dante, near whom a monk in a black hood is pointed out as Savonarola. The Dominican on the extreme left is supposed to be Fra Angelico. The other figures are Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola.

The chiaroscuros on the socle beneath this fresco are by *Pierino del Vaga* (added under Paul III.) and represent: 1. A heathen sacrifice; 2. S. Augustine finding a child attempting to drain the sea; 3. The Cumaean Sibyl and Augustus.

R. Wall.—Above the window are Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance. On the left, Justinian delivers the Pandects to Tribonian. On the right, Gregory IX. (with the features of Julius II.) delivers the Decretals to a jurist; Cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III., and Cardinal del Monte, are represented near the Pope. In the socle beneath is Solon addressing the people of Athens.

L. Wall. — '**Parnassus,**' Apollo surrounded by the Muses, on his right Homer, Virgil, and Dante. Below, on the right, Sappho, supposed to be addressing Corinna, Petrarch, Propertius, and Anacreon; on the left, Pindar and Horace, Sannazzara, Boccaccio, and others. Beneath this, in grisaille,

are,—Alexander placing the poems of Homer in the tomb of Achilles, and Augustus preventing the burning of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Wall of Egress.—'The School of Athens.' Raffaelle consulted Ariosto as to the arrangement of its fifty-two figures. In the centre, on the steps of a portico, are seen Plato and Aristotle; Plato pointing to heaven, and Aristotle to earth. On the left is Socrates conversing with his pupils, amongst whom is a young warrior, probably Alcibiades. Lying upon the steps in front is Diogenes.[1] To his left Pythagoras is writing on his knee, and near him, with ink and pen, is Empedocles. The youth in the white mantle is Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew of Julius II. On the right is Archimedes, drawing a geometrical problem upon the floor. The young man near him with uplifted hands is Federigo II., Duke of Mantua. Behind these are Zoroaster and Ptolemy, one with terrestrial, the other with a celestial globe, addressing two figures which represent Raffaelle and Sodoma. The architecture of the hall is modelled on Bramante's design for S. Peter's. The drawing in brown upon the socle beneath this fresco is by *Pierino del Vaga*, and represents the death of Archimedes.

'Raffaelle commenced his work in the Vatican by painting the ceiling and the four walls of the room called *della Segnatura*, on the surface of which he had to represent four great compositions, which embraced the principal divisions of the encyclopedia of that period, namely, Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence.

'It will be conceived, that to an artist imbued with the traditions of the Umbrian school, the first of these subjects was an unparalleled piece of good fortune; and Raffaelle, long familiar with the allegorical treatment of religious compositions, turned it here to the most admirable account; and not content with the suggestions of his own genius, he availed himself of all the instruction he could derive from the intelligence of others. From these combined inspirations resulted, to the eternal glory of the Catholic faith and of Christian art, a composition without a rival in the history of painting, and we may also add without a name; for to call it lyric or epic is not enough, unless, indeed, we mean, by using these expressions, to compare it with the allegorical epic of Dante, alone worthy to be ranked with this marvellous production of the pencil of Raffaelle.

'And let no one consider this praise as idle and groundless, for it is Raffaelle himself who forces the comparison upon us, by placing the figure of Dante among the favourite sons of the Muses; and, what is still more striking, by draping the allegorical figure of Theology in the very colours in which Dante has represented Beatrice, namely, the white veil, the red tunic, and the green mantle, while on her head he has placed the olive crown.

'Of the four allegorical figures which occupy the compartments of the ceiling, and which were all painted immediately after Raffaelle's arrival in Rome, Theology and Poetry are incontestably the most remarkable. The latter would be easily distinguished by the calm inspiration of her glance, even were she without her wings, her starry crown, and her azure robe, all having allusion to the elevated region towards which it is her privilege to soar. The figure of Theology is quite as admirably suited to the subject she personifies; she points to the upper part of the grand composition, which takes its name from her, and in which the artist has provided inexhaustible food for the sagacity and enthusiasm of the spectator.

'This work consists of two grand divisions—Heaven and Earth—which are united to one another by that mystical bond, the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The personages whom the Church has most honoured for learning and holiness are ranged in picturesque and animated groups on either side of the altar, on which the consecrated wafer is exposed. S. Augustine dictates his thoughts to one of his disciples; S. Gregory, in his pontifical robes, seems absorbed in the contemplation of celestial glory; S. Ambrose, in a slightly different attitude, appears to be chanting the Te Deum; while S. Jerome, seated, rests his hands on a large book, which he holds on his knees. Pietro

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[1] In the cartoon at Milan Diogenes does not appear, being apparently an after-thought.

Lombardo, Duns Scotus, S. Thomas Aquinas, Pope Anacletus, S. Buonaventura, and Innocent III. are no less happily characterised; while, behind all these illustrious men, whom the Church and succeeding generations have agreed to honour, Raffaelle has ventured to introduce Dante with his laurel crown, and, with still greater boldness, the monk Savonarola, publicly burnt ten years before as a heretic.

'In the glory, which forms the upper part of the picture, the Three Persons of the Trinity are represented, surrounded by patriarchs, apostles, and saints; it may, in fact, be considered in some sort as a *résumé* of all the favourite compositions produced during the last hundred years by the Umbrian school. A great number of the types, and particularly those of Christ and the Virgin, are to be found in the earlier works of Raffaelle himself. The Umbrian artists, from having so long exclusively employed themselves on mystical subjects, had certainly attained to a marvellous perfection in the representation of celestial beatitude, and of those ineffable things of which it has been said that the heart of man cannot conceive them, far less, therefore, the pencil of man portray; and Raffaelle, surpassing them in all, and even in this instance, while surpassing himself, appears to have fixed the limits beyond which Christian art, properly so called, has never since been able to advance.'—*Rio, 'Poetry of Christian Art.'*

The **Stanza d'Eliodoro**, entirely painted by **Raffaelle** in 1511–14, shows the Church triumphant over her enemies, and the miracles by which her power has been attested. On the roof are four subjects from the Old Testament: the Covenant with Abraham; the Sacrifice of Isaac; Jacob's Dream; Moses at the Burning Bush.

Entrance Wall.—**The Flight of Attila.** Leo I. (with the features of Leo. X.) is represented on his white mule, with his cardinals, calling upon SS. Peter and Paul, who appear in the clouds, for aid against Attila. The Coliseum is seen in the background. Perugino is represented as a mace-bearer.

E. *Wall.*—**The Miracle of Bolsena.** A priest at Bolsena, who refused to believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation, is convinced by the bleeding of the host. On the right kneels Julius II., Cardinal Riario, founder of the Cancelleria. This was the last fresco executed by Raffaelle under Julius II., who died soon after its completion.

L. *Wall.*—**Peter delivered from Prison.** A fresco by Piero della Francesca was destroyed to make room for this picture, which is said to have allusion to the liberation of Leo X., while Legate in Spain, after his capture at the battle of Ravenna. This fresco is considered especially remarkable for its four lights, those from the double representation of the angel, from the torch of the soldier, and from the moon.

Wall of Egress.—**Heliodorus,** the prefect of Seleucus Philopater, driven out of the Temple (2 Maccabees iii.). In the background Onias the priest is represented praying for divine interposition; in the foreground Heliodorus, pursued by avenging angels, is endeavouring to bear away the treasures of the Temple. There is allusion here to the expulsion of the French after Novara, in 1513. The heavenly horseman is believed to be a reminiscence of the chieftain Astorre Baglioni, whom Raffaelle had seen in his youth, in the street conflicts of his native Perugia, mounted on horseback, in gilt armour, with a falcon on his helmet—'like Mars in bearing and in deeds.' Amid the group on the left is seen Julius II. in his chair of state, attended by his secretaries. The figure of the Pope gazing on the prostrate king marks the picture as allegorical of his success in expelling the French from Italy. The first of the bearers of the 'Sedia portatile' in front is Marc-Antonio Raimondi, the engraver of Raffaelle's designs. The man with the inscription, 'Jo. Petro de Folicariis Cremonen,' was secretary of briefs to Pope Julius.

'Here you may almost fancy you hear the thundering approach of the heavenly warrior and the neighing of his steed; while in the different groups who are plundering the treasures of the Temple, and in those who gaze intently on the sudden consternation of Heliodorus, without being able

to divine its cause, we see the expression of terror, amazement, joy, humility, and every passion to which human nature is exposed.'—*Lanzi.*

The next chamber is the **Salone di Constantino**, decorated under Clement VII. (Giulio de' Medici) in 1523–34, after the death of Raffaelle, who, however, had prepared drawings for the frescoes. The two figures of Justice and Mercy are by Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano. The other compositions, completed by his pupils, are in fresco.

Entrance Wall.—The supposititious Baptism of Constantine, interesting as portraying the interior of the Lateran baptistery in the fifteenth century, by *Francesco Penni*, who has introduced his own portrait in a black dress and velvet cap. On the left is Damasus I. (A.D. 366–384), between Prudence and Peace; on the right, Leo I. (A.D. 440–462), between Innocence and Truth. The paintings on the socles represent scenes in the life of Constantine by *Giulio Romano.*

R. Wall.—The Battle of the Ponte Molle and the Defeat of Maxentius by Constantine, designed (?) by Raffaelle, and executed by *Giulio Romano.* On the left is Sylvester I. between Faith and Religion; on the right, Urban I. (the friend of Cecilia) between Justice and Charity.

L. Wall.—The Fictitious Donation of Rome by Constantine to Sylvester I. (A.D. 325); *Raffaello da Colle.* (The head of Sylvester was a portrait of Clement VII., the reigning Pope; Count Castiglione, the friend of Raffaelle, and Giulio Romano, are introduced among the attendants.) On the left is Sylvester I. with Fortitude; on the right, Gregory VII. with Strength.

Wall of Egress.—The Address of Constantine to his troops and the Vision of the Fiery Cross; *Giulio Romano.* On the left is S. Peter between the Church and Eternity; on the right, Clement I. (the Martyr) between Moderation and Gentleness.

'Raphaël se multiplie, il se prodigue, avec une fécondité de toutes les heures. De jeunes disciples, admirateurs de son beau génie, le servent avec amour, et sont déjà admis à l'honneur d'attacher leurs noms à quelques parties de ses magnifiques travaux. Le maître leur distribue leur tâche; à Jules Romain, le brillant coloris des vêtements et peut-être même le dessin de quelques figures; au Fattore, à Jean d'Udine, les arabesques; à frère Jean de Vérone les clairs-obscurs des portes et des lambris qui doivent compléter la décoration de ces splendides appartements. Et lui, que réserve-t-il?—la pensée qui anime tout, le génie qui enfante et qui dirige.'—*Gournerie, 'Rome Chrétienne.'*

The vault was painted long afterwards by the Zuccari. From the corner of this hall a custode, if requested, will give access, through an ante-chamber, to the

Cappella di San Lorenzo, a tiny chapel covered with interesting frescoes executed by *Fra Angelico* for Nicholas V. in 1447. At some unknown time the door was walled up, and the very existence of the chapel was long forgotten. Bottari, who had read of it in Vasari, found it after a long search in the eighteenth century, entering it through the window which overlooked the roof of the Sixtine. The upper series of the frescoes represents events in the life of S. Stephen.

1. His Ordination by S. Peter.
2. His Almsgiving.
3. His Preaching.
4. He is brought before the Council at Jerusalem (his accuser has the dress and shaven crown of a monk).
5. He is dragged to Execution.
6. He is Stoned. Saul is among the spectators.

'Angelico has represented S. Stephen as a young man, beardless, and with a most mild and candid expression. His dress is the deacon's habit, of a vivid blue.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

The lower series represents the life of S. Laurence.

1. He is Ordained by Sixtus II. (with the features of Nicholas V.).
2. Sixtus II. delivers the treasures of the Church to him for distribution among the poor.
3. He Distributes them in Alms.
4. He is carried before Decius the Prefect.
5. He suffers Martyrdom, A.D. 253.

Introduced in the side arches are the figures of S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, S. Gregory, S. John Chrysostom, S. Athanasius, S. Leo (as the protector of Rome), and S. Thomas Aquinas—as painted by the Dominican Angelico, and for a Dominican Pope, Nicholas V.

'The Consecration of S. Stephen, the Distribution of Alms, and, above all, his Preaching, are three pictures as perfect of their kind as any that have been produced by the greatest masters, and it would be difficult to imagine a group more happily conceived as to arrangement, or more graceful in form and attitude, than that of the seated females listening to the holy preacher; and if the furious fanaticism of the executioners, who stone him to death, is not expressed with all the energy we could desire, this may be attributed to a glorious incapacity in this angelic imagination, too exclusively occupied with love and ecstasy, to be ever able to familiarise itself with those dramatic scenes in which hateful and violent passions were to be represented.'—*Rio, 'Poetry of Christian Art.'*

'The soul of Angelico lives in perpetual peace. Not seclusion from the world. No shutting out of the world is needful for him. There is nothing to shut out. Envy, lust, contention, discourtesy, are to him as though they were not; and the cloister walls of Fiesole no penitential solitude, barred from the stir and joy of life, but a possessed land of tender blessing, guarded from the entrance of all but holiest sorrow. The little cell was as one of the houses of heaven prepared for him by his Master. What need had it to be elsewhere? Was not the Val d'Arno, with its olive woods in white blossom, paradise enough for a poor monk? Or could Christ be indeed in heaven more than here? Was He not always with him? Could he breathe or see, but that Christ breathed beside him or looked into his eyes? Under every cypress avenue the angels walked; he had seen their white robes—whiter than the dawn—at his bedside as he awoke in early summer. They had sung with him, one on each side, when his voice failed for joy at sweet vesper and matin time; his eyes were blinded by their wings in the sunset, when it sank behind the hills of Luni.'—*Ruskin's 'Modern Painters.'*

From the Salone di Constantino a glass door admits us to the Loggie.

Two sides of the **Loggie** or corridors on the second floor (formerly open) are decorated in stucco by *Marco da Faenza* and *Paul Schnorr*, and painted by *Sicciolante da Sermonta*, *Tempesta*, *Sabbatini*, and others. The third corridor, entered on the right, contains the celebrated frescoes, executed by Raffelle, or from the designs of Raffaelle, by Giulio Romano, Pierino del Vaga, Pellegrino da Modena, Francesco Penni, and Raffaello da Colle. Of the fifty-two subjects represented, forty-eight are from the Old Testament, only the four last being from the Gospel History, as an appropriate introduction to the pictures which celebrate the foundation and triumphs of the Church, in the adjoining stanze. The design of many of the

decorations is doubtless due to the discovery, in the reign of Julius II., of the buried treasures of the Baths of Titus. The stucco decorations are of exquisite beauty; especially remarkable, perhaps, are those of the windows in the first arcade, where Raffaelle is represented drawing—his pupils working from his designs—and Fame celebrating his work. They were all maltreated by the French in 1527, and have likewise suffered at the hands of restorers. The frescoes are arranged in the following order:—

1st Arcade.
1. Creation of Light.[1]
2. Creation of Dry Land.
3. Creation of the Sun and Moon.
4. Creation of Animals.

} *Raffaelle.*

2nd Arcade.
1. **Creation of Eve. Raffaelle.**
2. The Fall.
3. The **Exile from Eden.**
4. The Consequence of the Fall.

} *Giulio Romano.*

3rd Arcade.
1. Noah builds the Ark.
2. The Deluge.
3. The Coming forth from the Ark.
4. The Sacrifice of Noah.

} *Giulio Romano.*

4th Arcade.
1. Abraham and Melchizedek.
2. The Covenant of God with Abraham.
3. Abraham and the three Angels.
4. Lot's Flight from Sodom.

} *Francesco Penni.*

5th Arcade.
1. God appears to Isaac.
2. Abimelech sees Isaac with Rebecca.
3. Isaac gives Jacob the Blessing.
4. Isaac blesses Esau also.

} *Francesco Penni.*

6th Arcade.
1. Jacob's Ladder.
2. Jacob meets Rachel.
3. Jacob upbraids Laban.
4. The Journey of Jacob.

} *Pellegrino da Modena.*

7th Arcade.
1. Joseph tells his Dream.
2. Joseph sold into Egypt.
3. Joseph and Potiphar's wife.
4. Joseph interprets Pharaoh's Dream.

} *Giulio Romano.*

8th Arcade.
1. The finding of Moses.
2. Moses and the Burning Bush.
3. The Destruction of Pharaoh.
4. Moses striking the Rock.

} *Giulio Romano.*

9th Arcade.
1. Moses receives the Tables of the Law.
2. The Worship of the Golden Calf.
3. Moses breaks the Tables.
4. Moses kneels before the Pillar of Cloud.

} *Raffaello da Colle.*

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[1] 'This is perhaps the grandest of the whole series. Here the Almighty is seen rending like a thunderbolt the thick shroud of fiery clouds, letting in that light under which His works were to spring into life.'—*Lady Eastlake.*

10th Arcade.

1. The Israelites cross the Jordan.
2. The Fall of Jericho.
3. Joshua stays the course of the Sun.
4. Joshua and Eleazer divide the Promised Land.

} *Pierino del Vaga.*

11th Arcade.

1. Samuel anoints David.
2. David and Goliath.
3. The Triumph of David.
4. David sees Bathsheba.

} *Pierino del Vaga.*

12th Arcade.

1. Zadok anoints Solomon.
2. The Judgment of Solomon.
3. The Coming of the Queen of Sheba.
4. The Building of the Temple.

} *Pellegrino da Modena.*

13th Arcade.

1. The Adoration of the Shepherds.
2. The coming of the Magi.
3. The Baptism of Christ.
4. The Last Supper.

} *Giulio Romano.*

'From the Sistine Chapel we went to Raffaelle's Loggie, and I hardly venture to say that we could scarcely bear to look at them. The eye was so educated and so enlarged by those grand forms and the glorious completeness of all their parts, that it could take no pleasure in the imaginative play of arabesques, and the scenes from Scripture, beautiful as they are, had lost their charm. To see these works *often* alternately and to compare them at leisure and without prejudice, must be a great pleasure, but all sympathy is at first one-sided.'—*Goethe's 'Römanische Briefe.'*

Entering a passage on the left of the central Loggie, immediately on the left as we approach from the Stanze, and ascending a staircase, we reach the Loggie on the third floor, which are decorated with maps by Antonio da Varese. Here, on the left, is the entrance to the **Pinacoteca**, or **Gallery of Pictures**, founded by Pius VII., who acted on the advice of Cardinal Consalvi and of Canova, and formed the present collection from the pictures which had been carried off by the French from the Roman churches, upon their restoration. The pictures are not all numbered. Almost every picture is worthy of separate examination. They are contained in four rooms, and according to their present position are :—

1st Room.

Left Wall :

Leonardo da Vinci : S. Jerome. The foundation of a picture, painted in bistre. This, and the unfinished Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi, are the only easel-pictures in Italy which can be certainly attributed to the master. *c.* 1480.

'To art-critics a work of the highest interest, but to the general public an unmitigated horror.'—*Morelli, 'Italian Painters.'*

Guercino : S. John Baptist.

Raffaelle : The Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, and Circumcision. Formerly a predella to the Coronation of the Virgin in the third room. 1508.

Fra Angelico da Fiesole: The Story of S. Nicolo of Bari. Two out of three predella pictures once in the Sacristy of S. Domenico at Florence, whence they were carried off to Paris, where the third remains.
Guercino: The Incredulity of S. Thomas.
Fr. Francia: Madonna with the Child and S. Jerome.
Murillo: The Martyrdom of S. Pietro d'Arbues.

Entrance Wall:

Buonconsiglio: Pietà.
Murillo: Adoration of the Shepherds.
Ercole Roberti: The Story of S. Hyacinth, the Dominican Apostle of Russia and Scandinavia.
**Murillo:* The Marriage of S. Catherine.
**Perugino:* 'I Tre Santi.' Part of a large predella in the Church of S. Pietro dei Casinensi at Perugia. Several saints from this predella still remain in the Sacristy of S. Pietro; two are at Lyons.

'On one side is S. Benedict, with his black cowl over his head and long parted beard, the book in one hand, and the asperge in the other. On the other, S. Placidus, young, and with a mild, candid expression, black habit and shaven crown. In the centre is S. Flavia crowned as a martyr, holding her palm, and gazing upward with a divine expression.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

Fra Angelico: The Virgin surrounded by angels.
Bonifazio: The Holy Family and Saints.
Window Wall.—Carlo Crivelli: The Dead Christ, with the Virgin, S. John, and the Magdalen lamenting. A lunette.
Carlo Crivelli: 1477. Beato Jacobo d'Ascoli della Marca. Given under Leo XIII.
Wall of Egress.—Garofalo: Holy Family.
Raffaelle: Faith, Charity, and Hope. Circular medallions in bistre, which once formed a predella for 'the Entombment' in the Borghese Gallery. 1507.

2nd Room.

Entrance Wall.—**Domenichino: The Communion of S. Jerome.**

This is the masterpiece of the master, the one first-rate work of a second-rate artist. It was painted for the monks of Ara Coeli, who quarrelled with the artist, and shut up the picture, only paying the artist about fifty scudi for this his greatest work. Afterwards they commissioned Poussin to paint an altar-piece for their church, and instead of supplying him with fresh canvas, produced the picture of Domenichino, and desired him to paint over it. Poussin indignantly threw up his engagement, and made known the existence of the picture, which was afterwards preserved in the Church of S. Girolamo della Carità, whence it was carried off by the French. S. Jerome, in his last moments at Bethlehem, is represented receiving the Last Sacraments from S. Ephraim of Syria, while S. Paula kneels by his side. The master was aged thirty-three when he painted it.

'The Last Communion of S. Jerome is the subject of one of the most celebrated pictures in the world—the S. Jerome of Domenichino—which has been thought worthy of being placed opposite to the Transfiguration of Raffaelle in the Vatican. The aged saint—feeble, emaciated, dying—is borne in the arms of his disciples to the chapel of his monastery, and placed within the porch.[1] A young priest sustains him; S. Paula, kneeling, kisses one of his thin bony hands; the saint fixes his eager eyes on the countenance of the priest, who is about to administer the Sacrament—a noble, dignified figure, in a rich

[1] The candle is ingeniously made crooked in the socket so as not to interfere with the lines of the architecture, while the flame burns straight.

ecclesiastical dress; a deacon holds the cup, and an attendant priest the book; the lion droops his head with an expression of grief;[1] the eyes and attention of all are on the dying saint, while four angels, hovering above, look down upon the scene.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art.'*

'And Jerome's death (A.D. 420) drawing near, he commanded that he should be laid on the bare ground and covered with sackcloth, and calling the brethren around him, he spake sweetly to them, and exhorted them in many holy words, and appointed Eusebius to be their abbot in his room. And then, with tears, he received the blessed Eucharist, and sinking backwards again on the earth, his hands crossed on his heart, he sang the "Nunc Dimittis," which being finished, it being the hour of compline, suddenly a great light, as of the noonday sun, shone around about him, within which light angels innumerable were seen by the bystanders, in shifting motion, like sparks among the dry reeds. And the voice of the Saviour was heard, inviting him to heaven, and the holy Doctor answered that he was ready. And after an hour, that light departed, and Jerome's spirit with it.'—*Lord Lindsay, from 'Peter de Natalibus.'*

R. *Wall.*—**Raffaelle: 'The Madonna di Foligno.'** Ordered in 1511 by Sigismondo dei Conti for the Church of Ara Coeli (where he is buried), and removed in 1565 to Foligno, when his great-niece, Anna Conti, took the veil there at the convent of S. Anna. The angel in the foreground bears a tablet, with the names of the painter and donor, and the date 1512. The city of Foligno is seen in the background, with a falling bomb, from which one may believe that the picture was a votive offering from Sigismondo for an escape during its siege. The picture was originally on panel, and was transferred to canvas at Paris.

'The Madonna di Foligno, however beautiful in the whole arrangement, however excellent in the execution of separate parts, appears to belong to a transition state of development. There is something of the ecstatic enthusiasm which has produced such peculiar conceptions and treatment of religious subjects in other artists—Correggio, for example—and which, so far from harmonising with the unaffected serene grace of Raffaelle, has in this instance led to some serious defects. This remark is particularly applicable to the figures of S. John and S. Francis: the former looks out of the picture with a fantastic action, and the drawing of his arm is even considerably mannered. S. Francis has an expression of fanatical ecstasy, and his countenance is strikingly weak in the painting (composed of reddish, yellowish, and grey tones, which cannot be wholly ascribed to their restorer). Again, S. Jerome looks up with a sort of fretful expression, in which it is difficult to recognise, as some do, a mournful resignation; there is also an exaggerated style of drawing in the eyes, which sometimes gives a sharpness to the expression of Raffaelle's figures, and appears very marked in some of his other pictures. Lastly, the Madonna and the Child, who turn to the donor, are in attitudes which, however graceful, are not perhaps sufficiently tranquil for the majesty of the queen of heaven. The expression of the Madonna's countenance is extremely sweet, but with more of the character of a mere woman than of a glorified being. The figure of the donor, on the other hand, is excellent, with an expression of sincerity and truth; the angel with the tablet is of unspeakable intensity and exquisite beauty—one of the most marvellous figures that Raffaelle has created.'—*Kugler.*

Wall of Egress.—**Raffaelle: 'The Transfiguration.'** It was originally painted by order of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (afterwards Clement VII.), Archbishop of Narbonne, for that provincial cathedral. But it was scarcely finished when Raffaelle died, and it hung over his deathbed as he lay in state, and was carried in his funeral procession.

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[1] According to the *Spiritual Meadow* of Moschus, who died A.D. 620, the lion is said to have pined away after Jerome's death, and to have died at last upon his grave.

'And when all beheld
Him where he lay, how changed from yesterday—
Him in that hour cut off, and at his head
His last great work; when, entering in, they look'd,
Now on the dead, then on that masterpiece—
Now on his face, lifeless and colourless,
Then on those forms divine that lived and breathed,
And would live on for ages—all were moved,
And sighs burst forth and loudest lamentations.'—*Rogers.*

The following quotations may perhaps represent the practical, aesthetical, and spiritual aspects of the picture.

'It is somewhat strange to see the whole picture of the Transfiguration—including the three apostles, prostrate on the mount, shading their dazzled senses from the insufferable brightness—occupying only a small part of the top of the canvas, and the principal field filled with a totally distinct and certainly unequalled picture—that of the demoniac boy, whom our Saviour cured on coming down from the mount, after His transfiguration. This was done in compliance with the *orders* of the monks of S. Pietro in Montorio, for which church it was painted. It was the universal custom of the age—the yet unbanished taste of Gothic days—to have two pictures, a celestial and a terrestrial one, wholly unconnected with each other; accordingly, we see few, even of the finest paintings, in which there is not a heavenly subject above and an earthly below—for the great masters of that day, like our own Shakspeare, were compelled to suit their works to the taste of their employers.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'It must ever be a matter of wonder that any one can have doubted of the grand unity of such a conception as this. In the absence of the Lord, the disconsolate parents bring a possessed boy to the disciples of the Holy One. They seem to have been making attempts to cast out the Evil Spirit; one has opened a book, to see whether by chance any spell were contained in it which might be successful against this plague, but in vain. At this moment appears He who alone has the power, and appears transfigured in glory. They remember His former mighty deeds; they instantly point aloft to the vision as the only source of healing. How can the upper and lower parts be separated? Both are one: beneath is suffering craving for Aid; above is active Power and helpful Grace. Both refer to one another; both work in one another. Those who, in our dispute over the picture, thought with me, confirmed their view by this consideration: Raffaelle, they said, was ever distinguished by the exquisite propriety of his conceptions. And is it likely that this painter, thus gifted by God, and everywhere recognisable by the excellency of this His gift, would, in the full ripeness of his powers, have thought and painted wrongly? Not so; he is, as Nature is, ever right, and then most deeply and truly right when we least suspect it.'—*Goethe's 'Werke,'* iii. p. 33.

3rd Room (closed on Mondays, because the Papal audiences take place in the apartment beneath):—

Entrance Wall.—**Titian: c. 1523, Madonna and Saints.** Signed. From S. Niccolò de' Frari at Venice.

'S. Nicholas, in full episcopal costume, is gazing upwards with an air of inspiration. S. Peter is looking over his shoulder at a book, and a beautiful S. Catherine is on the other side. Farther behind are S. Francis and S. Anthony of Padua; on the left S. Sebastian, whose figure recurs in almost all these pictures. Above, in the clouds, with angels, is the Madonna, who looks cheerfully on, while the lovely Child holds a wreath, as if ready to crown a votary.'—*Kugler.*

'In this picture there are three sections, as in the Transfiguration. Below, saints and martyrs are represented in suffering and abasement: on every face

is depicted sadness, nay, almost impatience; one figure in rich episcopal robes looks upwards, with the most eager and agonised longing, as of weeping; but he cannot see all that is floating above his head, but which *we* see standing in front of the picture. Above, Mary and her Child are in a cloud, radiant with joy and surrounded by angels, who have woven many garlands; the Holy Child holds one of these, and seems as if about to crown the saints beneath, but His Mother withholds His hand for the moment (?). The contrast between the pain and suffering below, whence S. Sebastian looks forth out of the picture with gloom and almost apathy, and the lofty unalloyed exultation in the clouds above, where crowns and palms are already awaiting him, is truly admirable. High above the group of Mary hovers the Holy Spirit, from whom emanates a bright streaming light, thus forming the apex of the whole composition. I have just remembered that Goethe, at the beginning of his first visit to Rome, describes and admires this picture; and he speaks of it in considerable detail. It was at that time in the Quirinal.' —*Mendelssohn's Letters.*

Guercino: S. Margherita da Cortona. She is represented kneeling—angels hovering above—in the background is the Convent of Cortona. In the painter's second manner.

Right Wall:

Spagnoletto: Martyrdom of S. Laurence.
Guercino: The Magdalen, with angels bearing the instruments of the Passion.
Pinturicchio: The Coronation of the Virgin—an exquisite picture from La Fratta in Umbria.
**Lo Spagna:* The Resurrection. The figures are sharply relieved against a bright green landscape and a green sky. The figure of the risen Saviour is in a raised gold nimbus surrounded by cherubs' heads, as in the fresco of Pinturicchio at the Ara Coeli. "Quinque plagas aspice." The expressive head of the escaping soldier is said to be a portrait of Perugino, introduced by Raffaelle—the sleeping soldier, that of Raffaelle, by Perugino (?).
'La Madonna di Monte Luco,' designed by **Raffaelle:** the upper part painted by *Giulio Romano*, the lower by *Francesco Penni* (Il Fattore). The apostles looking into the tomb of the Virgin, find it blooming with heart's-ease and ixias. Above, the Virgin is crowned amid the angels. There is a lovely landscape of Tivoli seen through a dark cave which ends awkwardly in black clouds. This picture was painted for the Convent of Monte Luco, near Spoleto. 1525.
**Lo Spagna:* The Nativity—a beautiful and devotional picture; the Child is unconscious of the adoration it is receiving.
Raffaelle: The Coronation of the Virgin. The predella in the first room belonged to this picture, which was painted for the Oddi family of Perugia. This was transferred from wood to canvas in Paris (1797), whither it was taken from the Church of S. Francesco at Perugia.
**Perugino:* 'La Madonna dei quattro Santi.' The Virgin and Child enthroned under an arcade—with S. Louis, S. Ercolano, S. Costanzo standing. On the step of the throne is inscribed 'Hoc Petrus de Chastro Plebis Pinxit.'
**Ignoto XIV. c.:* Nativity, Visit of the Magi, Coronation of the Virgin.

End Wall:

Caravaggio: The Entombment.

'Caravaggio's entombment of Christ is a picture wanting in all the characteristics of holy sublimity; but is nevertheless full of solemnity, only perhaps too like the funeral solemnity of a gipsy chief. A figure of such natural sorrow as the Virgin, who is represented as exhausted with weeping, with her trembling outstretched hands, has seldom been painted Even as mother of a gipsy chief, she is dignified and touching.'—*Kugler.*

Left Wall (returning):

Sassoferrato: Virgin and Child. A fat mundane Infant and a coarse Virgin seated on a crescent moon. The child holds a rosary.

Niccolo Alunno: Two very large pictures, in many compartments, of the Crucifixion and Saints. (Between them.)

Melozzo da Forli: Sixtus IV. and his Court. A fresco, removed from the Vatican library by Leo XII., which is a most interesting memorial of an important historical family.

Near the figure of the Pope, Sixtus IV., who is known to Roman travellers from his magnificent bronze tomb in the Chapel of the Sacrament of S. Peter's, stand two of his nephews, of whom one is Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II., and the other Pietro Riario, who, from the position of a humble Franciscan monk, was raised, in a few months, by his uncle, to be Bishop of Treviso, Cardinal-Archbishop of Seville, Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop of Valentia, and Archbishop of Florence, when his life changed, 'and he lived with such extravagance, and gave banquets so magnificent, that never had pagan antiquity seen anything like it;'[1] but within two years 'he died (not without suspicion of poison), to the great grief of Pope Sixtus, and to the infinite joy of the whole college of cardinals.'[2] The kneeling figure represents Platina, the historian of the Popes and prefect of the Vatican library. His face is that of a scholar, with square jaw, thin lips, finely-cut mouth, and keen glancing eye. In the background stand two other nephews of the Pope, Cardinal Giovanni della Rovere and Girolamo Riario, who was married by his uncle (or father?), the Pope, to the famous Caterina Sforza—was suspected of being the originator of the conspiracy of the Pazzi—was created Count of Forli, and to whose aggrandisement Sixtus IV. sacrificed every principle of morality and justice; he was murdered at Forli, April 14, 1488. He has a shock of black hair falling over large black eyes, his look contemptuous, and his mien imperious. Beneath is inscribed:

'Templa domum expositis vicos fora moenia pontes:
Virgineam Trivii quod reparabis aquam,
Prisca licet nautis statuas dare commoda portus:
Et Vaticanum cingere Sixte jugum:
Plus tamen urbs debet; nam quae squalore latebat,
Cernitur in celebri bibliotheca loco.'

**Titian:* Doge Andrea Gritti, half-length, in a yellow-brown robe—a most beautiful picture, but injured.

4th Room.

Entrance Wall:

Valentin: The Martyrdom of S. Processus and Martinianus, the gaolers of S. Peter. This is stigmatised by Kugler as 'an unimportant and bad picture,' but, perhaps from the connection of the subject with the story of S. Peter, has been thought worthy of being copied in mosaic in the basilica, whence this picture was brought.

Guido Reni: Martyrdom of S. Peter.

'This has the heavy, powerful forms of Caravaggio, but wants the passionate feeling which sustains such objects—it is a martyrdom and nothing more—it might pass for an enormous and horrible genre picture.'—*Kugler.*

N. Poussin: Martyrdom of S. Erasmus. A horrible academic picture of the disembowelment of the saint upon a wheel. It was copied in mosaic in S. Peter's when the picture was removed from thence.

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[1] Stefano Infessura, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, tom. iii.
[2] Corio, *Storia di Milano*, p. 876.

Left Wall:

Barocci: The Annunciation. From S. Maria at Loreto, detained in the Vatican, in exchange for a mosaic, after it was sent back by the French.

Andrea Sacchi: S. Gregory the Great—the miracle of the Brandeum. This was the altar-piece of the Cappella Clementina, built by Clement VIII. at S. Peter's, and to which the remains of Gregory the Great were removed from the altar of S. Andrew.

'The Empress Constantia sent to S. Gregory requesting some of the relics of S. Peter and S. Paul. He excused himself, saying that he dared not disturb their sacred remains for such a purpose—but he sent her part of a consecrated cloth (Brandeum) which had enfolded the body of S. John the Evangelist. The Empress rejected this gift with contempt; whereupon Gregory, to show that such things are hallowed not so much in themselves as by the faith of believers, laid the Brandeum on the altar, and after praying, he took up a knife and pierced it, and blood flowed as from a living body.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred and Legendary Art,'* p. 321.

Barocci: The Ecstasy of S. Michellina. This picture is mentioned by Lanzi as 'S. Michelina ecstatica *sul Calvario.*'

Between the Windows:

Moretto da Brescia (Buonvicino): The Madonna and Child, with S. Jerome and S. Bartholomew. This great master is not well represented in Rome.

Paolo Veronese: The Dream of S. Helena (of the finding of the true Cross). Once in the Capitol collection. It is interesting to compare this with the finer representation of the same subject by the same master in our National Gallery.

Right Wall (returning):

Guido: Madonna with S. Thomas and S. Jerome. The S. Thomas is very grand.

Cesare da Sesto: Madonna della Cintola with S. John and S. Augustin. Signed 1521. The signature is a forgery, however.

A. Caracci: Salvator Mundi. Christ seated on the rainbow.

**Andrea Sacchi:* S. Romualdo. The saint sees the vision of a ladder by which the friars of his Order ascend to heaven. The monks in white drapery are noble figures, especially the seated one in the foreground.

A door on the ground-floor of the Cortile di S. Damaso will admit visitors (with an order obtainable at the Uffizio Tecnico, Via della Sacristia) to visit the Papal Manufactory of Mosaics, whence many beautiful works have issued, and where others are always in progress.

'Ghirlandajo, who felt the utmost enthusiasm for the august remains of Roman grandeur, was still more deeply impressed by the sight of the ancient mosaics of the Christian basilicas, the image of which was still present to his mind when he said, at a more advanced age, that "mosaic was the true painting for eternity."'—*Rio.*

Admission to the Sculpture Galleries is now obtained by the Cancello del Giardino (entrance 1 fr., free on Saturday mornings), reached by the Via dei Fondamenti far away at the back of S. Peter's. Hence we enter the

Museo Pio-Clementino, founded under Clement XIV., but chiefly enriched by the liberality and taste of Pius VI., who permitted no one but himself to decide on the subject of acquisitions to the collection. In his reign, however, most of the best statues were carried off to Paris, though they were restored to Pius VII.

A few steps lead us to the beautiful **Sala a Croce Greca**, containing—

On the left.—The **porphyry Sarcophagus** of S. Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great, adorned with sculptures of a vintage, which are repeated in the mosaics of her church near S. Agnese, whence it was most inappropriately removed by Paul II. to Piazza S. Marco.

On the right.—The **porphyry Sarcophagus** of S. Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, carried off from her tombs (now called Tor Pignattara) to be used as his own monument, by Anastasius IV., 1153, and placed in the Lateran, whence it was brought hither by Pius VI. The restoration of its reliefs, representing battle-scenes of the time of Constantine, together with mending and polishing it, cost 20,000 lire. Armed men on horseback gallop above prisoners on their knees. Above are busts of Constantine and S. Helena.

At the entrance of the hall on the left is a recumbent river-god, restored by some pupil of Michelangelo.[1] The stairs, adorned with twenty ancient columns from Palestrina, lead on the right to:

The **Sala della Biga**, so called from a white marble chariot, drawn by two horses. Only the body of the chariot (which long served as an episcopal throne in the Church of S. Marco) and part of the horse on the right are ancient; the remainder is restoration. Among the sculptures here are:

608. Bearded Dionysos. Copy of an original of *c.* 350 B.C.
609 and 613 are interesting sarcophagi representing chariot-races. The chariots are driven by Amorini, who are not attending to what they are about, and drive over one another. Eggs and dolphins on the winning posts indicated the number of times they had gone round; each time they passed, another egg and dolphin were put down.
616. **Dionysos.** Closely studied by Raffaelle.
611. Alcibiades (?)—the 'Atleta Mattei.' Face modern.
612. **A Roman sacrificing,** from the Giustiniani collection. 'The finest toga-statue extant.'—*Helbig.*
614. Apollo Citharaedus.
615. Discobolus, found at Torre Columbaro, near the eighth milestone of the Via Appia, in 1792.
616. Phocion, very remarkable and beautiful from the extreme simplicity of the drapery. Helbig considers this to be a Hermes.
618. **Discobolus,** copy of the bronze statue of Myron—inferior to that at the Palazzo Lancellotti. Found at Hadrian's Villa, 1791.
619. A Roman Charioteer. Interesting for details of costume.

Proceeding in a straight line from the top of the stairs, we enter:

The **Galleria dei Candelabri**, 300 feet long, filled with small pieces of sculpture. Most of the candelabra formerly belonged

[1] If the visitor has reached the Vatican on a Tuesday or Friday, he will find the rest of the sculpture galleries closed, and must now visit the Etruscan and Egyptian museums, or the Galleria degli Arazzi.

to churches. Among the sculptures we may notice in the centre, on the left, Bacchus and Silenus, found near the Sancta Sanctorum, also:

Right. 20. Tomb of a child, with dog, book, and baby.
Left. 194. Boy with a goose.
Left. 148. Satyr carrying a boy: found beside the Sancta Sanctorum in 1869.
Right. 224. (Last division but one) Nemesis.

In Section III. is the interesting altar and statue of Semo Sancus found in 1881 under the convent of S. Silvestro at Quirinale, and purchased by Leo XIII. The pedestal is inscribed 'Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio Sacrum Decuria Sacerdot (um) Bidentalium.' Semo Sancus was a Divinity who had a temple on the island as well as on the Quirinal. He was identified with a God of Fidelity, or Hercules, here represented as an Archaic Apollo.

Hence (on Tuesday or Friday only) we can enter:

The **Galleria degli Arazzi**, hung with Brussels tapestries from the New Testament History, executed for the lower walls of the Sistine Chapel, in 1515–16, for Leo X., of which ten are from the cartoons of **Raffaelle**; seven of these were purchased in Flanders by Charles I., and are now at South Kensington. The tapestries are being newly arranged. According to their present order, beginning on the right wall, they are:

*1. The Conversion of S. Paul.
*2. Peter and John healing the Lame Man.
*4. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes.
4. (Smaller than the others) Christ falling under the Cross.
5, 6. The Presentation in the Temple, with the Annunciation and Crucifixion above.
7, 8, 9. The Massacre of the Innocents.
*10. The Appearance of the Saviour to the Apostles on the shore of Galilee.
*11. The Stoning of Stephen. (On the border, the return of Cardinal de' Medici to Florence as Legate.)
12. An allegorical composition representing the Triumph of Religion (by Van Orley and other pupils of Raffaelle).

Returning, on the left wall are:

1. The Day of Pentecost.
2. The Resurrection.
3. The Adoration of the Magi.
4. The Ascension.
5. The Adoration of the Shepherds.
6. The Presentation in the Temple.
7. The Supper at Emmaus.
8. The Appearance to Mary Magdalene.
9. The Marriage of S. Catherine. Above it Christ falling under the Cross.
*10. The Death of Ananias.
*11. S. Peter receiving the Keys. (On the border, the flight of Cardinal de' Medici from Florence in 1494, disguised as a Franciscan monk.)
*12. Paul preaching at Athens.
*13. The Sacrifice at Lystra.[1]

[1] The compositions of Raffaelle are marked with an asterisk.

The Arazzi were long used as church decorations on high festival.

'On Corpus-Christi Day I learnt the true destination of the tapestries, when they transformed colonnades and open spaces into handsome halls and corridors; and while they placed before us the power of the most gifted of men, they gave us at the same time the happiest example of art and handicraft, each in its highest perfection, meeting for mutual completion.'—**Goethe.**

From the end of the Sala a Croce Greca we enter the **Sala Rotonda**, built by Pius VI., paved with a mosaic found in 1870 in the Baths of Otricoli, and containing in its centre a grand porphyry vase (labrum) from the Baths of Diocletian. The Medusa-head is modern.

On either side of the door of exit are colossal heads of Tragedy and Comedy (?), being Hermae from the theatre at Hadrian's Villa.

Beginning from the right beyond the second door, are:

539. **Head of Zeus,** fitly represented as the father and the king of the gods, from Otricoli—the finest extant. Probably of third century B.C.

'Vultu, quo coelum tempestatesque serenat.'
—*Virgil, Aen.* i. 255.

'The main point of characterisation lies unmistakably in the abundant hair falling on both sides in thick masses, and in the bold, elevated brows, beneath which the eyes seem to gaze over the vast universe. The compact brow and prominent nose complete the expression of wisdom and power; while the full, slightly-parted lips imply mild benevolence; and the luxuriant beard, and firm, well-formed cheeks betray sensual vigour and imperishable manly beauty.'—*Lübke.*

540. Colossal statue of **Antinous,** as Dionysos, from Hadrian's Villa. All the drapery (probably once of bronze) is a restoration.

'Antinous was drowned in the Nile, A.D. 131. Some accounts assert that he drowned himself in obedience to an oracle, which demanded for the life of the Emperor Hadrian the sacrifice of the object dearest to him. However this may be, Hadrian lamented his death with extravagant weakness, proclaimed his divinity to the jeering Egyptians, and consecrated a temple in his honour.'—*Merivale,* lxvi.

541. Faustina the elder, wife of Antoninus Pius, from the Villa of Hadrian.
542. Hera (?), from an original by Pheidias.
543. **Head of Hadrian,** interesting as having been found in his mausoleum.
544. *The Mastai Hercules—Hercules Magnus Custos—a colossal figure in gilt bronze, found (1864) under the Palazzo Pio di Carpi near the Theatre of Pompey. The feet and ankles are restorations by Tenerani.[1]
545. **Bust of Antinous,** from the Villa of Hadrian—exquisitely beautiful.

'Antinous, the youth with dejected head and dreamy look, meets us in the halls of art often, but the mysterious face has always the same power of attraction. He muses upon a riddle, and himself is one that tempts to solution and baffles the solver.'—*Rydberg.*

546. The Barberini Hera—much restored.
547. Sea-god, from Pozzuoli. A personification of a bay, gulf, or harbour. Found between the Lateran and S. Croce.
548. **Nerva,** as a seated Zeus. The head wore a metal wreath.

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[1] Very few bronzes have escaped the rapacity of Christian Emperors; it was thus with mediaeval sculptures at S. Denis. All the royal effigies in marble survived the Revolution, but all those in bronze or other metals were melted down.

'Among the treasures of antiquity preserved in modern Rome, none surpasses—none perhaps equals—in force and dignity, the sitting statue of Nerva, which draws all eyes in the Rotonda of the Vatican, embodying the highest ideal of the Roman magnate, the finished warrior, statesman, and gentleman of an age of varied training and wide practical experience.'—*Merivale*, ch. xliii.

549. Jupiter Serapis, a colossal bust, from Bovillae (second century).
550. Claudius, as Jupiter—found at Civita Lavinia, 1865.

'The statues of Claudius surprise, but we must believe that he had these attractive features. All his statues, by various chisels, and of different degrees of merit, unanimously bear witness to this. And it is not contradicted by his biographers. They have made merry over his pedantic manner and his rolling gait; but no one has said that he was ugly. Suetonius, eager collector of everything that might cast ridicule upon his memory, speaks, too, of a commanding dignity in his appearance, when he stood, sat, or reclined.

'This statue represents a Hamlet grown old, that is the first impression. A melancholy youth spent at court, that forced them to feign madness, was common to both. That there lay a Hamlet hidden in the soul of Claudius Caesar, and that the keen eye of Shakspeare found him there, this one seems to see in the Vatican statue, in which the sculptor, so to speak, has wrought in marble the Greek word by which Augustus hit the chief trait in Claudius's nature. The word applied to him needs no translation: when we hear *meteoria*, we represent to ourselves a floating in boundless space, amid clouds and vapours, an irresolute life in empty dreams, burdened by regret at feeble will, and sometimes crossed by lofty purposes. It was young Hamlet's life, and it was that of the old Roman Emperor. One reads it with surprising clearness in every line.'—*Viktor Rydberg*.

551. Head of **Claudius** with the Corona Civica, from Otricoli. Too near the spectator for its best effect.
552. Juno Sospita, from Lanuvium.
553. **Plotina,** the noble wife of Trajan, *d.* 129 A.D.
554. Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, *d.* 217 A.D.
555. Genius of Augustus.
556. Pertinax, A.D. 193, the trusted friend of M. Aurelius, murdered on the Palatine.

Close to the bust of Zeus we enter the **Sala delle Muse**, adorned with sixteen corinthian columns from Hadrian's Villa. It is chiefly filled with statues and busts from the villa of Cassius, near Tivoli. On the left, just within the entrance, are:

525. *Bust of **Pericles,** as commander-in-chief, helmeted.
523. So-called bust of Aspasia, found near Civita Vecchia; but a lady of a later period.
496. Head of Sophocles.

Of the statues of the **Muses** and that called Apollo Citharoedos (516) several heads do not belong to the bodies, and restoration has run riot. Nos. 505, 504 have been restored as Muses in order to complete the choir. They came from Tivoli.

'Nous savons que l'Apollon Citharède de Scopas était dans le temple d'Apollon Palatin, élevé par Auguste: les médailles, Properce et Tibulle, nous apprennent que le dieu s'y voyait revêtu d'une longue robe.

'Ima videbatur talis illudere palla.'
—*Tib.* iii. 4, 35.

'Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat.'
—*Prop.* ii. 31, 16.

Hence we reach the **Sala degli Animali**, containing a number of representations of animals in marble and alabaster. Perhaps the best is No. 116—two greyhounds playing. The statue of Commodus (?)

on horseback (No. 139) served as a model to Bernini for his figure of Constantine in the portico of S. Peter's.

153. A Goat-herd resting surrounded by his flock.

'This composition is obviously related to the idyllic movement which began to develop in Greek painting after the period of Alexander the Great.' —*Helbig*.

On the left we enter:

The **Galleria delle Statue**, once a summer-house of Innocent VIII., but arranged as a statue-gallery under Pius VI. In its lunettes are remains of frescoes by *Pinturicchio*. Beginning on the right are:

248. An armed statue of Clodius Albinus (A.D. 193-7) standing on a cippus which marked the spot where the body of Caius Caesar (Caligula) was burnt, inscribed, C. CAESAR GERMANICI CAESARIS HIC CREMATUS EST. The body belongs to another statue.
250. The *Statue called 'The Genius of the Vatican,' supposed to be a copy from the Thespian Eros of Praxiteles, which adorned the Portico of Octavia in the time of Pliny. On the back are the holes for the metal pins which supported the wings. This statue is of Parian marble. Found at Centocelle on the Via Labicana.
251. Athlete, after Polycleitus, or by him.
253. Triton, from Tivoli—a noble head, 'the most imposing of all representations.'—*Helbig*.
255. Paris, from the Palazzo Altemps, probably from a group with the Goddesses.
256. Young Hercules.
259. Apollo, restored as Pallas. The early feminine head does not belong, and is dated by Helbig as 5th century B.C.
260. An attic votive relief—Gods of Healing. To the right is a group of mortals.
281. So-called Penelope, on a pedestal with a relief of Bacchus and Ariadne.
264. *Apollo Sauroctonos (watching a lizard), found on the Palatine in 1777—a copy of a work of Praxiteles. Several other copies are in existence, one, the celebrated figure in bronze, in the Villa Albani. The right arm and leg and left leg below the knee are restorations.
265. Amazon, found in the Villa Mattei, the finest of the three Amazons in the Vatican. None of these has the original head, 5th century B.C.
267. Drunken Satyr, from the Villa Mattei.
268. Hera, from Otricoli. Head does not belong to the statue.
271, 390. *Posidippus and Menander, fine portrait-statues, perfectly preserved, found near the Church of S. Lorenzo Panisperna, *c.* 1585, where they were worshipped under the belief that they were statues of saints, a belief which arose from their having metal discs over their heads, a practice which is exemplified by many Attic statues intended for the open air. The marks of the metal pins for these discs may still be seen, as well as those for a bronze protection for the feet. Probably from the Dionysiac Theatre at Athens.
399. Aesculapios and Hygeia: from Palestrina.

The **Hall of Busts**. Perhaps the best are:

274. Augustus, with a wheaten wreath, as an Arval.
278. *The young Augustus, found at Ostia, 1818.

'From these features Horace, the friend of Caesar Augustus, might have drawn the inspiration for his "aurea mediocritas." Young Octavius is handsome, it might be said beautiful. . . . Suetonius the biographer gives us the colours of these forms. The lightly waving hair was of a golden hue; the eyes had a mild and kindly glance; the complexion varied between tawny and white.'—*Viktor Rydberg*.

298. Jupiter-Serapis, in basalt.

311. Menelaos. Part of a group with the dead Patroclos.
326. Throned statue of Zeus—formerly in the Palazzo Verospi.
357. Antinous.
376. Pallas, from the Castle of S. Angelo.
388. *Roman Senator and his wife, from a tomb. (These busts, having been much admired by the great historian, were imitated by Schwanthaler on the monument of Niebuhr at Bonn, erected by his former pupil the King of Prussia to his memory—with that of his loving wife Gretchen, who only survived him nine days.) c. A.D. 50.

Re-entering the Gallery of Statues, and following the left wall, are :

392. Septimius Severus. The body is more ancient.
393. Girl at a spring (?)—a copy from the statue at Palazzo Barberini.
394. Neptune, from the Palazzo Verospi.
395. Apollo Citharoedus.
396. 'Wounded Adonis,' or Narcissus, from the Palazzo Barberini.
397. Dionysos, from Hadrian's Villa.
398. Macrinus (Imp. 217), murderer and successor of Caracalla.
401. Mutilated group from the Niobides, found near Porta San Paolo.
405. Water-bearer, from Palestrina. Head is that of some other statue.
406. Copy of the Faun of Praxiteles, beautiful, but inferior to that at the Capitol.
423. A Roman Lady as Diana.

Here is the entrance of the **Gabinetto delle Maschere**, named from the mosaic upon the floor of masks from Hadrian's Villa. It was long seldom shown, probably because it contains a chair (439) of rosso-antico, called 'Sedia forata,' found in the Lateran, and supposed to be the famous 'Sella Stercoraria,' used at the installation there of the mediaeval popes. It was used as a token of humility to show that the head of the church derived his dignity solely from divine blessing. Another similar to it is in the Louvre.

'Le Pape élu (Célestine III., 1191) se prosterne devant l'autel pendant que l'on chante le Te Deum : puis les Cardinaux Evêques le conduisent à son siège derrière l'autel : là ils viennent à ses pieds, et il leur donne le baiser de paix. On le mène ensuite à une chaise posée devant le portique de la Basilique du Sauveur de Latéran. Cette chaise était nommée dès lors "*Stercoraria*," parce qu'elle est percée au fond ; mais l'ouverture est petite, et les antiquaires jugent que c'était pour égoutter l'eau, et que cette chaise servait à quelque bain.'—*Fleury*, '*Histoire Ecclésiastique*,' xv. p. 525.

Here also the severe morality of Pope Leo XIII. long imprisoned (427) the beautiful Venus Anadyomene, which was formerly in the Braccio Nuovo.

Here are now to be seen—

427. Venus at the bath—a graceful representation. Found, 1760, on Via Prenestina. Fingers mostly modern, and right hand and front of right foot.
432. Satyr, in rosso-antico, with coloured glass eyes.
433. Venus drying her hair. Right arm erroneously restored. Head belongs to another body.
443. Apollo (?), time of Hadrian after an ancient original.

Returning to the Galleria delle Statue, we find—

414. *Sleeping Ariadne, found c. 1503—formerly supposed to represent Cleopatra ; belonging to a group.

'This grand form is executed with masterly power, and contrasts effectively with the drapery, and it presents, especially in the gentle inclination

of the head and in the turn of the beautiful arms, the unsurpassable picture of deep slumber, bearing even in its repose the traces of preceding passionate excitement.'—*Lübke.*

'Various defects in the execution prevent us from regarding the figure as a genuine original.'—*Helbig.*

Beneath this figure is a fine sarcophagus, representing the Battle of the Giants.

412, 413. **'The Barberini Candelabra,'** from Hadrian's Villa—the finest known. Corinthian.

416. Slab from a frieze: Ariadne. Theseus abandoning her. Twice restored.

417. Mercury, on a pedestal which supported the ashes of a son of Germanicus in the Mausoleum of Augustus.

420. Lucius Verus, on a pedestal which supported the ashes of Caligula. The torso is earlier than the head. A first-rate portrait.

421. Cinerary urn of Oriental alabaster—alabastro cotognino—which formerly contained the ashes of one of the imperial family (perhaps Livilla) in the Mausoleum of Augustus. Found, 1777, beneath a house at the corner of the Corso and the Piazza S. Carlo.

We now approach the inner sanctuary of the Vatican. Through a door in the centre of the Sala degli Animali, opposite that by which we entered, we reach the **Cortile del Belvedere**, designed by Bramante under Julius II., having a fountain of two basins in the centre, and decorated with fine sarcophagi and vases, &c. From this opens, beginning from the right, the—

1st Cabinet, of the ***Laocoon.** This wonderful group was discovered by Felice de Fredis in his vineyard near the Sette Sale on the Esquiline in 1506, while Michelangelo was at Rome, under Julius II., but it narrowly escaped destruction under Adrian VI., who turned away from it shuddering, and exclaiming, 'Idol of the Pagans.' The right arm of the father was missing at the time of the discovery, and is a terra-cotta restoration, and is said to be the work of A. Cornacchini, as also are the arms of the sons. There is now no doubt that the Laocoon is the group slightly misdescribed by Pliny.

'An original work by Agesander and his sons, of Rhodes.'—*Helbig.*

'The fame of many sculptors is less diffused, because the number employed upon great works prevented their celebrity; for there is no one artist to receive the honour of the work, and where there are more than one they cannot all obtain an equal fame. Of this the **Laocoon** is an example, which stands in the palace of the Emperor Titus—a work which may be considered superior to all others both in painting and statuary. The whole group—the father, the boys, and the awful folds of the serpents—were formed out of a single block, in accordance with a vote of the senate, by Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, Rhodian sculptors of the highest merit.'—*Pliny*, lib. xxxvi. c. 4.

'. . . Turning to the Vatican, go see
Laocoon's torture dignifying pain—
A father's love and mortal's agony
With an immortal's patience blending. Vain
The struggle; vain against the coiling strain
And gripe, and deepening of the dragon's grasp,
The old man's clench; the long envenom'd chain
Rivets the living links—the enormous asp
Enforces pang on pang, and stifles gasp on gasp.'
—'*Childe Harold.*'

'The subject of the Laocoon is a disagreeable one, but whether we consider the grouping or the execution, nothing that remains to us of antiquity can surpass it. It consists of a father and his two sons. Byron thinks that

Laocoon's anguish is absorbed in that of his children, that a mortal's agony is blending with an immortal's patience. Not so. Intense physical suffering, against which he pleads with an upraised countenance of despair, and appeals with a sense of its injustice, seems the predominant and overwhelming emotion, and yet there is a nobleness in the expression, and a majesty that dignifies torture.

'We now come to his children. Their features and attitudes indicate the excess of the filial love and devotion that animates them, and swallows up all other feelings. In the elder of the two this is particularly observable. His eyes are fixedly bent on the Laocoon—his whole soul is with, is a part of that of his father. His arm extended towards him, not for protection, but a wish as if instinctively to afford it, absolutely speaks. Nothing can be more exquisite than the contour of his form and face, and the moulding of his lips, that are half open, as if in the act of—not uttering any unbecoming complaint, or prayer, or lamentation, which he is conscious are alike useless—but addressing words of consolatory tenderness to his unfortunate parent. The intensity of his bodily torments is only expressed by the uplifting of his right foot, which he is vainly and impotently attempting to extricate from the grasp of the mighty folds in which it is entangled.

'In the younger child, surprise, pain, and grief seem to contend for the mastery. He is not yet arrived at an age when his mind has sufficient self-possession or fixedness of reason to analyse the calamity that is overwhelming himself and all that is dear to him. He is sick with pain and horror. We almost seem to hear his shrieks. His left hand is on the head of the snake, that is burying its fangs in his side, and the vain and fruitless attempt he is making to disengage it increases the effect. Every limb, every muscle, every vein of Laocoon expresses, with the fidelity of life, the working of the poison, and the strained girding round of the inextricable folds, whose tangling sinuosities are too numerous and complicated to be followed. No chisel has ever displayed with such anatomical fidelity and force the projecting muscles of the arm, whose hand clenches the neck of the reptile, almost to strangulation; and the mouth of the enormous asp, and his terrible fangs widely displayed, in a moment to penetrate and meet within its victim's heart, make the spectator of this miracle of sculpture turn away with shuddering and awe, and doubt the reality of what he sees.'—*Shelley.*

'The circumstance of the two sons being so much smaller than the father has been criticised by some, but this seems to have been necessary to the harmony of the composition. The same apparent disproportion exists between Niobe and her children in the celebrated group at Florence, supposed to be by Scopas. The raised arms of the three figures are all restorations, as are some portions of the serpent. Originally, the raised hands of the old man rested on his head, and the traces of the junction are clearly discernible. For this we have also the evidence of an antique gem, on which it is thus engraved. This work was found in the Baths (?) of Titus, in the reign of Julius II., by a certain Félix de Frédis, who received half the revenue of the gabella of the Porta San Giovanni as a reward, and whose epitaph, in the Church of Ara Coeli, records the fact.'—*Shakspere Wood.*

The **2nd Cabinet** contains the **Apollo Belvedere**, found in the sixteenth century on a farm of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, near Grotta Ferrata, and purchased by Julius II. for the Belvedere Palace, which was at that time a garden pavilion separated from the rest of the Vatican, and used as a museum of sculpture. It is now held certain that this statue, beautiful as it is, is not the original work of a Greek sculptor, but a Roman first-century copy.[1] Four

[1] 'The impression of Canova that this statue is a copy of a work in bronze, has been since confirmed by the discovery of a bronze statuette, resembling the statue except where a work in bronze would materially differ from one in marble—*i.e.* in the statuette the leg is not supported by the trunk of a tree, and the drapery falls from the shoulder instead of being brought forward to support the left arm. The left hand of the statuette holds an aegis, which

famous statues of Apollo are mentioned by Pliny as existing at Rome in his time, but this is not one of them. Mrs. Siddons said of the Apollo Belvedere: 'What a great idea it gives one of God to think that He has created a human being capable of fashioning so divine a form!'[1]

'Or view the Lord of the unerring bow,
The God of life, and poesy, and light—
The Sun in human limbs array'd, and brow
All radiant from his triumph in the fight;
The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow bright
With an immortal's vengeance; in his eye
And nostril beautiful disdain, and might,
And majesty flash their full lightnings by,
Developing in that one glance the Deity.'
—'*Childe Harold.*'

'Bright kindling with a conqueror's stern delight,
His keen eye tracks the arrow's fateful flight;
Burns his indignant cheek with vengeful fire,
And his lip quivers with insulting ire:
Firm fix'd his tread, yet light, as when on high
He walks th' impalpable and pathless sky:
The rich luxuriance of his hair, confined
In graceful ringlets, wantons on the wind,
That lifts in sport his mantle's drooping fold,
Proud to display that form of faultless mould.
Mighty Ephesian! with an eagle's flight
Thy proud soul mounted through the fields of light,
View'd the bright conclave of Heaven's blest abode,
And the cold marble leapt to life a god:
Contagious awe through breathless myriads ran,
And nations bow'd before the work of man:

For mild he seem'd, as in Elysian bowers,
Wasting in careless ease the joyous hours;
Haughty, as bards have sung, with princely sway
Curbing the fierce flame-breathing steeds of day;
Beauteous as vision seen in dreamy sleep
By holy maid on Delphi's haunted steep,
'Mid the dim twilight of the laurel grove,
Too fair to worship, too divine to love.'
—*Henry Hart Milman.*

'It incorporates in the most striking manner what the Greeks called a "Theophany," *i.e.* the sudden appearance in the material universe of a hitherto invisible Deity.'—*Helbig.*

Passing a noble sarcophagus with lions' heads, found in laying the foundations of S. Peter's, we reach the **3rd Cabinet**, which contains the Perseus (triumphal after killing Medusa), and the two Boxers—Kreugas and Damoxenus, by *Canova;* violently theatrical and as un-Greek-like as possible.

The **4th Cabinet** contains the **Antinous** (now known to be a **Hermes**), perhaps, before its cruel restoration, one of the most beautiful statues in the world. It was found in 1543 in a garden near the Castello S. Angelo. It was broken across the ankles when found, and has been unskilfully put together. Its original was probably a fourth-century bronze.

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tends to prove that in the original statue the god was represented as holding an aegis, and not as an archer who had just discharged an arrow.'

[1] Campbell's *Life of Mrs. Siddons.*

In the third portico, between Canova's statues and the Antinous is (No. 42) a Venus and Cupid—interesting because the Venus may be a portrait of Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, wife of Alexander Severus. It was discovered in the fifteenth century, in the ruin near S. Croce in Gerusalemme, to which it has given a name. In the first portico, between the Antinous and Laocoon, are two beautiful dogs, possibly by Lysippos.

From the door of the Cortile de Belvedere, opposite that by which we entered, we reach the **Round Vestibule**, ornamented with a fine basin of pavonazzetto (Phrygian marble).

The adjoining balcony contains a curious Wind Vane, found (1779) near S. Pietro in Vincoli. Hence there is a view over the city. In a garden beneath is a fountain with a curious bronze ship floating in its basin (see Vatican Gardens).

On the left, in the **2nd Vestibule**, stands the statue of **Meleager**, with a boar's head and a dog. It is attributed to a follower of Scopas.

'Meleager is represented in a position of repose, leaning on his spear, the mark of the junction of which with the plinth is still to be seen. The want of the spear gives the statue the appearance of leaning too much to one side; but if you can imagine it replaced, you will see that the pose is perfectly and truthfully rendered. This statue was found at the commencement of the sixteenth century, outside the Porta Portese, in a vineyard close to the Tiber.'—*Shakspere Wood.*

In the centre of the **3rd Vestibule**—Atrio Quadrato—is the **Torso Belvedere**, sculptured, as is told by a Greek inscription on its base, by Apollonios, son of Nestor of Athens. It is Graeco-Roman of the first century. It was to this statue Michelangelo declared that he owed his power of representing the human form, and in his blind old age he used to be led up to it, that he might pass his hands over it, and still enjoy, through touch, the grandeur of its muscles. Some critics consider it represented Heracles; others, Polyphemos, sitting love-sick upon a rock gazing at Galatea.

'And dost thou still, thou mass of breathing stone,
(Thy giant limbs to night and chaos hurled,)
Still sit as on the fragment of a world,
Surviving all, majestic and alone?
What tho' the Spirits of the North, that swept
Rome from the earth when in her pomp she slept,
Smote thee with fury, and thy headless trunk
Deep in the dust 'mid tower and temple sunk;
Soon to subdue mankind 'twas thine to rise,
Still, still unquelled thy glorious energies!
Aspiring minds, with thee conversing, caught
Bright revelations of the good they sought;
By thee that long-lost spell in secret given,
To draw down gods, and lift the soul to Heaven.'—*Rogers.*

Close by, in a niche, is the celebrated peperino ***Tomb of Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus**, consul B.C. 298, from the Vigna Sassi. It has a doric frieze and dentil cornice, and with triglyphs and rosettes in the *metopes*. It supports a peperino bust, supposed, upon slight foundation, to be that of the Calabrian poet Ennius,

who was buried in his patron's mausoleum. Inscriptions from other tombs of the Scipios are inserted in the neighbouring wall.[1]

Here we descend steps and enter the **Museo Chiaramonti**, so called from its founder, Pope Pius VII. On the right is an entrance to the Giardino della Pigna (described under the Vatican Gardens). The long gallery is lined with sculptures, chiefly of secondary interest. They are arranged in thirty compartments. We may notice:—

l. 733. Recumbent Heracles, from Hadrian's Villa.
l. 607. Bust of Poseidon, from Ostia.
l. 589. Hermes, found near the Monte di Pietà.
l. 588. Dionysos and a Satyr. Second Attic School.
l. 561. A noble Portrait Bust; temp. Trajan.
l. 513. Head of Venus, found in the Baths of Diocletian.
l. 495. Eros bending his bow, a copy of the statue by Lysippos.
l. 494. Seated statue of Tiberius, from Piperno.

'The enthroned statues of Tiberius have an affected sweet smile, that would like to express goodness; while the small, finely cut underlip, that rises from the strongly marked hollow over the chin, ought in its natural position to sharpen with a dash of contempt the conscious superiority that lies upon his broad, magnificently formed forehead. The smile is in strong contrast with the cold gaze of the large open eyes. It is a gaze which examines not, hesitates not, but without mercy verifies a judgment fixed in advance.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

l. 401. Colossal head of Augustus, from Veii.
l. 400. Seated statue of Tiberius, found at Veii, 1811, with Corona Civica. Note the intellectual capacity.
l. 360. The Three Graces, found at the Lateran—an Attic relief.
l. 263. Bust called Zenobia—full of character.
l. 197. Colossal head of Rome, from Laurentum.
l. 176. *A beautiful fragment, supposed to be one of the daughters of Niobe. Found near Tivoli.
l. 179. Sarcophagus, story of Alcestis.
r. 1, 6, 13. Autumn and Winter.

Near the end of the gallery, on the right, is the entrance of the **Braccio Nuovo**, built under Pius VII. in 1817 by Raphael Stern, a fine hall, 250 feet long, filled with gems of sculpture. Perhaps most worth attention are (the *chefs-d'œuvre* being marked with an asterisk):

R.—

5. **Caryatid.** A Roman copy of one from the Erechtheion. Its many restorations are due to Thorwaldsen. But compare the one in British Museum.

'Quand une fille des premières familles n'avait pour vêtement, comme celle-ci, qu'une chemise et par-dessus une demi-chemise; quand elle avait l'habitude de porter des vases sur sa tête, et par suite de se tenir droite; quand pour toute toilette elle retroussait ses cheveux ou les laissait tomber en boucles: quand le visage n'était pas plissé par les mille petites grâces et les mille petites préoccupations bourgeoises, une femme pouvait avoir la tranquille attitude de cette statue. Aujourd'hui il en reste un débris dans les paysannes des environs qui portent leurs corbeilles sur la tête, mais elles sont gâtées, par la travail et les haillons. Le sein parait sous la chemise; la tunique colle et visiblement n'est qu'un linge; on voit la forme de la jambe qui casse l'étoffe au genou: les pieds apparaissent nus dans les sandales. Rien ne peut rendre le sérieux naturel de visage. Certainement, si on pouvait revoir la personne réelle avec ses bras blancs, ses cheveux noirs, sous la

[1] See the account of the *Tombs of the Scipios* in Chapter IX.

lumière du soleil, les genoux plieraient, comme devant une déesse, de respect et de plaisir.'—*Taine*, '*Voyage en Italie*.'

8. Commodus. The body does not belong to the head.
9. Colossal head of a Dacian, from the Forum of Trajan.
11. **Silenus and the infant Bacchus.** Recalls the second Attic School.

This is a copy from the Greek, of which there were several replicas. One, formerly in the Villa Borghese, is now at Paris. The original group is described by Pliny, who says that the name of the sculptor was lost even in his time. The greater portion of the child, the left arm and hand of Silenus, and the ivy-leaves, are restorations.

14. **Augustus**, found 1863, in the villa of Livia at Prima Porta—of marmor Pentelicum. The Greek forms of the relief on the cuirass have led to the date of the statue being fixed at *c.* 17 B.C. The addition of the sceptre is an error of Tenerani, the restorer.

'This is, without exception, the finest portrait statue of this class in the whole collection. . . . The cuirass is covered with small figures in bassorelievo, which, as works of art, are even finer than the statue itself, and merit the most careful examination. These small figures are, in their way, marvels of art, for the wonderful boldness of execution and minuteness of detail shown in them. They are almost like cameos, and yet, with all the delicacy of finish displayed, there is no mere smoothness of surface. The central group is supposed to represent the restoration of Augustus by King Phraates of the eagles taken from Crassus and Antony. Considerable traces of colour were found on this statue, and are still discernible. Close examination will also show that the face and eyes were coloured.'—*Shakspere Wood.*

'Augustus here stands in the garb of emperor, in richly adorned armour, tunic and purple, with the sceptre in his left hand, and the right arm outstretched as if, protecting and blessing, he called down the peace of Olympus upon earth. According to Suetonius, Augustus had an "uncommonly fine figure." This is to be found here. The harmonious proportion of the limbs recalls the even balance of his mind. The face and action are stamped with the gentlest majesty. The mail-clad ruler of the world seems to repeat the verse of Virgil which alludes to him: Din of arms shall cease and days of hardship be softened.

'Upon this statue the gaze of his wife has many a time dwelt, but with what feelings? At the age of twenty-four, Augustus was wedded to Livia; after more than a half-century's life together, he fell asleep in her arms. His eye even in death sought hers: the last words he uttered were, "Livia, remember our happy married life!" Can a beloved and faithful wife win higher praise? Nevertheless, the most terrible suspicions cleave to her.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

17. A Physician, as Æsculapius.
23. *Pudicitia. From the Villa Mattei. (So called.) The head is modern.

This beautiful statue is unfinished, as may be seen on comparing the exquisite workmanship of the lower portion of the drapery in front and the rude execution behind. It has been copied in the monument of Horace Walpole's mother in Westminster Abbey.

'Qu'on regarde une statue toute voilée, par exemple celle de la Pudicité: il est évident que le vêtement antique n'altère pas la forme du corps, que les plis collants ou mouvants reçoivent du corps leurs formes et leurs changements, qu'on suit sans peine à travers les plis l'équilibre de toute la charpente, la rondeur de l'épaule ou de la hanche, le creux du dos.'—*Taine.*

26. Titus. Found 1828, near the Lateran (with his daughter Julia).
27, 40, 92. Colossal masks of Gorgon, from the Temple of Venus and Rome.
32, 33. Satyrs, sitting, from the villa of Quintilius Varus at Tivoli.
39. (In the centre.) Vase of black basalt, found on the Quirinal. It stands on a mosaic from the Tor Marancia.
38*a*. Satyr playing on a flute, from the so-called villa of Lucullus at the Lago Circeo.

44. Wounded Amazon (both arms and legs are restorations). Her left hand removed her garment from her wound.
47. Caryatid.
48. Bust of Trajan. Nose and chin restored.
50. *Selene contemplating the sleeping Endymion, found near the Porta Cavalleggieri.
53. Euripides. Body and head belong to different statues.
62. **Demosthenes,** found near Frascati. Compare the one at Knole Park.

In this noble statue the hands and the scroll are restorations. The restorer has represented the philosopher at the moment when (having failed to arrest the attention of the people by his warnings about Philip of Macedon, and yet having found them willing to listen to an anecdote about a man who had hired an ass) he indignantly seized a scroll in both hands, and exclaimed: 'O Athenians! my countrymen! when I talk to you of political dangers, you will not listen, and yet you crowd about me to hear a silly story about an ass,' &c. 'The individuality of Demosthenes is indicated with a master-hand.'—*Helbig.*

67. **Apoxyomenos.** An athlete after his bath scraping the oil from his arm with a strigil; found, 1849, in the Vicolo delle Palme in Trastevere. A marble copy of the bronze original which stood in front of the Baths of Agrippa, by Lysippos.

This beautiful statue is a replica of the celebrated bronze of Lysippos, and is described by Pliny, who narrates that it was brought from Greece by Agrippa to adorn the baths which he built for the people, and that Tiberius so admired it that he carried it off to his palace, but was forced to restore it by the outcries of the populace the next time he appeared in public.

'To understand the sense of beauty which was inherent in the Greeks . . . take the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, and after reading the speech of the Dikaios Logos, stand beneath the Athlete of Lysippus in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. "Fresh and fair in beauty-bloom, you shall pass your days in the wrestling ground, or run races beneath the sacred olive-trees, crowned with white reed, in company with a pure-hearted friend, smelling of bindweed and leisure hours and the white poplar that sheds her leaves, rejoicing in the prime of spring when the plane-tree whispers to the lime." This life the Dikaios Logos offers to the young Athenian, if he will forego the law-courts and the lectures of the sophists, and the house of the hetaira. This life rises above us imaged in the sculptor's marble. The athlete, tall and stately, tired with running, lifts one arm, and with his strigil scrapes away the oil with which he has anointed it. His fingers hold the die that tells his number in the race. Upon his features there rests no shade of care or thought, but the delicious languor of momentary fatigue, and the serenity of a nature in harmony with itself.'—*J. A. Symonds, 'The Greek Poets.'*

Left (returning).—

71. Amazon. (Arms and feet and nose are restorations by Thorwaldsen.) After Polycleitos.
77. Antonio, wife of Drusus, from Tusculum.
81. Bust of Hadrian.
83. Hera? (head a restoration), from Ostia.
86. Fortune with a cornucopia, from Ostia.
92. Artemis. Head does not belong to the body. But probably that of Selene.
96. **Bust of Mark Antony,** from Tor Sapienza.
109. *Colossal group of the Nile, found, temp. Leo X., near S. Maria sopra Minerva, on the site of the Temple of Isis.

The sixteen children clambering over it are restorations, and allude to the sixteen cubits' depth with which the river annually irrigates the country. On the plinth, the accompaniments of the river—the ibis, crocodile, hippopotamus, &c.—are represented.

111. Julia (?), daughter of Titus, found near the Lateran.
112. Bust of Hera, called the Juno Pentini.
114. *Pallas, found in the gardens of the Convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva, where the Temple of Minerva stood: formerly in the Giustiniani collection. It perhaps stood in the Cella.

A beautiful statue, much injured by restoration.

'Amid the host
Stood bright-eyed Pallas, bearing on her arm
The honoured Aegis, aye exempt from age,
And everlasting. . . .
With this she ranged the camp, fierce gazing round;
And urging all to speed, in every breast
Infused such strength to combat through the day,
That sweeter soon became the battle roar
Than thoughts that whisper of a distant home.'
—*Homer, Iliad II.* (*Wright*).

'In the Giustiniani Palace is a statue of Minerva which fills me with admiration. Winckelmann scarcely thinks anything of it, or at any rate does not give it its proper position; but I cannot praise it sufficiently. While we were gazing upon the statue, and standing a long time beside it, the wife of the custode told us that it was once a sacred image, and that the English who are of that religion still held it in veneration, being in the habit of kissing one of its hands, which was certainly quite white, while the rest of the statue was of a brownish colour. She added, that a lady of this religion had been there a short time before, had thrown herself on her knees, and worshipped the statue. Such a wonderful action she, as a Christian, could not behold without laughter, and fled from the room for fear of exploding.'—**Goethe.**

'Toute l'expression est concentrée dans le visage, et il y a dans ce mélange d'héroïsme et de mélancolie quelque chose qui émeut et enchaîne le spectateur; et cependant il y des réparations faites par un ciseau moderne, et les deux bras ont été restaurés par conjecture.'—*Rio*, '*L'Art Chrétien.*'

117. Claudius. Helbig thinks it may be a caricature. Nero delighted to belittle Claudius.
120. *A beautiful replica of the **Faun of Praxiteles,** but inferior to that at the Capitol.
121. Bust of Commodus, from Ostia.
122. Bust of Aurelian. 'De moeurs antiques et dedaigneux de plaisir.' —*Victor Duruy.*
123. L. Verus. The body does not belong to the head.
126. Athlete: copy of the Doryphoros, one of the most celebrated bronzes of Polycleitos. *Cf.* that in the Baracco Museum.
129. Domitian, from the Giustiniani collection.
132. Hermes (the head—too small—a restoration by Canova), from the Villa Negroni. The body once bore the head of Hadrian.

Beyond the Museo Chiaramonti, shut off by an iron gate, is the **Galleria Lapidaria,** a corridor 2131 feet in length. Its sides are covered on the left with pagan, on the right with early Christian inscriptions. It is a collection without rival. In the former epitaphs Peace is the prominent idea, as Hope is in the latter. Ranged along the walls are a series of sarcophagi, cippi, and funeral altars, some of them very fine. In the first compartment is the interesting altar of Semo Sancus, found in 1574 on the Island in the Tiber, and described by S. Justin, who imagined that it was dedicated to Simon the Magician. The first door on the right of this gallery gives access to the Appartamento Borgia (*q.v.*).

The **Library of the Vatican**—Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana—

is usually entered through a glass door at the foot of the stairs leading to the Sala a Croce Greca—admission 50 c. or 1 fr. The Public Library was begun by Nicholas V., who collected 5000 MSS., the largest collection which had existed up to that time since the dispersion of the Library at Alexandria. This Pope offered a reward of 5000 ducats to any one who would bring him the Gospel of S. Matthew in the original tongue, and, in his last moments, characteristically thanked God for having given him a taste for letters, and the faculties necessary for cultivating it with success. His library was greatly increased under Sixtus IV. (1475) and Sixtus V. (1588), who built the present halls for the collection. In 1623 the library was increased by the gift of the 'Bibliotheca Palatina' of Heidelberg, captured by Tilly from Maximilian of Bavaria; in 1657 by the 'Bibliotheca Urbina,' founded by Federigo da Montefeltro; in 1690 by the 'Bibliotheca Reginensis,' or 'Alexandrina,' which belonged to Christina of Sweden; in 1746 by the 'Bibliotheca Ottoboniana,' purchased by Ottoboni, Duke of Fiano. The number of Greek, Latin, and Oriental MSS. in the collection has been reckoned at 23,580.

The ante-chambers are hung with portraits of the Librarians;—among them, in the first room, is that of Cardinal Mezzofanti. In this room are facsimiles of the columns found in the Triopium of Herodes Atticus (see the account of the Valle Caffarelli), of which the originals are at Naples. From the second ante-chamber we enter the **Great Hall**, 220 feet long, decorated with frescoes by *Pietro Facchetti*, *Cesare Nebbia*, and others—unimportant in themselves, but producing a rich general effect of colour. The disposition is exactly that of the libraries of the ancients. No books or MSS. are visible; they are all enclosed in painted cupboards—called *armarii* in ancient times—so that of a *library* there is no appearance whatever, and it is only disappointing to be told that in one cupboard are the MSS. of the Greek Testament of the fifth century, Virgil of the fifth, and Terence of the fourth centuries, and that another contains a Dante, with miniatures by *Giulio Clovio*,[1] &c. Ranged along the middle of the hall are some of the handsome presents made to Pius IX. by different foreign potentates (including the Sèvres font in which the Prince Imperial was baptized, presented by Napoleon III.; and some candelabra given by Napoleon I. to Pius VII. At the end of the hall, long corridors open out on either side. Turning to the **left**, the **second room** has two interesting frescoes—one representing S. Peter's as designed by Michelangelo, the other the erection of the obelisk in the Piazza S. Pietra under Fontana. At the end of the third room are two statues, said to represent Aristides and Hippolytus, Bishop of Porto. The **fourth room** is a museum of Christian antiquities, and contains, on the left, a collection of lamps and other small objects from the Catacombs; on the right, some fine ivories by *Guido da Spoleto*, and a Deposition from the Cross attributed to *Michelangelo*. The

[1] Who is buried by the altar of S. Pietro in Vincoli.

room beyond this, painted by *Raphael Mengs*, is called the Stanza dei Papiri, and contains papyri of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. The next room has an interesting, but ill-seen, collection of pictures, by early masters, of the schools of *Giotto*, *Giottino*, *Cimabue*, and *Fra Angelico*.[1] Here is a Prie-Dieu, of carved oak and ivory, presented to Pius IX. by the four bishops of the province of Tours. The librarian is Rev. Franz Ehrle, S.J.

At the end of this room, not generally shown, is the **Chapel of S. Pius V.**

The **Appartamento Borgia** (or domestic suite of Alexander VI.), which can be reached from hence, has been open to the public since 1897. Visitors are admitted by the same ticket required for the sculpture galleries. The apartment consists of six rooms, the last two of which were built by Alexander VI., though their beautiful decorations, including floors with majolica tiles, were for the most part added by Leo X. They have been admirably restored by Seitz for Leo XIII., and have been opened as a kind of mediaeval museum of the papacy, *Museo di Leone XIII.* The **First Room**—the ante-chamber of the Swiss guard (called the Room of the Popes)—is painted by *Giovanni da Udine* and *Pierino del Vaga*, and represents the course of the planets—Jupiter drawn by eagles, Venus by doves, Diana (the moon) by nymphs, Mars by wolves, Mercury by cocks, Apollo (the sun) by horses, Saturn by dragons. In the centre of the vault are four dancing winged Victories holding the Medici Arms. These frescoes, executed at the time Michelangelo was painting the Last Judgment, are interesting as the last revival under Clement VII. of the pagan art so popular in the Papal Palace under Leo X. The tapestry represents the story of Cephalus and Procris. The intarsia Biblical scenes of the door are by Fra Damiano of Bergamo.

The **Second Room**—Camera della Vita della Madonna—painted by the strangely-underrated **Pinturicchio**, has beautiful lunettes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Resurrection, Ascension, Descent of the Holy Ghost, and Assumption of the Virgin. Alexander VI. is represented (L.) kneeling in the picture of the Resurrection. The paintings on the walls, at one time covered by (lost) tapestries, were hastily whitewashed by Clement X. to hide the obscene drawings of the French soldiers quartered in these rooms after the siege of Rome in 1527. The Apis-bull which appears in the stucco decorations belongs to the Borgia arms.

The **Third Room** (now a Committee-Room)—delle Vite dei Santi—has paintings by **Pinturicchio** of the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian (with the Coliseum in the background); the Visitation of S. Elizabeth; the Meeting of S. Anthony with S. Paul the first hermit (the three beautiful temptresses have horns and cloven feet); S. Catherine before Maximian; the Flight of S. Barbara from her tower; S. Giuliana of Nicomedia; and, over the door, the Virgin and Child.

[1] This is the only gallery of early masters in Rome!

This last picture is of curious historical interest, as a relic of the libertinism of the court of Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia), the figure of the Virgin being a faithful representation of Vanozza Catanei, mistress of the Pope, and mother of his children, Cesare and Lucrezia. In the picture of the trial of S. Catherine, the saint proving the doctrine of the Trinity is believed to represent the Pope's daughter Lucrezia, and the emperor, her brother Cesare. On the R. is the Turkish Prince Djem, brother of Sultan Bajazet, then a prisoner in the Vatican. In the spandrels of the ceiling are represented (1) the Love-making of Osiris and Isis, (2) the Arrival of Isis in Egypt, (3) Isis, as Queen, (4) Marriage of Isis and Osiris, (5) Osiris teaching agriculture, (6) the Murder of Osiris. The story of Mercury and Argus. The inlaid furniture comes from the library of Sixtus V. One of the Flemish tapestries—the Marriage of S. Catherine—is especially fine. The Pope is said to have died in the adjoining room.

The **Fourth Room**—delle Arti e Scienze—also painted by *Pinturicchio*, is adorned with allegorical figures of the Arts and Sciences, and of the Cardinal Virtues. The chimney-piece by Simone Mosca, from a drawing by Sansovino, was brought from the castle of S. Angelo. In this room a few of the original majolica tiles remain, and gave the designs for a new pavement. The two remaining rooms, *i.e.*, that of the Creed and that of the Sibyls, are located in the Borgia Tower, and are decorated by Bonfigli and others.

'On the accession of the infamous Alexander VI., Pinturicchio was employed by him to paint the Appartamento Borgia, and a great number of rooms, both in the Castle of S. Angelo and in the pontifical palace. The patronage of this Pope was still more fatal to the arts than that of the Medici at Florence. The subjects represented in the Castle of S. Angelo were drawn from the life of Alexander himself, and the portraits of his relations and friends were introduced there—amongst others, those of his brothers, sisters, and that of the infamous Caesar Borgia. To all acquainted with the scandalous history of this family, this representation appeared a commemoration of their various crimes, and it was impossible to regard it in any other light, when, in addition to the publicity they affected to give to these scandalous excesses, they appeared desirous of making art itself their accomplice, and by an excess of profanation hitherto unexampled in the Catholic world, Alexander VI. caused himself to be represented, in a room in the Vatican, in the costume of one of the Magi, kneeling before the Holy Virgin, whose head was no other than the portrait of the beautiful Giulia Farnese ("Vanozza"), whose adventures are unfortunately too well known. We may indeed say that the walls have in this case made up for the silence of the courtiers; for on them was traced, for the benefit of contemporaries and posterity, an undeniable proof of the depravity of the age.

'At the sight of that Appartamento Borgia, which is entirely painted by Pinturicchio, we shall experience a sort of satisfaction in discovering the inferiority of this purely mercenary work, as compared with the other productions of the same artist, and we cannot but rejoice that it is so unworthy of him. Such an ignoble task was not adapted to an artist of the Umbrian school, and there is good reason to believe that, after this act of servility, Pinturicchio became disgusted with Rome, and returned to the mountains of Umbria, in search of nobler inspirations.'—*Rio*, '*Poetry of Christian Art*.'

A door on the right of the room with the old pictures opens into a room containing a very interesting collection of ancient frescoes (closed to public). On the right wall is the celebrated

'**Nozze Aldobrandini**,' found in 1606 in some ruins belonging to the Baths of Trajan near the Arch of Gallienus on the Esquiline, and considered to be the finest specimen of ancient pictorial art in Rome. It was purchased at first by Cardinal Cinthio Aldobrandini, whence its name. It represents an ancient Greek ceremony, possibly the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis. There is a fine copy by Nicholas Poussin in the Doria Palace.

Opposite to this is a 'Race of the Cupids,' from Ostia. The other frescoes in this room were found in the ruins on the Esquiline and at the Tor Marancia in 1818. The ceiling has frescoes by Guido.

High in the Borgia tower is a suite of rooms once occupied by Cardinal Bibbiena. His bathroom, now a chapel, was painted in fresco by Raffaelle, and here possibly, still hidden under coats of whitewash, are the famous 'Hours,' which Pierino del Vaga and Giov. da Udine painted from his designs after the antique.

The **Etruscan Museum**, open on Tuesdays and Fridays, is reached by a door on the right at the top of the stairs, beyond the Galleria dei Candelabri.[1]

'This magnificent collection is principally the fruit of the excavating partnership established, some twelve or fifteen years since, between the Papal government and the Campanari of Toscanella; and will render the memory of Gregory XVI., who forwarded its formation with more zeal than he ordinarily displayed, ever honoured by all interested in antiquarian science. As the excavations were made in the neighbourhood of Vulci, most of the articles are from that necropolis; yet the collection has been considerably enlarged by the addition of others previously in the possession of the government, and still more by recent acquisitions from the Etruscan cemeteries of Cervetri, Corneto, Bomarzo, Orte, Toscanella, and other sites within the Papal dominions.'—*Dennis*.

The 1*st Room*.

Contains three sarcophagi of terra-cotta from Toscanella, with three life-size figures reposing upon them. Their extreme length is remarkable. The figure on the left wears a fillet, indicating priesthood. The head of the family was almost always priest or priestess. Most of the objects in terra-cotta which have been discovered come from Toscanella. The two horses' heads in this room, in nenfro, *i.e.* volcanic tufa, were found at the entrance of a tomb at Vulci.

'All the motives are conceived in a thoroughly realistic spirit; the details of the movement are in many points accurately observed, and an attempt at portraiture is made in the heads; but there is a striking contrast between this realism and the absolute want of skill and appreciation conspicuous in the erroneous proportions of the long lank bodies. These sarcophagi probably date from the first or second century B.C.'—*Helbig*.

The 2nd Room (right).

Is a corridor filled with cinerary urns, chiefly from Volterra, bearing recumbent figures, ludicrously stunted. The large sarcophagus on the left supports the bearded figure of a man, and is adorned with reliefs of a figure in a chariot and musicians painted red. The urns in this room are of alabaster. Nos. 44, 56, 60, 67 are the most interesting ones.

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[1] The Etruscan, Egyptian, and Lateran Museums were all due to Gregory XVI.

The 3rd Room.

Has in the centre a large sarcophagus of nenfro, found at Tarquinii in 1834, supporting a reclining figure of a Lucumo, with a scroll in his hand, 'recalling the monuments of the Middle Ages.' At the sides are reliefs representing the story of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus—the Theban brothers—the sacrifice of Clytemnestra—and Pyrrhus slaying the infant Astyanax. In this room is a slab with a bilingual inscription, in Latin and Umbrian, from Todi. In the corners are urns shaped like huts (*tuguriî*) from the cemetery outside Castel Gandolfo (Alba Longa), and similar to those now found in the Forum belonging to (?) eighth century B.C.

The 4th Room.

Is the Chamber of Terra-cottas. In the centre is a beautiful statue of Hermes, found at Tivoli. At the sides are fragments of female figures from Vulci, and an interesting terra-cotta sarcophagus from Toscanella, with a youth lying on a couch. 'From the gash in his thigh, and the hound at his bedside, he is usually called Adonis; but it may be merely the effigy of some young Etruscan who met his death in the wild-boar chase.'

The 5th Room.

This and the three following rooms are occupied by Corinthian and Attic Vases. The vases in the 5th room are mostly small amphorae, in the second or Archaic style, with black figures on the ground of the clay. On a column is a *Crater*, or mixing-vase, from Vulci, with parti-coloured figures on a pale ground, and in the most beautiful style of Greek art. It represents Hermes presenting the infant Dionysos to Silenus. To the left of the window is a humorous representation of the visit of Zeus and Hermes to Alcmena, who is looking at them out of a window.

The 6th Room.

Black-figured Amphorae and Hydriae. In the centre of this room is a magnificent vase from Cervetri, 'of the rare form called *Holmos*—a large globe-shaped bowl on a tall stand, like an enormous cup and ball;' its paintings are of wild animals. On the shelf of the entrance wall is the kind of amphora called *Askos* (wine-skin) from Caere. 'Two men are represented sitting under an olive-tree, each with an amphora at his feet,' and one who is measuring the oil exclaims, 'O father Jupiter! would that I were rich!' On the reverse of the vase is the same pair, at a subsequent period, when the prayer has been heard, and the oil-dealer cries, 'Verily, yea, verily, it hath been filled to overflowing.' A *Calpis* represents a boy with a hoop in one hand and a stolen cock in the other, for which his tutor is reproving him. Three Romana-Campanian cups.

The 7th Room.

Is an arched corridor containing Red-figured Vases. In the second niche is a *Hydria* with Athene and Heracles, from Vulci. Amongst the vases which follow is an *Amphora* from Vulci; '"Ekabe" (Hecuba) presents a goblet to her son, "the brave Hector"—and regards him with such intense interest, that she spills the wine as she pours it out to him. "Priamos" stands by leaning on his staff, looking mournfully at his son, as if presaging his fate. Many other vases in this room are of great beauty.

The 8th Room.

Contains *Kylikes* or *Paterae*, which are more rare than the upright vases, and not inferior in beauty. At the end of the room, from Vulci, is 'a large *Amphora* of the second or Archaic style,' in which hardness and severity of design are combined with most conscientious execution of detail. It represents Achilles ('Acbilleos') and Ajax ('Aiantos') playing at dice or

astragali. Achilles cries 'Four!' and Ajax 'Three!'—the said words, in choice Attic, issuing from their mouths. The maker's name, 'Echsekias,' is recorded, as well as that of 'the brave Onetorides,' to whom it was presented. On the other side of the vase is a family scene of 'Kastor' with his horse, and 'Poludeukes' playing with his dog, 'Tyndareos' and 'Leda' standing by.

The 9th Room.—Bronzes.

Entered from the 6th room is the jewel-room. A biga or war-chariot is not Etruscan, but Roman, found in the villa of the Quintilii, near the Via Appia. Near this are some colossal fragments of bronze statues, found near Civita Vecchia. At the opposite end of the room is a warrior in armour found at Todi in 1835, and a bronze couch with a raised place for the head, found in the Regulini Galassi tomb at Cervetri, where it bore the corpse of a high priest. A boy with a bulla, sitting, from Tarquinii, is 'supposed to represent Tages, the mysterious boy-god, who sprang from the furrows of that site.' A beautiful oval *Cista*, with a handle formed by two swans bearing a boy and a girl, is from Vulci; and so are the braziers or censors retaining the tongs, shovel, and rake, found with them,—'the tongs are on wheels, and terminate in serpents' heads; the shovel handle ends in a swan's neck; and the rake in a human hand.' Among the smaller relics are a curious bottle from Caere, with an Etruscan alphabet and spelling lesson (!) scratched upon it, and a pair of Etruscan clogs found in a tomb at Vulci. Near the door is a little bronze figure of a boy with a bird, and an Etruscan inscription on his leg, from Perugia.

In the centre of the room is the jewel-case of glass. The whole of the upper division and one compartment of the lower are devoted to Cervetri (Caere). All these objects are from the Regulini Galassi tomb, for all the other tombs had been rifled at an early period, except one, whence the objects were taken by Campana. The magnificent oak-wreath with the small ornaments and the large ear-rings were worn by a lady, over whom was written in Etruscan characters, 'Me Larthia'—I, the Great Lady—evidently because at the time of her death, 3000 years ago, it was supposed that she was so very great that the memory of her name could never by any possibility perish, and that therefore it was quite unnecessary to record it. The tomb was divided, and she was walled up with precious spices (showing what the commerce of Etruria must have been) in one-half of it. It was several hundred years before any one was found of sufficient dignity to occupy the other half of the tomb. Then the high priest of Etruria died, and was buried there with all his ornaments. His were the large bracelets, the fillets for the head, with the plate of gold covering the head, and a second plate of gold which covered the forehead—worn only on the most solemn occasions. This may be considered to resemble the head-dress of Aaron. His was also the broad plate of gold, covering the breast, reminding of the Urim and Thummim. The bronze bed on which he lay (and on which the ornaments were found lying where the body had mouldered) is preserved in another part of the room, and the great incense-burner filled with precious spices which was found by his side. The three large bollas on his breast were filled with incense, whose perfume was still strong when the tomb was opened.

'The artists, destitute of all creative genius, here simply copied Greek models in the dryest and most superficial way, without vigour and without precision. Hand in hand with a keen observation of Nature and a careful execution of details, goes an astounding lack of the understanding of organic unity.'—*Helbig.*

The 10th Room.

(Entrance on right of the jewel-room), is a corridor containing a number of Roman water-pipes of lead, found in 1850 on the Via Aurelia.

The 11th Room.

Is hung with paintings on canvas copied from the principal tombs of Vulci and Tarquinii. Beginning from the right, on entering, they take the following order:—

From the Camera del Morto : Tarquinii (Corneto).
From the Grotta delle Bighe, or Grotta Stackelberg : Tarquinii.
From the Grotta Querciola : Tarquinii.
From the Grotta delle Iscrizioni : Tarquinii.
From the Grotta del Triclinio, or Grotta Marzi : Tarquinii.
From the Grotta del Barone, or Grotta del Ministro : Tarquinii.
From the painted tomb at Vulci.

All the paintings from Tarquinii are still to be seen on that site, though not in so perfect a state as they are here represented. But the tomb at Vulci is destroyed.

Each of the paintings is interesting. That of the death-bed scene proves that the Etruscans believed in the immortality of the soul. In the upper division a daughter is mounting on a stool to reach the high bed and give a last kiss to her dying father, while the son is wailing and lamenting in the background. Below is the rejoicing spirit, freed from the trammels of the flesh.

In the scenes representing the games, the horses are painted bright red and bright blue, or black and red. These may be considered to have been the different colours of the rival factions. A number of jars (Dolia) for oil and wine are arranged in this room. All the black pottery is from Northern Etruria.

The 12th Room, seldom open, is a meagre and inefficient facsimile of an ordinary Etruscan tomb (*tomba a camera*). It is guarded by two lions in nenfro, found at Vulci.[1]

At the foot of the stairs, on the right of the entrance to the Sala a Croce Greca, is the door of the **Egyptian Museum**, open on Tuesdays and Fridays. The collection is chiefly due to Pius VII. and Gregory XVI.

The 2nd Room contains colossal Egyptian statues. At the end is the figure of the mother of Rhamses II. (Sesostris) between two lions of basalt, which were found in the Baths of Agrippa, and which long decorated what is now called the Fontana delle Terme. Upon the base of these lions is inscribed the name of the Egyptian king Nectanebo.

'Ces lions ont une expression remarquable de force et de repos; il y a quelque chose dans leur physionomie qui n'appartient ni à l'animal, ni à l'homme: ils semblent une puissance de la nature, et l'on conçoit, en les voyant, comment les dieux du paganisme pouvaient etre représentés sous cet emblème.'—*Mme. de Staël.*

On the right of the entrance wall are Ptolemy-Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247), and, on his left, his queen Arsinoe, of red granite. These, like the obelisk on Trinità di Monti, were found in the gardens of Sallust (Porta Salaria), and were formerly preserved in the Senator's Palace.

'There is a fine collection of Egyptian antiquities in the Vatican; and the ceilings of the rooms in which they are arranged are painted to represent a starlight sky in the desert. It may seem an odd idea, but it is very effective. The grim, half-human monsters from the temples look more grim and monstrous underneath the deep dark blue; it sheds a strange uncertain gloomy air on everything—a mystery adapted to the objects; and you leave them, as you find them, shrouded in a solemn night.'—*Dickens.*

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[1] For a detailed account of this collection, see Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, whence many of the quotations above are taken; also Mrs. Hamilton Gray's *Sepulchres of Etruria*.

The 3rd Room is occupied by Roman imitations of Egyptian statues, from the Villa Adriana.

On the left is the Nile in black marble: at one end of the hall is a colossal statue of Antinous, the favourite of Hadrian, in white marble.

The 5th Room (semicircular) contains eight statues of the goddess Pasht from Carnac.

The windows of the Egyptian Museum look upon the inner **Garden of the Vatican**, which may be reached by a door at the end of the long gallery of the Museo Chiaramonti, before ascending to the Torso. The garden which is thus entered, called **Giardino della Pigna**, is in fact merely the second great quadrangle of the Vatican, planted, under Pius IX., with shrubs and flowers, now a desolate wilderness—its lovely garden having been destroyed by the present Vatican authorities to make way for a monumental column to the Council of 1870. Several interesting relics are preserved here. In the centre is the **Pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius**, found in 1709 at Monte Citorio. The column was a simple memorial erected by the two adopted sons of the Emperor, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. It was broken up to mend the obelisk of Psammeticus I., now at Monte Citorio. Among the reliefs of the pedestal is one of a winged genius guiding Antoninus and Faustina to Olympus. The modern pillar and statue are erections of Leo XIII. In front of the great semicircular niche of Bramante, at the end of the court-garden, is the famous **Pigna**, a gigantic fir-cone, which used to be regarded as having once crowned the summit of the Mausoleum of Hadrian. But it was more probably the central ornament of a fountain—perhaps of the Lake of Agrippa in the Campus Martius. Pope Symmachus, *c.* 500, removed it to the fountain which he had made in the centre of the Atrium, in front of the ancient basilica. In the fresco of the old S. Peter's at S. Martino ai Monti the pigna is introduced, but it is there placed in the centre of the nave, a position it never occupied. Thus it warns us how little trust must be reposed in the too-often fanciful and accommodating sketches of the old masters, where archaeology is concerned. It bears the name of the bronze-founder who cast it—'P. Cincivs. P. L. Calvivs fecit.' Dante saw it at S. Peter's, and compares it to a giant's head (it is eleven feet high) which he descried through the mist in the last circle of hell.

> 'La faccia mi parea longa e grossa
> Come la pina di S. Pietro in Roma.'[1]
> —*Inf.* xxxi. 58.

On either side of the pigna are two bronze peacocks, which are said to have stood flanking the entrance of Hadrian's Mausoleum,[2]

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[1] Dante only mentions three things in Rome—the Lateran, the Bridge of S. Angelo, and the Pigna.

[2] A peacock, the Bird of Juno, was loosed when the funeral pyre of an empress was lighted; as an eagle, that of Jove, for an emperor. It was association with this custom which caused the early Christians to adopt the peacock as an emblem of immortality.

though perhaps they only adorned the same fountain as the pigna.

A flight of steps leads from this court to the narrow **Terrace of the Navicella**, in front of the palace, so called from a bronze ship with which its fountain is decorated. The visitor should beware of the tricksome waterworks upon this terrace.

Beyond the courtyard is the entrance to the larger garden, which may be reached in a carriage by the courts at the back of S. Peter's. Admittance is difficult to obtain, as the garden is constantly used by the Pope. Pius IX. used to ride here upon his white mule. It is a most delightful retreat for the hot days of May and June, and before that time its woods are carpeted with wild violets, anemones and squills. No one who has not visited them can form an idea of the beauty of these ancient groves, interspersed with fountains and statues, but otherwise left to nature, and exemplifying sylvan scenery quite unassociated with the English idea of a garden. They are backed by the walls of the Borgo and a fine old tower of the time of Leo IV., which is used as an Observatory. The only other remaining tower of the Leonine wall is now the chapel of the new summer casino of Leo XIII. The **Casino del Papa**, or Villa Pia,[1] built by Pius IV. with material taken from the Stadium of Domitian (Piazza Navona), in the lower and more cultivated portion of the ground, is the *chef-d'œuvre* of the architect Pirro Ligorio, and is decorated with paintings by *Baroccio*, *Zuccaro*, and *Santi di Tito*, and a set of terra-cotta reliefs collected by Agincourt and Canova. The shell decorations are pretty and curious. This villa gives an admirable idea of a small country-house under the Roman Empire.

During the hours which he spent daily in this villa, its founder, Pius IV., enjoyed that easy and simple life for which he was far better fitted by nature than for the affairs of government; but here also he received the counsels of his nephew S. Carlo Borromeo, who, summoned to Rome in 1560, became for several succeeding years the real ruler of the state. Here he assembled around him all those who were distinguished by their virtue or talents, and held many of the meetings which received the name of *Notti Vaticane*—at first employed in the pursuit of philosophy and poetry, but after the necessity of church reform became apparent both to the Pope and to S. Carlo, entirely devoted to the discussion of sacred subjects. In this villa Pius VIII. and Gregory XVI. used frequently to give their audiences.

The sixteenth century was the golden age for the Vatican, though a leaden one for the Forum. Then the luxurious court of Leo X. was the centre of artistic and literary life, and the witty and pleasure-loving Pope made these gardens the scene of his banquets and concerts; and, beneath the shadow of their cypresses, in a circle to which ladies were admitted, as in a secular court, he listened to

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[1] Vasari calls it Palazzo nel Bosco del Belvedere.

the recitations of the artificial poets who sprang up, like truffles, under his protection.

'Le Vatican était encombré, sous Léon X., d'historiens, de savants, de poètes surtout. "La tourbe importune des poètes," s'écrie Valérianus, "le poursuit de porte en porte, tantôt sous les portiques, tantôt à la promenade, tantôt au palais, tantôt à la chambre, *penetralibus in imis;* elle ne respecte ni son repos, ni les graves affaires qui l'occupent aujourd'hui que l'incendie ravage le monde." On remarquait dans cette foule: Berni, le poète burlesque; Flaminio, le poète élégiaque; Molza, l'enfant de Pétrarque, et Postumo, Maroni, Carteromachus, Fedra Inghirami, le savant bibliothécaire et *la grande lumière d'Arezzo*, comme dit l'Arioste, *l'unique Accolti*. Accolti jouit pendant toute la durée du seizième siècle d'une réputation que la postérité n'a pas confirmée. On l'appelait le *céleste*. Lorsqu'il devait réciter ses vers, les magasins étaient fermés comme en un jour de fête, et chacun accourait pour l'entendre. Il était entouré de prélats de la première distinction; un corps de troupes suisses l'accompagnait, et l'auditoire était éclairé par des flambeaux. Un jour qu'Accolti entrait chez le pape:—Ouvrez toutes les portes, s'écria Léon, et laissez entrer la foule. Accolti récita un *ternale* à la Vierge, et, quand il eut fini, mille acclamations retentirent; *Vive le poète divin, vive l'incomparable Accolti!* Léon était le premier à applaudir, et le duché de Nepi devenait la récompense du poète.

'Une autre fois, c'était Paul Jove, l'homme aux *ouï-dire*, comme l'appelle Rabelais, qui venait lire des fragments de son histoire, et que Léon X. saluait du titre de Tite-Live italien. Il y avait dans ces éloges, dans ces encouragements donnés avec entrainement, mais avec tact, je ne sais quel souffle de vie pour l'intelligence, qui l'activait et qui lui faisait rendre au centuple les dons qu'elle avait reçus du ciel. Rome entière était devenue un musée, une académie; partout des chants, partout la science, la poésie, les beaux-arts, une sorte de volupté dans l'étude. Ici, c'est Calcagnini, qui a déjà deviné la rotation de la terre; là, Ambrogio de Pise, qui parle chaldéen et arabe; plus loin, Valérianus, que la philologie, l'archéologie, la jurisprudence revendiquent à la fois, et qui se distrait de ses doctes travaux par des poésies dignes d'Horace.'—*Gournerie*, '*Rome Chrétienne*,' ii. 114.

'During the great heat of summer Leo XIII., after saying mass, goes into the garden about nine in the morning and spends the whole day there, receiving every one in the garden pavilion he has built for himself just as he would receive in the Vatican. He dines there, too, and rests afterward, guarded by the gendarmes on duty, to whom he generally sends a measure of good wine—survival of a country custom; and in the cool of the day he again gets into his carriage, and often does not return to the Vatican till after sunset, toward the hour of Ave Maria.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

CHAPTER XVII

THE ISLAND AND THE TRASTEVERE

Ponte Quattro Capi—Caëtani Tower—S. Bartolommeo al Isola—Temple of Aesculapius—Hospital of the Benfratelli—Mills on the Tiber—Ponte Cestio—Fornarina's House—S. Benedetto a Piscinuola—Castle of the Alberteschi—S. Crispino—Palazzo Ponziani—S. Maria in Cappella—S. Cecilia—Hospital of S. Michele—Porta Portese—S. Maria del Orto—S. Francesco a Ripa—Castle of the Anguillara—S. Crisogono—Hospital of S. Gallicano—S. Maria in Trastevere—S. Callisto—Convent of S. Anna—S. Cosimato—Porta Settimiana—S. Dorotea—Ponte Sisto.

TURNING down from the Piazza Montanara, past the gateway of the Orsini palace, with its two bears, towards the river—we reach the **Ponte Quattro Capi.**

This was the ancient Pons Fabricius, built of stone in the place of a wooden bridge, 62 B.C., by L. Fabricius, the Curator Viarum. It has two arches, with a small flood-arch in the central pier. Two inscriptions remain: L. . FABRICUS . C . F . CUR . VIAR . FACIUNDUM . CURAVIT . EIDEMQ . PROBAVIT .—Q . LEPIDUS . M . F . M . LOLLIUS . M . F . COS . EX . S . C . PROBAVERUNT. The senate prudently allowed forty years to elapse between the completion of a public work and the grant to it of their final approval. Meanwhile the contractors were held responsible in case of collapse. It is built of peperino with travertine facings. According to Horace, this bridge was a convenient spot with those who wished to drown themselves: hence Damasippus, a bankrupt antiquarian dealer, would have leaped into the Tiber, had he not been pulled up by the stoic Stertinius.

> 'Unde ego mira
> Descripsi docilis praecepta haec, tempore quo me
> Solatus jussit sapientem pascere barbam,
> Atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.'
>
> —*Horace, Sat.* II. iii. 34.

The name of the bridge changed with time to 'Pons Judaeorum,' not from the neighbouring Ghetto, but from the adjacent ancient Jewish quarter originally in Trastevere. It is now called Ponte dei Quattro Capi, from two hermae of the four-headed Janus, which adorn its parapet. They formerly supported the railings of the bridge, as may be seen by grooves made in them to receive the bronze bars. In making the modern embankment just adjacent to

the bridge remains were found, favissae, or pits filled with discarded ex-votos once hung up in the Temple of Aesculapius—arms, hands, feet, breasts, &c., mostly modelled in terra-cotta.

'The most interesting pieces found here are three life-size human trunks, cut open across the front, and showing the whole anatomical apparatus of the various organs, such as the lungs, heart, liver, bowels,' &c.—*Lanciani.*

The bridge—which has been enabled by its strength to withstand the vicissitudes of 1965 years—splendid in colour, with the tower of the Caëtani rising behind it, the thirteenth-century belfry of S. Bartolommeo to the left of it, and the distant mountains, continued until 1891 to be one of the most striking river scenes in Rome.

On crossing this bridge, we are on the Island in the Tiber, the formation of which is ascribed by tradition to the produce of the corn-fields of the Tarquins (cast, as was before-mentioned, upon the waters after their expulsion), which accumulated here, till soil gathered around it, and a solid piece of land was formed.

On this island, known as **Isola Tiberina**, stood three temples—those, namely, of Aesculapius:

'Unde Coroniden circumflua Tibridis alti
Insula Romuleae sacris adjecerit urbis.'
—*Ovid*, *Metam.* xv. 624.

'Accepit Phoebo Nymphaque Coronide natum
Insula, dividua quam premit amnis aqua.'
—*Ovid*, *Fast.* i. 291.

of Jupiter Lycaonius:

'Jupiter in parte est: cepit locus unus utrumque:
Junctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.'
—*Ovid*, *Fast.* i. 293.

and of Faunus:

'Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni,
Hic ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas.'
—*Ovid*, *Fast.* ii. 193.

Here also was an altar and shrine of Semo-Sancus (now in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican), of which the inscription, legible in the early centuries of Christianity, seems to have led ecclesiastical authors into the error that the words 'Semoni-Sanco' referred to Simon Magus. The temples of this Divinity were open to the sky like the Pantheon for similar reasons with the places which had been fenced round after being struck by lightning. The sacred fire had opened its way and might desire to return. His connection with the island is an interesting subject for speculation.

In the reign of Claudius sick slaves were exposed and left to die or recover here, that Emperor—by a strange contradiction in one who caused fallen gladiators to be butchered 'for the pleasure of seeing them die'—decreeing that any slave so exposed should receive his liberty if he recovered. In late imperial times the

island was used as a prison: among remarkable prisoners immured here was Arvandus, Prefect of Gaul, A.D. 468. In the Middle Ages the island was under the jurisdiction of the Cardinal Bishop of Porto. Under Leo X. a fête was held here in which Camillo Querno, a comic poetaster, was crowned with ivy, laurel, and cabbage. In 1656 the whole island was appropriated as a hospital for those stricken with the plague—a singular coincidence for the site of the Temple of Aesculapius. For over two thousand years (with, of course, some breaks) the island has been dedicated to the spirit of Healing.

The first building on the left, after passing the bridge, is a brick tower of the Caëtani, reminding us of:—

> 'Est in Romuleo procumbens insula Tibri,
> Qua medius geminas interfluit alveus urbes,
> Discretas subeunte freto, pariterque minantes
> Ardua turrigerae surgunt in culmina ripae.
> Hic stetit et subitum prospexit ab aggere votum,
> Unanimes fratres junctos stipante senatu
> Ire forum, stricasque procul radiare secures,
> Atque uno bijuges tolli de limine fasces.'
> —*Claudian*, '*Paneg. in Prob. et Olyb. Cons.*,' 226.

It is the oldest of its class in Rome.

The western end of the island is now occupied by the **Basilica and Convent of S. Bartolommeo**, which gives it its present name.

The piazza in front of the church is decorated by a pillar with four niches, erected at the expense of Michele, Duke of Sermoneta, to commemorate the opening of the Vatican Council of 1869–70, adorned with statues of S. Bartholomew, S. Paulinus of Nola, S. Francis, and S. Giovanni di Dio. Here formerly stood an obelisk. A fragment of it was long preserved at the Villa Albani, whence it is said to have been removed to Urbino. It is perhaps in Paris now. The church, a basilica, was founded by Otho III. *c.* 997, and dedicated to S. Adalbert, on the site of a still earlier church. Gelasius II., while finishing the restorations (begun by Paschal II., A.D. 1113), is held to have rechristened the church with the name it now bears. Its campanile dates from 1218. The aisles are divided from the naves by columns of various marbles, probably relics of various temples. An eleventh-century marble well-head on the site of an earlier one centres the stairs leading to the choir. Otho bestowed upon the church its great relic, the body of S. Bartholomew, which he brought from Beneventum, though the inhabitants of that town profess they still possess the *real* body of the apostle, and that they purposely deceived him and sent that of S. Paulinus of Nola to Rome instead. The dispute about the possession of this relic ran so high as to have created a considerable literature. After a serious inundation in 1157, a chronicler tells us that the apostle's body was found entire here, except the skin 'quod remansit Benevento.' The convent belongs to the Franciscans (Frati Minori). Their pretty little garden now belongs to the Morgue!

The Temple of Aesculapius was built after the great plague in

Rome in B.C. 292, when, in accordance with the advice of the Sibylline books, ambassadors were sent to Epidaurus to bring the statue of Aesculapius to Rome. They returned with it, but as their vessel sailed up the Tiber, a serpent, which had lain concealed during the voyage, glided from it, and landed amongst the reeds on this spot—an omen hailed by the people under the belief that Aesculapius himself had thus selected it. In consequence of this story the form of a ship was given to this end of the island, and its poop may still be seen (ask the Guardiano) below the end of the convent garden, with the bust of Aesculapius sculptured in travertine upon it in high relief. The ship did not appear (except in flood) to be floating in the water, but was raised on a platform above it. The remains which exist are not of sufficient size to bear out the assertion often made that the whole island was enclosed in the travertine form of a ship, of which the north-western end formed the prow and the small obelisk the mast.[1] Patients used to be laid in the peristyle of the temple, and there drugged to sleep, that, by their dreams, Aesculapius might make manifest to the priest the right remedy for their disorders. If the cure succeeded, an ex-voto was suspended in the sanctuary.

Opposite S. Bartolommeo, on the site of the Temple of Jupiter Lycaonius, is the **Hospital of S. Giovanni Calabita** (1575), also called **Benfratelli**, entirely under the care of the brethren of S. Giovanni di Dio, who dispense, cook for, nurse, wash, and otherwise do all the work of those who pass under their care, often to the number of 1200 in the course of the year, though the hospital is very small, having but seventy beds entirely for men. Fra Orsenico is a famous dentist—among the poor. The little court decorated with pepper-trees and oleanders is very picturesque. It is permitted (on asking) to peep in and admire it.

The church was originally S. Maria in Julia (Aguglia (?) the obelisk), or in Flumine, to which a convent was attached. Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Templars, in 1295 made it over to Santuccia, abbess of the convent, in perpetuity. Canons soon after possessed the convent; but Urban VI. (1381) gave it back to the church. Gregory XIII. transferred the reinstated nuns to S. Anna dei Funari, owing to the wearing down of the walls by repeated inundations of the Tiber. The year 1581 saw it enter upon a fresh period of life under the rule of S. Benedict, in the possession of an archfraternity of S. John the Apostle and S. John the Evangelist, which Gregory transferred hither from the Piazza di Pietra.

'C'est à Pie V. que les frères de l'ordre de la *Charité*, institué par saint Jean de Dieu, durent leur premier établissement à Rome.

'Au milieu du cortège triomphal qui accompagnait Don Juan d'Autriche (1571) lors de son retour de Lépante, on remarquait un pauvre homme

[1] The ship may be seen in a model by Pirro Ligorio in the garden at the Villa d'Este of Tivoli. It is probable that Otho considered the 'Isola Lycaonia' the most befitting resting-place for the Apostle of Lycaonia. It is difficult to regard the two facts as merely a coincidence. But the church he dedicated was in honour of the martyred apostle of the Prussians, S. Adalbert.

misérablement vêtu et à l'attitude modeste. Il se nommait Sébastien Arias, *des frères de Jean de Dieu.* Jean de Dieu était mort sans laisser d'autre règle à ses disciples que ces touchantes paroles qu'il répétait sans cesse, *faites le bien, mes frères;* et Sébastien d'Arias venait à Rome pour demander au pape l'autorisation de former des couvents et d'avoir des hospices où ils pussent suivre les exemples de dévouement que leur avait laissés Jean de Dieu. Or, Sébastien rencontra Don Juan à Naples, et le vainqueur de Lépante le prit avec lui. Il se chargea même d'appuyer sa requête, et Pie V. s'empressa d'accorder aux frères non-seulement la bulle qu'ils désiraient, mais encore un monastère dans l'île du Tibre.'—*Gournerie,* '*Rome Chrétienne,*' ii. 206.

A narrow lane near this leads to the other end of the island, where the Temple of Faunus stood. It is worth while to go thither for the sake of the view of the river and its bridges which was formerly to be obtained from a little quay littered with fragments of ancient temples. Here were moored in the river a number of floating water-mills, worked by the force of the water through the piers of the bridge, most picturesque (bearing sacred monograms upon their gables), and interesting as representing perhaps those made use of by Belisarius in order to supply the garrison with bread during the siege of Rome by Vitiges, when the Goths had cut the aqueducts, and thus rendered the mills on the Janiculan and elsewhere useless.

The bridge, of one large and two smaller arches, which connects the island with the Trastevere, is called the **Ponte S. Bartolommeo,** but was anciently the Pons Cestius or Gratianus, built B.C. 46 by the Praetor Lucius Cestius, who was kinsman to the Caius Cestius buried near the Porta S. Paolo. It was restored A.D. 370 by the Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian (with travertine taken from the neighbouring Theatre of Marcellus), as was seen from the fragments of a red-letter inscription on the inside of the parapet, in which the title 'Pontifex Maximus' is ascribed to each of them—'a title accepted without hesitation,' says Gibbon, 'by seven Christian emperors, who were invested with more absolute authority over the religion they had deserted than over that which they professed.' This noble and beautiful old bridge was pulled about and rebuilt by the municipal authorities in 1888; only the central arch is ancient. In 1902 the Tiber took expensive revenge upon them by destroying and swallowing up two hundred yards of their ill-devised embankment adjoining it. We witnessed it falling in.

We now enter **Trastevere,** the city 'across the Tiber'—the portion of Rome which, until 1886, was the least altered from mediaeval times, and whose narrow streets are still overlooked by many mediaeval towers, gothic windows, and curious fragments of sculpture. The inhabitants on this side differ in many respects from those on the other side of the Tiber. They pride themselves upon being born 'Trasteverini,' profess to be the direct descendants of the ancient Romans, seldom intermarry with their neighbours, and speak a dialect peculiarly their own. It is said that in their disposition also they differ from the other Romans, that they are a far more hasty, passionate, and revengeful, as well as a stronger

and more vigorous race. The proportion of murders is said to be larger in this than in any other district of the city. But this may be doubted. This, it is believed, is partly due to the excitement which the Trasteverini display in the pursuit of games, especially that of Morra.

'Morra is played by the men, and merely consists in holding up, in rapid succession, any number of fingers they please, calling out at the same time the number their antagonist shows. Nothing, seemingly, can be more simple or less interesting. Yet, to see them play, so violent are their gestures, that they would imagine them possessed by some diabolical passion. The eagerness and rapidity with which they carry it on render it very liable to mistake and altercation: then frenzy fires them, and too often furious disputes arise at this trivial play that end in murder. Morra seems to differ in no respect from the *micare digitis* of the ancient Romans.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

A picturesque house with gothic windows at the corner of the Via Piscinula, after passing the bridge, is pointed out as that once inhabited by Margaretta, the *Fornarina* beloved of Raffaelle, and so well known to us from his portrait of her.

'Margaret must have sat often by the little gothic window near the Septimian gate, waiting for what could not come any more. For she had loved a man beyond compare; and it had been her whole life.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Crossing the Via Lungarina, we find ourselves in the tiny piazza of **S. Benedetto a Piscinula**, where, huddled up in a corner, there is a church, having a thirteenth-century brick campanile with attractive mouldings. Tradition, not to be scorned in this case, has it that it occupies the site of the house inhabited by S. Benedict before his retreat to Subiaco. The exterior is uninviting, but the interior, though shabby, is curious. A vestibule with antique columns terminates in a vaulted chapel (of the same design as the Orto del Paradiso at S. Prassede), in which is a picture of the Virgin and Child, revered as that before which S. Benedict was wont to pray. The church, according to tradition, occupies part of the House of Anicii, to which family the saint (as well as S. Gregory's mother) belonged. Hence is entered the cell of the saint, built of rough-hewn stones. His stone pillow is shown. The church has ancient columns, and a rich cosmatesque pavement.

Turning down the Via Lungarina towards the river, we used to pass, on the left, considerable remains of the mediaeval Castle of the Alberteschi, consisting of a block of palatial buildings of handsome masonry, with numerous antique fragments built into them, and a rich porch sculptured with egg and billet mouldings of *c.* A.D. 1150, and beyond these, separated from them by a modern street, stood a high brick tower of *c.* A.D. 1100. Above one of the windows of this tower a head of Jupiter was let into the wall. All this interesting group has been recently demolished.

We now reach the suspension bridge, close to what was the entrance of the destroyed (1885) Ponte Rotto (described Chap. V.). Close to this bridge stood the Church of S. Crispino al Ponte (A.D. 1050) (the saint is buried at S. Lorenzo Panisperna). The

front was modernised, but the interior was interesting, and the east end displayed a rich terra-cotta cornice. It has been destroyed.

Turning up the Via dei Vascellari, we still pass (on the right) the ancient **House of the Ponziani Family**, once magnificent, but now of humble and rude exterior, and scarcely to be distinguished from the neighbouring buildings, except in March, during the festa of S. Francesca Romana, when old tapestries are hung out upon its whitewashed walls, and the street in front is thickly strewn with box leaves.

'The modern building that has been raised on the foundation of the old palace is the Casa degli Esercizii Pii, for the young men of the city. There the repentant sinner who longs to break the chain of sin, the youth beset from some strong temptation, one who has heard the inward voice summoning him to higher paths of virtue, another who is in doubt as to the particular line of life to which he is called, may come, and leave behind them for three, or five, or ten days, as it may be, the busy world, with all its distractions and its agitations, and, free for the time being from temporal cares, the wants of the body being provided for, and the mind at rest, may commune with God and their own souls.

'Over the Casa degli Esercizii Pii the sweet spirit of Francesca seems still to preside. On the day of the festival its rooms are thrown open, every memorial of the gentle saint is exhibited, lights burn on numerous altars, flowers deck the passages, leaves are strewn in the chapel, on the stairs, in the entrance-court; gay carpets, figured tapestry, and crimson silks hang over the door, and crowds of people go in and out, and kneel before the relics of the pictures of the dear saint of Rome. It is a touching festival, which carries back the mind to the day when the young bride of Lorenzo Ponziano entered these walls for the first time, in all the sacred beauty of holiness and youth.'—*Lady G. Fullerton.*

In this house, also, S. Francesca Romana died, having come hither from her convent to nurse her sick son, and having then been seized with mortal illness herself.

'Touching were the last words of the dying mother to her spiritual children: "Love, love," was the burden of her teaching, as it had been that of the beloved disciple. "Love one another," she said, "and be faithful unto death. Satan will assault you, as he has assaulted me, but be not afraid. You will overcome him through patience and obedience; and no trial will be too grievous, if you are united to Jesus; if you walk in His ways, He will be with you." On the seventh day of her illness, as she had herself announced, her life came to a close. A sublime expression animated her face, a more ethereal beauty clothed her earthly form. Her confessor for the last time inquired what it was her enraptured eyes beheld, and she answered, "The heavens open! the angels descend! the angel has finished his task. He stands before me. He beckons me to follow him." These were the last words Francesca uttered.'—*Lady G. Fullerton's 'Life of S. F. Romana.'*

Almost opposite the Ponziani Palace an alley leads or led to the small chapel of **S. Maria in Cappella**, with a brick campanile, dating from 1090. This building was attached to a hospital for poor women ill of incurable diseases, attended by Sisters of Charity, and entirely under the patronage of the Doria family, but originally built by S. Francesca.

Taking Via Anicia, we now reach the **Convent and Church of S. Cecilia**, restored by Cardinal Rampolla, in 1901, and in some ways one of the most interesting buildings in the city.

Cecilia was a noble and rich Roman lady, who lived in the reign of Alexander Severus, A.D. 220. She was married at sixteen to Valerian, a heathen, with whom she lived in perpetual virginity, telling him that her guardian angel watched over her by day and night.

> 'I have an angel which thus loveth me—
> That with great love, whether I wake or sleep,
> Is ready aye my body for to keep.'
>
> —*Chaucer.*

At length Valerian and his brother Tiburtius were converted to Christianity by her prayers and the exhortations of Pope Urban I. The husband and brother were presently beheaded for refusing to sacrifice to idols, and Cecilia was afterwards condemned by Almachius, prefect of Rome, who was covetous of the wealth she had inherited by their deaths. She was first shut up in the *Sudatorium* of her own baths, and a blazing fire was lighted, that she might be destroyed by the hot vapours. But when the bath was opened, she was found still living, 'for God,' says the legend, 'had sent a cooling shower, which had tempered the heat of the fire and preserved the life of the saint.' Almachius, then, who dreaded the consequences of bringing so noble and courageous a victim to public execution, sent a lictor to behead her in her own palace; but he executed his office so ill, that she survived the third blow of his axe, after which Roman law forbade that a victim should be stricken again. 'The Christians found her bathed in her blood, but during three days she still preached and taught, like a doctor of the Church, with such sweetness and eloquence, that four hundred pagans were converted. On the third day she was visited by Pope Urban, to whose care she tenderly committed the poor whom she nourished, and to him she bequeathed the palace in which she had lived, that it might be consecrated as a temple to the Saviour. Then, thanking God that He considered her, a humble woman, worthy to share the glory of His heroes, and with her eyes apparently fixed upon the heavens opening before her, she departed to her Heavenly Bridegroom.'

The foundation of the church dates from its consecration by Pope Urban I., after the death of S. Cecilia, but it was rebuilt by Paschal I. in 821, who, by means of a vision, discovered the saint's remains in the Catacomb of S. Calixtus. The exterior retains its stately campanile of 1220, and its portico of marble pillars, collected from pagan edifices and surmounted by a frieze of mosaic, in which are introduced medallion heads of Cecilia, Valerian, Tiburtius, Urban I. In the atrium of the convent, which belongs to Benedictine nuns, is a fine specimen of the Roman vase called Cantharus, formerly used for ablutions by the faithful.

The interior of the old basilica was transformed into a rococo hall by Cardinal Paolo Sfondrato in 1599, and further spoiled by Cardinal Giorgio Doria in 1725. R. of the door, on entering, is the tomb of Adam of Hertford, Bishop of London, who died 1398, the only one of the cardinals who conspired against Urban VI. spared 'ad supplicationem Richardi Regis Angliæ' from a cruel death. His sarco-

phagus is adorned with the arms of England, three leopards and fleur-de-lis quarterly.[1] On the opposite side of the entrance is the tomb of Cardinal Fortiguerra (ob. 1473), conspicuous in the contests of Pius II. and Paul II. with the Malatesta and Savelli of the fifteenth century. The drapery is a beautiful specimen of the delicate carving of detail during that period. In the tabernacle are three reliefs: that of the Madonna and Child in the centre being one of an exquisite work of the Renaissance. This and the pediment, representing the Saviour supported by angels, are by Paolo Romano.

The canopy over the **high altar**, which bears the name of its artist, Arnolphus, and the date 1286, is a fine specimen of gothic work, and has statuettes of Cecilia, Valerian, Tiburtius, and Urban. The four columns are of Bianco-nero marble. Beneath the altar lies the celebrated statue of S. Cecilia, by Stefano Maderno.

In the archives of the Vatican remains an account written by Pope Paschal I. (A.D. 817–824) himself, describing how, 'yielding to the infirmity of the flesh,' he fell asleep in his chair during the early morning service at S. Peter's, with his mind preoccupied by a longing to find the burial-place of Cecilia, and discover her relics. Then, in a glorified vision, the virgin-saint appeared before him, and revealed the spot where she lay, with her husband and brother-in-law, in the catacomb of Calixtus. There they were found, and were transported to her church on the following day.

In the sixteenth century, Sfondrato, titular cardinal of the church, opened the tomb of the martyr, when the embalmed body of Cecilia was seen, as it had been previously found by Paschal, robed in gold tissue, with linen clothes steeped in blood at her feet, 'not lying upon the back, like a body in a tomb, but upon the right side, like a virgin in her bed, with her knees modestly drawn together, and offering the appearance of sleep.' Pope Clement VIII. and all the people of Rome rushed to look upon the saint, who was afterwards enclosed as she was found, in a shrine of cypress wood cased in silver, in which Paschal had placed her. But before she was again hidden from sight, the great artist, Stefano Maderno, was called in by Sfondrato to sculpture the marble portrait which we now see lying upon her grave. Sfondrato (whose tomb is in this church) also enriched her shrine with the ninety-six silver lamps which burn constantly before it. In regarding this statue, it will be remembered that Cecilia was not beheaded, but wounded in the throat—a gold circlet conceals the wound.

In the statue 'the body lies on its side, the limbs a little drawn up: the hands are delicate and fine—they are not locked, but crossed at the wrists:

[1] The spiral columns which supported the beautiful canopy of this tomb were removed by Sfondrato to the Cappella del Bagno; the canopy itself was turned into a predella for the altar, and the panels of porphyry and serpentine used to ornament the altar of the crucifix. Gobelinus, who knew Urban VI., declares that the Cardinals died in the prison at Genoa, but that he is ignorant of the manner of their deaths. Some said that they were walled up alive, in the stables of the Priory where the Pope lodged near the Harbour. Cf. *Charles III. and Urban VI.*, p. 79, St. C. Baddeley, 1894. (Heinemann & Co.)

the arms are stretched out. The drapery is beautifully modelled, and modestly covers the limbs. . . . It is the statue of a lady, perfect in form, and affecting from the resemblance to reality in the drapery of the white marble, and the unspotted appearance of the statue altogether. It lies as no living body could lie, and yet correctly, as the dead when left to expire—I mean in the gravitation of the limbs.'—*Sir C. Bell.*

'On her side she rests
As one asleep: the delicate hands are crossed,
Wrist upon wrist; a clinging vestment drapes
The virgin limbs, and round her slender throat
A golden circlet masks her cruel wound,
And there she lies for all to see; but still
Her voice is sounding in the Eternal Psalm
Which the Church singeth ever, evermore,
The Church on earth, the Church of saints in heaven.'
—*Lewis Morris.*

The inscription, by Stefano Maderno, says: 'Behold the body of the most holy virgin Cecilia, whom I myself saw lying incorrupt in her tomb. I have in this marble expressed for thee the same saint in the very same posture of body.'

The **apse** is adorned with mosaics of the ninth century, erected in the lifetime of Paschal I. (note his *square* nimbus). The Saviour is seen in the act of benediction, robbed in gold: at His side are SS. Peter and Paul, S. Cecilia and S. Valerian, S. Paschal I. carrying the model of his church, and S. Agatha, whom he joined with Cecilia in its dedication. The mystical palm-trees and the phœnix, the emblem of eternity, are also represented, and, beneath, the four rivers, and the twelve sheep, emblematical of the apostles, issuing from the gates of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, to the adoration of the spotless Lamb. The picture of S. Cecilia behind the altar is attributed to *Guido.* Behind the choir-stalls have been discovered a valuable set of frescoes by Pietro Cavallini (14th cent.), with whose mosaics in S. Maria in Trastevere they are worth comparing.

Opening out of the **right aisle** are two long unearthed chambers in the house of S. Cecilia, one the sudatorium of her baths, in which she was immured, retaining the pipes and calorifers of an ancient Roman bath. A bronze cauldron for heating water also exists here *in situ.* It should be observed, however, that close by have now been discovered two dyer's tanks, suggestive of other interpretations.

At the end of the aisle is a fresco (13th cent.) representing the dream of Pope Paschal—the (mitred) Pope asleep upon his throne, and the saint appearing before him in a rich robe adorned with gems. This is the last of a series of frescoes which once existed in the portico of the church. The rest were destroyed in the seventeenth century. There are copies of them in the Barberini Library, viz.:—

1. The Marriage Feast of Valerian and Cecilia.
2. Cecilia persuades Valerian to seek for S. Urban.
3. Valerian rides forth to seek for Urban.
4. Valerian is baptized.
5. An Angel crowns Cecilia and Valerian.
6. Cecilia converts her Executioners.
7. Cecilia suffers in the Bath.
8. The Martyrdom of Cecilia.
9. The Burial of Cecilia.
10. The Dream of Paschal.

Excavations made by Cardinal Rampolla (1900) were begun at the chapel at the end of the right aisle, and disclosed a mansion having walls of brickwork of the second century with restorations of the third, and standing upon remains of a republican tufo building. The house had mosaic pavements and was rich in marbles. The apartments therein are divided into two sections by a longitudinal wall across the church as it stands, without any doors or openings between them, which has led to the conjecture that there were two distinct houses here. On the right, near the second bay of the nave, were found two circular brick tanks of the kind used by dyers, whose guild had its head-quarters in the neighbourhood. These are in the later of the two houses; *i.e.*, that attributed to S. Cecilia.

'For a long time past, the ancient Basilica of St. Cecilia, as regards its interior, had quite lost its venerable character. The restorations effected therein, by Cardinal Sfondrato, in 1599, were very barbarous; but they left still on view the ancient columns of the nave. The ugly operation so vulgarly performed by Borromini in the Lateran, of walling these up so as to create sham piers, was in 1823 repeated also in this church; so that when one quitted the spacious Atrium and columnar portico, or narthex, the sense of disappointment surely awaited one; and close search for its antiquities had to be made. These were, indeed, forthcoming to some extent, especially in the first chapel on the right, where was shown a portion of the baths of a Roman house, and the entrance to the adjoining furnace. Therein, legend says, that S. Cecilia, to whom the mansion is believed to have belonged, was clumsily murdered by the prefect's executioner, and her martyrdom is ascribed to the time of Marcus Aurelius. However, various causes decided the Cardinal-titular (Rampolla) to try and remedy some of the defects in the building, especially to cure its unusual dampness. This led to opening the floor of the nave near the entrance. No sooner was this done than the substructions proved to be those of a Roman house of considerable size, both in brickwork and pavements, revealing the unmistakable debased work of the third century. The operations have extended their scope to the central nave, aisles, and side chapels. The Hypocaust and Caldarium have been fully explored and their extent made clear. The plans of ten chambers have been exposed, and in among them were found, up and down the church, thirteen huge leaden coffins, each containing a cardinal of S. Cecilia, with his coat-of-arms and tasselled hat in relief upon the outside. Four of them belonged to the Aquaviva family; and another was more interesting than any of these, for it was that which contained the remains of Cardinal Niccolo Forteguerra—as his name suggests—a truly military prelate, under Pius II. in the days of York and Lancaster. For he warred successfully against the Malatesta in the Marches, and against the Savelli (our Savile family descends from them) in the Campagna, and against the powerful Counts of Anguillara in the Patrimony of S. Peter. My special inquiries, however, were with regard to another and still more remarkable example of the vicissitudes of life in the purple: namely, if the excavators had by chance found the remains of the English Cardinal "Adam Aston," who, it may be recalled, was one of those arrested and tortured by Urban VI. while being besieged in the castle of Nocera, near La Cava, in 1385, by Carlo III., King of Naples. Brought in chains by sea to Genoa with the others, he alone was permitted to escape by that somewhat truculent and exasperated Pontiff, owing to remonstrances made by the Parliament of Richard II. and to the fear of losing the much-needed Peter's Pence. Adam returned to his post in Rome under Boniface IX., and died in 1397. His handsome, but mutilated, tomb is adorned with the Royal Arms of England. No trace, however, of his coffin has been found; and perhaps it was never here.

'A walk in Trastevere is always interesting, though the city is cleaner on the other side of the river. The fact is, it retains more of its rough mediaeval character, and the inhabitants befit it. At the dirtiest and gloomiest corners will be seen coarse, strong faces, and women with amazing shocks of the

blackest hair; fish-stalls with abundant supplies of shell-fish, sepias, and "lupo-di-mare"; or fruit-vendors surrounded with vermilion masses of tomatoes, pomegranates and oranges, making bright splotches of colour against their dingy environments, especially under such a leaden sky as we have here to-day.'—*St. C. B.*

The Festa of S. Cecilia is observed in this church on November 22nd, when

'Rapt Cecilia, seraph-haunted queen of harmony,'

used to be honoured in beautiful music by the Papal choir assembled here. Visitors to Bologna will recall the figure of S. Cecilia by Raffaelle, rapt in ecstasy, and surrounded by instruments of music. This association with Cecilia probably arises from the tradition of the Church, which tells how Valerian, returning from baptism by Pope Urban, found her singing hymns of triumph for his conversion, of which he had supposed her to be ignorant, and that when the bath was opened after her three days' imprisonment, she was found still singing the praises of her Saviour.

It is said that 'she sang with such ravishing sweetness, that even the angels descended from heaven to listen to her, or to join their voices with hers.'

The antiphons sung upon her festival are:

'And Cecilia, Thy servant, serves Thee, O Lord, even as the bee that is never idle.

'I bless Thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, for through Thy Son the fire hath been quenched round about me.

'I asked of the Lord a respite for three days, that I might consecrate my house as a church.

'O Valerian, I have a secret to tell thee; I have for my lover an angel of God, who, with great jealousy, watches over my body.

'The glorious virgin ever bore the Gospel of Christ in her bosom, and neither by day or night ceased from conversing with God in prayer.'

And the anthem:

'While the instruments of music were playing, Cecilia sang unto the Lord and said, Let my heart be undefiled, that I may never be confounded.

'And Valerianus found Cecilia praying in her chamber with an angel.'

It will be remembered that Cecilia is one of the chosen saints *daily* commemorated in the canon of the mass.

'Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus: cum Joanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, *Caecilia*, Anastasia, et omnibus sanctis.'

Hard by the right-hand side of the church will be found the Hospital and Church of **S. Giovanni dei Genovesi**: in the former is a lovely cortile; in the latter is the fifteenth-century tomb of Mario Cigala, the founder.

Still existing (1903), but too picturesque not to be doomed to destruction, is a group of fourteenth-century houses opposite the gateway of the church.

Just beyond S. Cecilia, facing the river, is the immense **Hospital**

of **S. Michele**, founded in 1689 by Tommaso Odescalchi, nephew of Innocent XI., as a refuge for vagabond children, where they might be properly brought up and taught a trade. Innocent XII. (Pignatelli) added to this foundation a hospital for sick persons of both sexes, and each succeeding Pope has increased the buildings and their endowment. The boys, for the most part orphans, are received at the age of eleven. The girls receive a dowry of 500 francs if they marry, and used to receive double that sum if they consented to enter a convent. A printing press is attached to the hospital. It is quite a school of art. Wood-carving, cameos, tapestry, and bronze medallions are designed and carried out by the pupils.

S. Michele is near the site of the sacred grove of the goddess Furina, where Caius Gracchus was killed, 123 B.C. Protected by his friends, he escaped from the Aventine, where he had first taken refuge, and crossed the Pons Sublicius. A single slave reached the grove of Furina with him, who, having in vain sought for a horse to continue their flight, first slew his master and then himself. One Septimuleius then cut off the head of Gracchus, and —a proclamation having been issued that any one who brought the head of Caius Gracchus should receive its weight in gold—first filled it with lead, and then carried it on a spear to the consul Opimius, who paid him his blood-money.

S. Michele faces the **Ripa Grande** (called Ripa Romea in the Middle Ages, then Riparmea), where a bridge was built by Theodosius. Next it are the walls of Urban VIII. (1623), and the **Station** for Viterbo, Bracciano, &c.

The Janiculan above this was once adorned by the Gardens of Caesar—**Horti Caesaris**—left to the people by his Will, where many precious fragments have been discovered.

At the end of this street is the **Porta Portese** (built by Urban VIII. in 1644, and rebuilt by Pius IX. after the French bombardment of 1849), through which runs the road to Porto and Fiumicino. This is rather within the site of the Aurelian Porta Portuensis by which the Vandals under Genseric entered Rome in June 455 (destroyed 1643).

Outside this gate was the site of the camp of Tarquin—afterwards given by the senate to Mutius Scaevola for his heroism in the camp of Lars Porsenna. The vineyards here have an interest to Roman Catholics as the scene of one of the miracles attributed to S. Francesca Romana.

'One fine sunny January day, Francesca and her companions had worked since dawn in the vineyards of the Porta Portese. They had worked hard for several hours, and then suddenly remembered that they had brought no provisions with them. They soon became faint and hungry, and, above all, very thirsty. Perna, the youngest of all the oblates, was particularly heated and tired, and asked permission of the Mother Superior to go to drink water at a fountain some way off on the public road.

'"Be patient, my child," Francesca answered, and they went on with their work; but Francesca, withdrawing aside, knelt down and said, "Lord Jesus, I have been thoughtless in forgetting to provide food for my sisters—help us in our need."'

'Perna, who had kept near the Mother Superior, said to herself, with some impatience, "It would be more to the purpose to take us home at once." Then Francesca, turning to her, said, "My child, you do not trust in God; look up and see." And Perna saw a vine entwined around a tree, whose dead and leafless branches were loaded with grapes. In speechless astonishment the oblates assembled around the tree, for they had all seen its bare and withered branches. Twenty times at least they had passed before it, and the season for grapes was gone by. There were exactly as many branches as persons present.'—*Lady G. Fullerton's 'Life of S. F. Romano.'*

A shrine of Hercules was discovered and destroyed outside Porta Portese in 1899, consisting of a cave, with a niche, altar, a statuette of Hercules Victor, another of Hercules Cubans, and seven portrait hermae of charioteers in white marble. The charioteers are in the Museo delle Terme.

Five miles outside the Gate, on the Via Portuense, or Via Campana[1] (crossing the plain now known as Ortaccio degli Ebrei, and in old times as 'Campus Judaeorum'), at a spot where the railway crosses the main-road, and which bears the singular name of *Affoga l'Asino*, or 'Drown the Donkey,' have been discovered the remains of the college, sanctuary, and site of the sacred grove of the Arvales (a sacerdotal confraternity who watched over the fields—arva). Here the twelve 'Fratres Arvales,' who were held to have originated in the twelve sons of Acca Larentia, the nurse (according to one tale) of Romulus, kept the three days' 'May-festival' of the Dea Dia, and, wearing their crowns of wheat ears (as the bust of Augustus—found here—is represented in the Vatican), offered sacrifices for a good harvest, from the earliest times of Rome until the reign of the Gordian emperors. The site of their grove—'Lucus deae Diae'—is now marked by masses of marble piled in the Vigna Ceccarelli, and a peasant's house is built upon the remains of the circular temple. Other buildings were the *Tetrastylon*, where the Arvales banqueted, and the *Caesareum* in honour of deified emperors. Their curious ritual has been recovered from inscriptions found here.

'The ruins still visible, round which cling the vine-wreaths and the wild roses, can give but a very small idea of the importance of this place at one time, especially in the days of imperial Rome. A vineyard covers the spot once sacred to the goddess of the fruitful earth, to her festivals, to her ceremonies, and instead of the eager cries of the Circus, the mirth of the banquets, the rejoicings, the prayers, and the solemn archaic hymn of the Arvales, there is now no sound in the desolate Campagna save the monotonous song of the peasant and the distant lowing of the herds.'—*Donna Ersilia Lovatelli.*

'So servile or so devoted to the throne was the brotherhood, that their prayers were offered with equal fervour for three different Emperors in the awful year A.D. 69. The vows made for Galba in January were adroitly transferred to the cause of Otho the day after Galba's murder. . . . Thirteen days after Otho's death, while the spring air was still tainted with the rotting heaps on the plain of Bedriacum, vows as fervent were registered for Vitellius. In the following summer the arrival of Vespasian in the capital was celebrated by the Arval brothers with sacrifices to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and Fortuna Redux.'—*Samuel Dill, 'Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius.'*

[1] So called, as Dr. Huelsen has shown, because it led to the Campus Salinarum Romanarum, still, after twenty-four centuries, retaining its old name of Camposalino.

A path behind the farmhouse leads up through the vineyard to a little hollow surrounded with finnochi and smilax, which contains the tiny **Cemetery of Generosa.** The martyr-brothers Simplicius and Faustinus, thrown into the Tiber from the Æmilian Bridge under Diocletian, were followed in their course down the river by their loving sister, Viatrix, who recovered their bodies near this spot, and buried them here near the forsaken grove of the Arvales, *ad Sextum Philippi.* She was herself martyred afterwards, and interred near her brothers, together with the priests Crispus and John, by the matron Lucina. The inscribed marble slabs which covered the martyr-graves still exist, as well as many fragments of columns from the basilica which Pope Damasus erected in their honour. The bodies of all these martyrs were removed to S. Bibiana at Rome, for safety, from the 'Lucus Arvalium' in 682.

'One of the curiosities of this catacomb is a painting of Christ in the character of the Good Shepherd, on the edge of whose tunic we see twice the sign 卐 called "crux gammata," because it is formed by the grouping of four Γ (gamma). This sign never appears in the catacombs so long as that of the anchor remains in favour.'—*Lanciani*, '*New Tales of Old Rome.*'

About a mile farther (passing beneath the railway arch), surrounded by crumbling embattled walls, is the **Villa of La Magliana,** the favourite residence of Leo X., where he kept the fourteen eagles sent him by Charles of Spain, and where he died of fever and good-living, in 1521. It takes its name from the lands of the gens Manlia—Manlianum. It is a very desolate spot. The villa was founded as a hunting lodge by Innocent VIII. (Cibo), whose shield decorates the large windows and the capitals of a little portico on the left of the entrance. Julius II. turned the Casino into a palace, and Cardinal Alidosi (whose shield adorns the staircase, added to it. There is a pretty fountain in the courtyard. The arms of Julius II. and Leo X. appear in many of the rooms, with some fragments of coloured friezes; but the beautiful frescoes of the chapel, designed by Raffaelle, and probably executed by Lo Spagna, have perished, with the exception of some fragments which have been removed to the Capitol. There were steps to the Tiber from La Magliana, and the fact that they could travel to Rome by water in their state-barges formed its great attraction to the Popes who lived there.

An ancient inscription has been found near La Magliana, recording the murder there by thieves of Julius Timotheus, a popular young private tutor, aged 28, together with seven of his pupils.

In the little bourne Magliano, which flows into the Tiber near the palace, the young poet-philosopher Celso Marini, a favourite of Leo X., was drowned on a dark night, whilst riding to bear to his parents in Rome the good news of his having been presented to a valuable benefice in Sicily. The Pope wept for his loss, and built a bridge in his memory (now rebuilt) inscribed with memorial verses from his own pen. Truly there is human tragedy at every turn in the mighty past of Rome!

From the back of S. Michele a cross street leads to the **Church of S. Maria dell' Orto**, designed by Giulio Romano, c. 1512, except the façade, which is by Martino Longhi. The high altar is by Giacomo della Porta. The church contains an Annunciation by *Taddeo Zuccari* (first chapel, R.). The church took its name from a picture painted over the entrance to a garden and now shown at the altar.

'Cette église appartient à plusieurs corporations; chacune a sa tombe devant sa propre chapelle, et sur le couvercle sont gravées ses armes particulières; un coq sur la tombe des marchands de volaille, une pantoufle sur celle des savetiers, des artichauts sur celle des jardiniers,' &c.—*Robello.*

Close to this, at the end of the street (till recently Via Crucis) which runs parallel with S. Michele, is the **Church of S. Francesco a Ripa**, the noviciate of the Franciscans—'Frati Minori.' The convent (approached through the church) contains the room in which S. Francis lived during his visit to Rome (1219), with many relics of him. His stone pillow and his crucifix are shown, and a picture of him by *G. de' Lettesoli.* An altar in his chamber supports a reliquary in which 18,000 relics are displayed!

The church was rebuilt soon after the death of S. Francis by Rodolfo d'Anguillara (his castle is in the Via Lungaretta), whose tomb is in the church, with his figure, in the dress of a Franciscan monk, which he assumed in the latter part of his life. It was entirely rebuilt by Cardinal Pallavicini, from the designs of Matteo di Rossi. Among its pictures are the Virgin and S. Anne by *Baciccio*, the Nativity by *Simon Vouet*, and a dead Christ by *Annibale Caracci.* On the left of the altar is the Altieri chapel, in which is a recumbent statue of Ludovica Albertoni, by *Bernini.* In the third chapel on the right is a mummy, said to be that of the virgin martyr S. Simplicia. The convent garden, now built over or turned into a barrack-yard, had some beautiful palm-trees before 1870.

When excavations are made near S. Maria del Orto and S. Francesco a Ripa, walls of travertine are exposed which belong to the naumachia of Augustus and Domitian.

Following the Via Morticelli, we regain the Via Lungaretta near S. Benedetto. This street, more than any other in Rome, retains remnants of mediaeval architecture. On the right, facing the modern **Piazza d'Italia** (which has destroyed the Church of S. Bonosa and many other old buildings), is the entrance to the **Castle of the Anguillara Family**, which was always in conflict with the Orsini, and fell before them at last. Of this family were Count Pandolfo d'Anguillara, and Everso, his grandson, a turbulent bandit-baron, celebrated for his robberies between Rome and Viterbo in the fifteenth century; also Orso d'Anguillara, senator of Rome, who crowned Petrarch at the Capitol on Easter Day, 1341.

'The family device, two crossed eels, surmounted by a helmet and a wild boar holding a serpent in his mouth, is believed to refer to the story of the founder of their house, Malagrotta, a second S. George, who slew a terrible serpent, which had devas-

tated the district round his abode, and received in recompense from the Pope the gift of as much land as he could walk round in one day.'

The existing remains consist of a handsome portal within the arch, called L' Arco dell' Annunziata, and a brick tower, where, during Epiphany, a remarkably pretty *Presepio* used to be exhibited in which the Holy Family and the Shepherds were seen backed by the real landscape. The house has been purchased by the city, with the laudable intention of turning it into a mediaeval museum. Close to this is the entrance to the modern **Ponte Garibaldi**, in sinking the foundations of which an admirable bronze statue was found in the river. Near this also was found (1888) a marble altar dedicated A.D. 3 to the Lares of Augustus by the Vicomagistri of the Vicus Aesculati (Street of the Oak-grove).

On the left is the **Church of S. Crisogono**, founded by Pope Sylvester, but rebuilt in 731 and 1128, and again by Cardinal Scipione Borghese (who modernised so many of the old churches) in 1623. Waves of neglect and epidemics of reconstruction have been the time-beats of Rome. The **tower** is mediaeval, but spoilt by plaster, whitewash, and a pyramidal head; the portico has four ancient granite columns. The interior consists of nave and aisles, the nave being separated from the aisles by twenty-two granite columns, and the tribune from the nave by two magnificent columns of porphyry. The **baldacchino**, of graceful proportions, rests on columns of yellow alabaster. The pavement is cosmatesque. Over the tabernacle is a picture of the Virgin and Child by the *Cav. d'Arpino*. The mosaic in the tribune, only the fragment of a larger design, probably by Pietro Cavallini, represents the Madonna and Child enthroned between S. James the Great and S. Crisogono. The stalls are good specimens of modern wood-carving. Near the end of the right aisle is the tomb of Anna Maria Taigi, lately beatified, and likely to be canonised, though readers of her life will find it difficult to imagine why—the great point of her character being that she was a good wife to her husband, though he was 'ruvido di maniere, e grossolano.' Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was titular cardinal of this church (1206).

S. Crisogono, represented in the mosaic as a young knight, stood by S. Anastasia during her martyrdom, exhorting her to patient endurance. He was afterwards himself beheaded under Diocletian, and his body was buried by S. Zelus.

Portions of the viaduct of Aemilius Paulus, in connection with his Pons Aemilius (Ponte Rotto), have been discovered under the Piazza, between the church and the Palazzo degli Anguillara.

In 1866 an **Excubitorium** (or daily guard-house) of the Seventh Cohort of Vigiles (a station of Roman police-firemen) was discovered twenty-six feet below the present town-level by Gius. Gagliardi opposite this church.[1] It is a graceful little structure surrounding a fountain'd court; a door leading into which is a beautiful

[1] Entered from the Contrada Monte di Fiore.

specimen of ornamented brickwork. The abundant *graffiti* in the rooms, being thoughts, vows, and exclamations of soldiers who lived here in the days of Alexander Severus, are very interesting, and the mosaics, paintings, and heating apparatus are tolerably perfect. The brick-stamps, however, date back to A.D. 123. The graffiti usually begin with the consular date, and there follows the number and name of the cohort, that of the captain, and then that of the writer and his rank.

Behind the church in a street of the same name we pass the **Hospital of S. Gallicano**, founded by Benedict XIII. (Orsini) in 1725, as is told by the inscription over the entrance, for the 'neglectis rejectisque ab omnibus.' The interior has two long halls opening into one another, the first containing 120 beds for men, the second 88 for women. Patients afflicted with maladies of the skin are received here to the number of 100. The principal treatment is by means of baths, which gives the negative (though only within these walls) to the Italian saying that 'an ancient Roman took as many baths in a week as a modern Roman in all his life.' The establishment is at present under the management of the Benfratelli ('Fate bene fratelli'). S. Gallicano, to whom the hospital is dedicated, was a Benfratello of the time of Constantine, who devoted his time and his fortune to the poor.

On the right, the little church of **S. Rufina** has an early brick campanile.

At the upper end of the Via Lungaretta is a piazza with a handsome fountain, one side of which is faced by the **Church of S. Maria in Trastevere**, supposed to be the first church in Rome dedicated to the Virgin. A Titular Christian House was founded by S. Calixtus in A.D. 224, it is believed, on the site of the Taberna Meritoria, an asylum for old soldiers; where, according to Dio Cassius, a fountain of oil had broken forth at the time of our Saviour's birth, and flowed away in one day to the Tiber, a story which gave the name of 'Fons Olei' to the church in early times. It is said that wine-sellers and tavern-keepers (*popinarii*) disputed with the early Christian inhabitants for this site, upon which the latter had raised some kind of humble oratory, and that they carried their complaint before Alexander Severus, when the Emperor awarded the site to the Christians, saying, 'I prefer that it should belong to those who honour God, whatever be their form of worship.'

The story of the church commences with Julius I. (337–52). After a series of alterations it was almost entirely reconstructed by Innocent II., as a thanksgiving offering for the submission of an anti-pope. Innocent II. (1139) built the present basilica; but it was not consecrated till the time of Innocent III. (1198–1216). The tower, apse, tribune, and mosaics belong to that early restoration; the rest is due to alterations made by Bernardino Rossellini for Nicholas V., and the worst of it to Vespignani under Pius IX.

The **façade** is covered with spoiled mosaics (1148); the upper section representing the Saviour throned between angels, and the lower,

palms, the twelve sheep, and the two mystic cities. The latter are additions by Pius IX. in 1869. The central frieze was begun in the twelfth century under Eugenius III., and completed in the fourteenth by Pietro Cavallini. It represents the Madonna and Child enthroned in the midst, and on each side of her five virgins, generally described as the Ten Virgins; but Hemans remarks:—

'It is evident that such subject cannot have been in the artist's thoughts, as each stately figure advances towards the throne with the same devout aspect and graceful serenity, the same faith and confidence; the sole observable distinctions being that the two with unlit lamps are somewhat more matronly, their costumes simpler, than is the case with the rest; and that, instead of being crowned, as are the others, these two wear veils. Explanation of such attributes may be found in the mystic meaning—the light being appropriate to virgin saints, the oil taken to signify benevolence or almsgiving; and we may conclude that those without light represent wives or widows, the others virgin saints, in this group. Two other diminutive figures (the scale indicating humility), who kneel at the feet of Mary, are Innocent II. and Eugenius III., both vested in the pontifical mantle, but bareheaded. Originally the Mother and Child *alone* had the nimbus around the head, as we see in a water-colour drawing from this original (now in the Barberini Library, dated 1640) made *before* a renovation by which that halo has been given alike to all the female figures. Another much faded mosaic, the Madonna and Child under an arched canopy, high upon the campanile, may perhaps be as ancient as those on the façade.'—'*Mediaeval Christian Art.*'

The **portico** contains two frescoes of the Annunciation, one of them ascribed to *Cavallini*, but repainted to extinction. In the pavement are interesting tombs in high relief. The walls are crusted by early Christian, and pagan, inscriptions. One, of the time of Trajan, is regarded with peculiar interest: 'MARCUS COCCEUS LIB . AUG . AMBROSIUS PRAEPOSITUS VESTIS ALBAE TRIUMPHALIS FECIT NICE CONJUGI SUAE CUM QUA VIXIT ANNOS XXXV. DIEBUS XI. SINE ULLA QUERELA.' The interior is that of a basilica. In a niche near the end of the right aisle is preserved the stone said to have been attached to S. Calixtus when he was thrown into the well, with three other *pietre di paragone* or martyr-stones; the finest in Rome.

'To the student these stones only prove that the classic institution of the *ponderarii* (sets of weights and measures) migrated from temples to churches, after the closing of the former, A.D. 393.'—*Lanciani.*

The **nave**, paved with over-restored opus-cosmatescum, is divided from the aisles by twenty-two ancient granite columns, whose (late) ionic capitals are in several instances decorated with heads of pagan gods. Vespignani, who ruined the Lateran choir, was let loose here; and this pavement, the frescoes of the nave, and the worst features that now present themselves at the high altar, owe their degradation to this nineteenth-century Vandal. They support a richly-decorated architrave. The roof, in the centre of which is a picture of the Assumption of the Virgin on copper, is painted by *Domenichino*. On the right of the main entrance is a **ciborium** by Mino da Fiesole, who was called to Rome by Paul II. to distinguish himself by many excellent works. The isolated **high altar** covers a 'confessio,' beneath which are the remains of five early Popes, removed from the catacombs. Among the tombs are those of the

painters Lanfranco and Ciro Ferri, and of Bottari, librarian of the Vatican, editor of the dictionary of the Della Crusca Academy, and canon of this church, ob. 1775.

In the **left aisle** is the tomb erected by Pius IX. to Pope Innocent II. (1143), whose remains were removed here after the second great fire at the Lateran.

In the **left transept** is a beautiful gothic tabernacle over an altar, erected by Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon. On one side is the tomb (1397) of that cardinal, in early life Archbishop of Rouen and afterwards Bishop of Ostia (the fresco represents the martyrdom of his patron, S. Philip, who is portrayed as crucified with his head downward like S. Peter; on the other is the monument (1417) of Cardinal Stefaneschi Anibaldi (temporal Vicar of Rome in the reign of John XXIII.), by *Paolo Romano*, an important sculptor of the fifteenth century. Opening from hence is a chapel, which has a curious picture of the Council of Trent by *Taddeo Zuccaro*. At the end of the opposite aisle are several more fine tombs of the sixteenth century, and the chapel of the Madonna di Strada Cupa, designed by *Domenichino*, from whose hand is also the figure of a child scattering flowers, sketched out in one corner of the vaulting.

The upper part of the **tribune** is adorned with magnificent **mosaics** (restored in modern times by Camuccini and Consoni) of the time of Innocent II. (1143).

'In the centre of the principal group on the vault is the Saviour seated, with His Mother, crowned and robed like an Eastern queen, beside Him, both sharing the same gorgeous throne and footstool; while a hand extends from a fan-like glory with a jewelled crown held over His head; *she* (a singular detail here) giving benediction with the usual action; He embracing her with His left arm and in the right hand holding a tablet that displays the words, "Veni, electa, mea, et ponam in thronum meum;" to which corresponds the text, from the Song of Solomon, on a tablet in her left hand, "Laeva ejus sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me." Below the heavenly throne stand, each with name inscribed in gold letters, Innocent II., holding a model of this church; S. Laurence, in deacon's vestments, with the Gospels and the jewelled cross; the Sainted Popes, Calixtus I., Cornelius, and Julius I.; S. Peter (in classic white vestments), and Calepodius, a martyr of the third century, here introduced because his body, together with those of the other saints in the same group, was brought from the catacombs to this church.

'As to ecclesiastical costume, this work affords decisive evidence of its ancient splendour and varieties. We do not see the keys in the hands of S. Peter, but the large tonsure on his head; that ecclesiastical badge which he is said to have invented, and which is sometimes the sole peculiarity (besides the ever-recognisable type) given to this Apostle in art.

'Above the archivolt we see a cross, between the Alpha and Omega, and the winged emblems of the Evangelists; laterally, Jeremiah and Isaiah, each with a prophetic text on a scroll; along a frieze below, twelve sheep advancing from the holy cities, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, towards the Divine Lamb, who stands on a mount whence issue the four rivers of Paradise—or, according to perhaps juster interpretation, the four streams of gospel truth. Palms and a phoenix are seen beside the two prophets; also a less common symbol—caged birds, that signify the righteous soul incarcerated in the body, or (with highest reference) the Saviour in His assumed humanity; such accessory reminding of the ancient usage, in some countries, of releasing birds at funerals, and of that still kept up amidst the magnificent canonisation rights of offering various kinds of birds, in cages, at the Papal throne.

'Remembering the date of the composition before us, about a century and

a half before the time of Cimabue and Giotto, we may hail in it, if not an actual Renaissance, the dawn, at least, that heralds a brighter day for art, compared with the deep gloom previous.'—*Hemans*, '*Mediaeval Christian Art*.'

Below these follows another series of mosaics representing six scenes in the life of the Virgin (1290), the work of Pietro Cavallini, of the thirteenth century, when they were ordered by Bertoldo Stefaneschi, who is himself introduced in one of the subjects. These are of interest as illustrating the evolution in style from the Cosmati to Giotto. In the centre of the tribune is an ancient marble **throne**, approached by a flight of steps.

In the **Sacristy** is a picture of the Virgin with S. Rocco and S. Sebastiano, attributed to *Perugino*. Here are preserved some beautiful fragments of mosaics of birds, &c., from the catacombs.

Outside the right transept of S. Maria is a picturesque shrine, and there are many points about this ancient church which are interesting to the artist. The palace, which forms one side of the piazza at the west end of the church, formerly **Palazzo Moroni**, is now used as the summer residence of the Benedictine monks of S. Paolo, when driven from their convent by the malaria during the hot months. During the revolutionary government of 1848–49, a number of priests suffered death here, without trial, by order of the republican ruffian, Zambianchi, and were buried in the garden, which has led to the monastery being regarded as 'the Carmes of Rome.' The modern **Church of S. Calisto** contains the well in which that Pope suffered martyrdom, A.D. 222. This well, now seen through a door near the altar, was then in the open air, and the martyr was thrown into it from a window of a house in which he had been imprisoned and scourged, and where he had converted the soldier who was appointed to guard him. His festival has, till recently, been celebrated here with great splendour by the monks.

Opposite S. Calisto is the **Monastery of S. Anna**, in which were passed the last days of the lovely and learned Vittoria Colonna. As her death approached she was removed to the neighbouring house of her kinsman Giuliano Cesarini, and there she expired (February 1547) in the presence of her devoted friend, Michelangelo, who always regretted that he had not in that solemn moment ventured to press his lips for the first and last time to her beautiful countenance. The Chapel of S. Anna dei Falegnami, where she was buried, 'her body enclosed in a coffin of cypress wood lined with embroidered velvet,' was destroyed in 1887.

Hence Via di S. Cosimato leads to the **Church of S. Cosimato** (1475), now hemmed in by modern houses, where stands of seats, facing the hill of S. Pietro in Montorio, used to be placed during the Girandola. Although the once lovely little lawn in front has been turned into a gravelled space, and its noble elm trees were all cut down in 1886 by the tree-hating authorities, the spot has been allowed to retain the name of *Prato di S. Cosimato*. A courtyard, or atrium, is entered through a low arch rising from two ancient columns, and leading to a high roof with rich terra-cotta mouldings—beautiful in colour. The court contains an antique

fountain, and is very picturesque. The restored church has carefully sculptured details of cornice and moulding; the door is a good specimen of Renaissance wood-carving. The wall on the left of the altar is occupied by a beautiful fresco by *Pinturicchio* (?), representing the Virgin and Child standing between S. Francis and S. Clare; it has lately been ill-restored. Opening from the end of the left aisle is a very interesting chapel, decorated with frescoes, and containing an exquisite fifteenth-century reredos in honour of SS. Severa and Fortunata, with statuettes of Faith, Justice, Charity, and Hope. This is really part of the tomb of Cardinal Cibo, brought hither from his chapel in S. Maria del Popolo. Attached to the church is a large convent of Poor Clares, which produced two saints, Theodora and Seraphina, in the fifteenth century. It is now used as a hospice for aged poor. Its fascinating outer cloister, with graceful round-headed tenth-century arches, encloses a lovely garden, with orange-trees, arrpoli and red salvias, and a pool of lilies, while its arcades retain many fine fragments of sculpture and inscriptions. The second cloister is a good work of the Renaissance period, nine bays square with octagonal columns.

Following the Via della Scala, on the south side of S. Maria in Trastevere, we reach the **Porta Settimiana**, built by Alexander VI. in 1498 possibly on the site of a gateway raised by Aurelian (272), which marked (?) the position of some unknown building of Septimius Severus. It is only here that the walls can still be seen on the west of the Tiber. The gate is the entrance of the Via Lungarina, containing the Corsini and Farnesina Palaces (see Chapter XX.). The gateway has swallow-tail battlements, but is much spoilt by recent plasterings. Near this is **S. Dorotea**, an ugly edifice, but important in church history from its connection with the foundation of the Order of the Theatins—which arose out of a revulsion from the sensual age of Leo X.—and as containing the tomb of their founder, Don Gaëtano di Tiene, the friend of Paul IV. It was rebuilt by G. B. Nolli *c.* 1740, the author of the famous map of Rome.

'Dès le règne de Léon X., quelques symptômes d'une réaction religieuse se manifestèrent dans les hautes classes de la société romaine. On vit un certain nombre d'homme éminents s'affilier les uns aux autres, afix de trouver dans de saintes pratiques assez de force pour résister à l'atmosphère énervante qui les entourait. Ils prirent pour leur association le titre et les emblèmes de l'amour divin, et ils s'assemblèrent, à des jours déterminés, dans l'église de Sainte-Dorothée, près de la porte Settimiana. Parmi ces hommes de foi et d'avenir, on citait un archevêque, Caraffa; un protonotaire apostolique, Gaetan de Thiène; un noble Vénitien, aussi distingué par son caractère que par ses talents, Contarini; et cinquante autres dont les noms rappellaient tous, ou une illustration, ou une haute position sociale, tels que Lippomano, Sadolet, Ghiberti.

'Mais bientôt ces premiers essais de rupture avec la tendance générale des esprits enflammèrent le zèle de plusieurs des membres de la Congrégation de *l'Amour divin*. Caraffa surtout, dont l'âme ardente n'avait trouvé qu'anxiétés et fatigue dans les grandeurs, aspirait à une vie d'action qui lui permît de s'employer, de tous ses moyens, à la réforme du monde. Il trouva dans Gaëtan de Thiène des dispositions conformes à ce qu'il désirait. Gaëtan avait cependant un caractère très différent du sien: doué d'une angélique douceur,

craignant de se faire entendre, recherchant la méditation et la retraite, il eût voulu, lui aussi, réformer le monde, mais il n'eût pas voulu en être connu. Les qualités diverses de ces deux hommes rares se combinèrent heureusement dans l'execution du projet qu'ils avaient conçu, c'était de former une association des ecclésiastiques vonés tout ensemble à la contemplation et à une vie austére, à la prédication et au soin des malades; des ecclésiastiques qui donnassent partout au clergé l'exemple de l'accomplissement des devoirs de sa sainte mission.'—*Gournerie*, '*Rome Chrétienne*,' ii. 57.

'When Dorothea, the maiden of Cesarea, was condemned to death by Sapritius, she replied, "Be it so, then I shall the sooner stand in the presence of Christ, my spouse, in whose garden are the fruits of paradise, and roses that never fade." As she was being led to execution, the young Theophilus mocking said, "O maiden, goest thou to join thy bridegroom? send me, then, I pray thee, of the fruits and flowers which grow in his garden." And the maiden bowed her head and smiled, saying, "Thy request is granted, O Theophilus," whereat he laughed, and she went forward to death.

'And behold, at the place of execution, a beautiful child, with hair like the sunbeam, stood beside her, and in his hand was a basket containing three fresh roses and three apples. And she said, "Take these to Theophilus, and tell him that Dorothea waits for him in the garden from whence they came."

'And the child sought Theophilus, and gave him the flowers and the fruits, saying, "Dorothea sends thee these," and vanished. And the heart of Theophilus melted, and he ate of the fruit from heaven, and was converted, and professed himself one of Christ's servants, so that he also was martyred, and was translated into the heavenly garden.'—*Legend.*

Hence to the right, by Via di Ponte Sisto, we reach the modernised **Ponte Sisto**, built 1473–75 by Sixtus IV. (perhaps on ancient piers). The papal bridge was erected in the place of the eleventh-century Pons Janiculensis. The Acts of Eusebius describe the many Christian martyrdoms which took place from a bridge in this situation. S. Symphorosa under Hadrian, S. Sabbas under Aurelian, S. Calepodius under Alexander, and S. Anthimus under Diocletian, were thrown into the Tiber from hence, with many others, whose bodies, sometimes drifting to the island then called Lycaonia, were recovered there by their faithful disciples. The Janiculan bridge was rebuilt by A. Avianus Symmachus, prefect of the city, with the spoils of an older bridge of the time of Caracalla, and was dedicated to Valentinian and Valens, then emperors of the East and West, A.D. 366. This bridge is said to have been broken down by a flood under Pope Adrian I., after which it became known as the Pons Fractus. An inscription begs the prayers of the passengers for its papal founder. Recently the bridge has been completely modernised to carry out a scheme which unfortunately originated with the patriot, Garibaldi. It is a Roman superstition that you have no good luck if you cannot see a white horse, an old woman, and a priest, while crossing this bridge.

The visitor would not imagine the former beauty of the winding Tiber near this who sees its graceless modern quays, lined with square jerry-built houses, upon which the Palazzo Falconieri opposite looks down with disdain. When the branch which flows under the first arch was diverted in 1878, remains of Valentinian's bridge were found in the stream, so perfect that fragments of the inscription which ran along the whole of the southern parapet were recovered. Portions of a triumphal arch which formed the approach to it from the

Campus Martius were also found in the river, with an inscription 'to the august Victory, faithful companion of our lords and masters, the S. P. Q. R.' Various fragments of the Pons Valentinianus are now in the Museo delle Terme: the inscriptions of Sixtus IV. are in the Magazzino Municipale al Celio.

Until 1887 the most enchanting views might be obtained from the bridge itself—on the one side, of an island, of the Temple of Matuta and the Alban hills; on the other, of S. Peter's rising behind the Farnesina, and the noble mass of the Farnese palace shoulders above the less important buildings.

'They had reached the bridge and stopped to look at the view, perhaps the most beautiful of all those seen from the Roman bridges. Looking towards the hills, the Tiber was spanned by Ponte Rotto, under which the old black mills were turning ceaselessly, almost level with the tawny water; the sunshine fell full on the ruins of the Palatine, about the base of which had gathered a crowd of modern buildings; a brick campanile, of the Middle Ages, rose high above them against the blue sky, which was seen through its open arches; beyond were the Latin hills; on the other hand, S. Peter's stood pre-eminent in the distance; nearer, a stack of picturesque old houses were half hidden by orange-trees, where golden fruit clustered thickly;[1] women leant from the windows, long lines of flapping clothes hung out to dry; below, the ferry-boat was crossing the river, impelled by the current. Modern and ancient Rome all mingled together—everywhere were thrilling names connected with all that was most glorious in the past. The moderns are richer than their ancestors: the past is theirs as well as the present.'—*Mademoiselle Mori.*

Close to the farther entrance of the bridge, opposite the Via Giulia, stood till 1879, when it was wantonly destroyed by the municipal Government, the *Fountain of the Ponte Sisto*, built by Paul V. from designs of Fontana, and celebrated in Ouida's novel of 'Ariadne.' No one can recollect its perfect proportions and the dash and play of its merry waters, without indignation over one of many injuries which the city has sustained of recent years. The fountain has been rebuilt, but it can never have original grandeur or beauty, and, having been designed for one especial site, it is unsuited for another.

In 1887 some remains found a little above the Ponte Sisto were identified by the inscription on a cippus found near it as those of the *Pons Agrippae.*

Near this (having crossed the river, again), in the Via della Regola, behind the Church of **S. Paolo alla Regola**, is S. Paul's School, on the site of the building in which he is said to have instructed catechumens in the Christian faith, and where tradition (or something that often calls itself so) asserts that he held a discussion with the philosopher Seneca. The underground church, called *Divi Pauli Apostoli Hospitium et Schola*, is lighted up on January 25th, the feast of the Conversion of S. Paul; archaeologists, however, are well aware that the substructions belong to the Theatre of Balbus.

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[1] The old houses and orange-trees were destroyed, with much of the Farnesina Gardens, in 1878.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TRE FONTANE AND S. PAOLO

La Marmorata—Arco di S. Lazzaro—Protestant Cemetery—Pyramid of Caius Cestius—Monte Testaccio—Porta S. Paolo—Chapel of the Farewell—The Tre Fontane (SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio—S. Maria Scala Coeli—S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane)—Basilica and Monastery of S. Paolo.

[A tram-car (30c.) starts every few minutes to S. Paolo from the Piazza Venezia.]

BEYOND the Piazza Bocca della Verità, the *Via Della Marmorata* was, till recently, spanned by an arch which nearly marked the site of the *Porta Trigemina*,[1] by which Marius fled to Ostia escaping from Sulla in B.C. 88. Near this stood the column erected by public subscription to L. Minucius, Praefectus Annonae, who reduced the price of corn, and whose jealousy brought about the execution of the patriot Maelius, B.C. 440. Here also may have been the Temple of Jupiter Inventor, whose dedication was attributed to the gratitude of Hercules for the restoration of his cattle, carried off by Cacus to his cave on the neighbouring Aventine.

It was at the Porta Trigemina that Camillus (B.C. 391), sent into exile to Ardea owing to the accusations of the Plebs, stayed, and, stretching forth his hands to the Capitol, prayed to the gods who reigned there that, if he was unjustly expelled, Rome might 'one day have need of Camillus.'

Beyond the site of the arch, the road overhanging the shore of the Tiber, the καλὴ ἀκτή of Plutarch, skirts, on the other side, the wooded escarpment of the Aventine, crowned by its three churches S. Sabina, S. Alessio, and the Priorato. Here, from the reign of Ancus Martius until 1888, were the Salinae, or salt-warehouses—the entrance to those of the Popes is marked by a picturesque door in a wall, surmounted by the papal arms and tiara.

From the landing-place for modern Carrara marble, a new road on the right, planted with trees, leads along the river to the ancient **Marmoratum**, discovered 1867–68, when magnificent blocks of ancient marble of various kinds were found buried in the mud of the Tiber, and used by Pius IX. in church decoration. Excavations have laid bare the inclined planes by which the marbles were landed, and the projecting bars of stone with rings for mooring the barges.

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[1] In the Servian wall, which here skirted the river.

'Grain-laden vessels were of large tonnage, like the ship mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as having on board, besides its cargo, two hundred and fifty souls. We may judge of their number from the fact that during a fierce gale in the time of Nero not less than two hundred vessels were lost in the roads of Ostia. It seems that wheat was not transported in bulk, for fear of the cargo shifting to one side or the other, but in amphorae or earthen jars.

'A bas-relief in the Torlonia Museum represents the unloading of one of these ships. There is a plank connecting the ship with the quay, and upon the plank a line of sailors and porters each carrying an amphora on the left shoulder, and a tessera or ticket in his right hand. The tesserae are collected by a customs officer or scribe, sitting at a desk with the account-book before him.'—*Lanciani.*

In the neighbouring vineyard are the massive ruins of the **Emporium,** or magazine for merchandise, founded by M. Aemilius Lepidus, and L. Aemilius Paulus, the aediles, in B.C. 186. The earliest instance of the use of concrete (*fartura*) is to be seen here. Upon the ancient walls of this time was engrafted a picturesque winepress of the fifteenth century, which was wantonly destroyed in 1901.

A short distance beyond the turn to the Marmoratum the old road, above the present tramway, is crossed by an ancient brick arch, called **Arco di S. Lazzaro,**[1] by the side of which was a hermitage. The arch is a remnant of the *Horrea Galbana,* or grain stores, which once covered all the space between this and the Tiber, and which took their name from the family of Sulpicius Galba, the former owner of the soil. Above the arch, in the Servian wall, may be seen the *specus* or conduit of the Anio Vetus.

The tomb of Sulpicius Galba, owner of the Horrea Galbana, and grandfather (?) of the Emperor, was found near this in 1885, and removed to the Museo Municipale al Celio. He was a praetor, and author of a work called by Suetonius 'Multiplex ac incuriosa historia.'

Continuing westward, taking Via della Marmorata, we reach the **Porta di S. Paolo,** built in the time of Belisarius on the site of the Aurelian's Porta Ostiensis. In 549 the Isaurian guards treacherously opened it for the Goths.

It was near here that the Emperor Claudius, returning from Ostia, where he had been surveying his new harbour, to take vengeance upon Messalina, was met by her and their two children, Octavia and Britannicus, sobbing, accompanied by Vibidia, the Vestalis Maxima, who, insisting upon the rights of her Order, demanded that the Empress should not be condemned undefended; albeit she had privately married her lover, Silius, and been found out, and was therefore in desperate case.

The increase of soil at Rome is well evidenced by the fact that the threshold of the existing gate is 14 feet higher than that of the base of the adjoining pyramid and the gate of A.D. 530.

Close to this (until 1889 in a position of the most exquisite beauty,

[1] From the stone on which Lazarus sat in front of the house of the rich man in the Passion-plays of the Middle Ages.

but now vexed by tramways, for whose accommodation the grand Aurelian wall has been mutilated), is the famous **Pyramid of Caius Cestius.** It is built of tufo coated with marble, and is 116 feet high, 100 feet square at its basement. In its midst is a small sepulchral chamber, painted with arabesques. Its form shows the Greco-Egyptian influence on Rome. An inscription on the exterior shows that the Caius Cestius Poplicius buried here was a praetor, a tribune of the people, and one of the Septemviri of the Epulones 'appointed to provide the sacrificial feasts of the gods.' Another inscription tells that the tomb was built in 330 days, in accordance with the will of Cestius, by his heir Pontius Mela and his freedman Pothus. Cestius died about 30 B.C., leaving Agrippa as his executor, and desiring by his will that his body might be buried wrapped up in precious stuffs. Agrippa, however, applied to him the law which forbade luxurious burial, and spent the money partly upon the pyramid, and partly upon erecting two colossal statues in honour of the deceased, of which the pedestals have been found near the tomb. In the Middle Ages this was supposed to be the sepulchre of Remus, and is so described by Petrarch, in spite of the great letters on its front.

'S. Paul was led to execution along the road to Ostia. As he went, his eyes must have rested for a moment on that sepulchral pyramid which stood beside the road, and still stands unshattered, amid the wreck of so many centuries, upon the same spot. That spot was then only the burial-place of a single Roman; it is now the burial-place of many Britons. The mausoleum of Caius Cestius rises conspicuously amongst humbler graves, and marks the site where Papal Rome suffers her Protestant sojourners to bury their dead. In England and in Germany, in Scandinavia and in America, there are hearts which turn to that lofty cenotaph as the sacred point of their whole horizon; even as the English villager turns to the grey church tower which overlooks the gravestones of his kindred. Among the works of man, that pyramid is the only surviving witness of the martyrdom of S. Paul; and we may thus regard it with yet deeper interest, as a monument unconsciously erected by a Pagan to the memory of a martyr. Nor let us think those who lie beneath its shadow are indeed resting (as degenerate Italians fancy) in unconsecrated ground. Rather let us say, that a spot where the disciples of Paul's faith now sleep in Christ, so near the soil once watered by his blood, is doubly hallowed; and that their resting-place is most fitly identified with the last earthly journey and the dying glance of their own patron saint, the Apostle of the Gentiles.' —*Conybeare and Howson.*

At the foot of the Pyramid is the **Old Protestant Cemetery,** a lovely and fascinating spot.

'The cemetery is an open space among the ruins, covered in winter with violets and daisies. It might make one in love with death to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place.'—*Shelley, Preface to 'Adonais.'*

Here is the grave of **Keats,** with the inscription :—

'This grave contains all that was mortal of a young English poet, who, on his death-bed, in the bitterness of his heart at the malicious power of his enemies, desired these words to be engraven on his tombstone: "Here lies one whose name was writ in water." February 24th, 1821.'

'Go thou to Rome—at once the paradise,
The grave, the city, and the wilderness;
And where its wrecks like shattered mountains rise,
And flowering weeds, and fragrant copses dress

The bones of desolation's nakedness:
Pass, till the spirit of the spot shall lead
Thy footsteps to a slope of green access,
Where, like an infant's smile, over the dead
A light of laughing flowers along the grass is spread,

And grey walls moulder round, on which dull Time
Feeds, like slow fire upon a hoary brand;
And one keen pyramid, with wedge sublime,
Pavilioning the dust of him who planned
This refuge for his memory, doth stand
Like flame transformed to marble; and beneath
A field is spread, on which a newer band
Have pitched in Heaven's smile their camp of death,
Welcoming him we lose with scarce extinguished breath.'

—*Shelley's 'Adonais.'*

To a grave near that of Keats, the remains of his faithful friend, Joseph Severn, the artist, were removed in the spring of 1882.

Very near, by the grave of two of Bunsen's children, is that of Augustus William Hare, the elder of the two brothers who wrote the 'Guesses at Truth,' ob. 1834. J. A. Carstens, the painter, was buried here in 1798.

'When I am inclined to be serious, I love to wander up and down before the tomb of Caius Cestius. The Protestant burial-ground is there, and most of the little monuments are erected to the young—young men of promise, cut off when on their travels, full of enthusiasm, full of enjoyment; brides in the bloom of their beauty, on their first journey; or children borne from home in search of health. This stone was placed by his fellow-travellers, young as himself, who will return to the house of his parents without him; that, by a husband or a father, now in his native country. His heart is buried in that grave.

'It is a quiet and sheltered nook, covered in winter with violets; and the pyramid, that overshadows it, gives it a classic and singularly solemn air. You feel an interest there, a sympathy you were not prepared for. You are yourself in a foreign land; and they are for the most part your countrymen. They call upon you in your mother tongue—in English—in words unknown to a native, known only to yourself; and the tomb of Cestius, that old majestic pile, has this also in common with them. It is itself a stranger among strangers. It has stood there till the language spoken round about it has changed; and the shepherd, born at the foot, can read the inscription no longer.'—*Rogers.*

And yet, in spite of this, of late years the authorities have diverted a new road, leading from nowhere to nowhere, and even threatened to ruin the most beautiful cemetery in the world. The graveyard was partially destroyed and the magnificent old wall broken down, and *then it was found that the road was not wanted!* It had been vainly hoped that the municipality of Rome would have avoided this comical disgrace; but they know not the word!

'Sweet are the gardens of Rome; but one is for Englishmen sacred;
Who, that has ever been there, knows not the beautiful spot
Where our poets are laid in the shade of the pyramid lofty,
Dark grey, tipped as with snow, close to the turreted walls?
Tall are the cypresses many, from which, in the evenings of summer,
Nightingale nightingale calls, soon as the twilight descends.
Nature around is profuse; the rose and the ivy are mingled;
Fit for the poet the place, either in life or in death.
All is eternal around, nor belongeth to nation now living;
Unto the world it belongs, unto the genius of man.'

—*Eugene Lee-Hamilton.*

The **New Burial-Ground** was opened in 1822. It extends for some distance along the slope of the hill under the old Aurelian wall, and is shaded by cypresses and carpeted with violets. Among the tombs we may notice (high up, near the wall) that which contains the heart of Shelley (his body having been burnt upon the shore at Lerici, where it was thrown up by the sea). Leigh Hunt wrote the epitaph :—

'Percy Bysshe Shelley, Cor Cordium. Natus IV. Aug. MDCCXCII. Obiit VIII. Jul. MDCCCXXII.'

to which Shelley's faithful friend Trelawney (whom we knew, and who died at eighty-two, and whose ashes, by his own desire, were buried next him) added the lines from Ariel's song, which were much loved by the poet :—

'Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea change
Into something rich and strange.'

A fresh tomb by Onslow Ford was erected 1891. Other noticeable tombs are those of Gibson the sculptor, 1868 ; J. A. Symonds, 1893 ; and William and Mary Howitt, 1879 and 1888.

From the fields in front of the cemetery (*Prati del Popolo Romano*) rises **Monte Testaccio**, only 160 feet in height, but worth ascending for the sake of the view it afforded. It has been artificially formed by shards of amphorae, conveying corn and wine to Rome from Spain and Africa, landed near this, and broken in unloading, between 140 and 251 A.D.

'The singularity of the hill arises from the fact that it is not the work of nature, but the mysterious work of man, composed of millions and millions of broken amphorae and terra-cotta jars piled up in regular layers in imitation of geological strata. Many conjectural explanations have been made of its origin and character. Commendatore de Rossi has suggested one which is worth consideration. On the quay of the Tiber, near the foot of the Monte Testaccio, where the grain and wine-laden ships and barges were moored, there was a large marble slab inscribed with the following notice : "*Quidquid usuarium invehitur, ansarium non debet*"—"Whatever is imported of first necessity for the subsistence of the population is not subject to the octroi." The word used for octroi is *ansarium*, and the root of the singular word is *ansa*, "handle," evidently the handles of amphorae, in which wine, oil, dried fruit, caviar, and salt fish were shipped over. Considering now that nearly one-half of the whole mass of Monte Testaccio is composed of handles, or *ansae*, Rossi supposes that the customs officers, to mark out the amphorae for which duty (*ansarium*) had been regularly paid, would knock away one of the handles with a wooden hammer. In other words, the Monte Testaccio would be nothing but a gigantic heap of receipts of the import duty from the custom-house of Rome.'—*Lanciani*, '*Ancient Rome.*'

During the final overthrow of Neapolitan dominion over Rome in January 1409, the Porta S. Paolo was battered by a large gun placed upon Testaccio.

The pilgrims of the year of jubilee in the reign of Alexander VI. (1500) were diverted by a duel fought on Monte Testaccio, between a Burgundian and a Frenchman, the Princess of Squillace backing one of the combatants, and Cesare Borgia (son of the Pope) the other. The cross on the summit of the hill is one of the three used

in the Passion-plays formerly enacted in this quarter, and which culminated here. The Jews were compelled to pay for these Passion-plays the sum of thirty gold florins in remembrance of the thirty pieces of silver.

At 6A Via Vanvitelli, near this, is the **Museo de' Gessi**—of plaster copies of well-known statues; open on Wednesdays and Fridays from 2 to 5.

Just outside the Porta S. Paolo is (on the right) a vineyard which belonged to S. Francesca Romana (born 1384, canonised 1608 by Paul V.).

'Instead of entering into the pleasure to which her birth and riches entitled her, S. Francesca went every day, disguised in a coarse woollen garment, to her vineyard, and collected faggots, which she brought into the city on her head, and distributed to the poor. If the weight exceeded her womanly strength, she loaded therewith an ass, following after on foot in great humility.'—*Mrs. Jameson's 'Monastic Orders.'*

A straight road a mile and a half long leads from the gate to the basilica. Half-way (on the left) is the humble *Chapel* which commemorates the farewell of S. Peter and S. Paul on their way to martyrdom, inscribed :—

'In this Place SS. Peter and Paul separated on their way to martyrdom.
'And Paul said to Peter, "Peace be with thee, Foundation of the Church, Shepherd of the flock of Christ."
'And Peter said to Paul, "Go in peace, Preacher of good tidings, and Guide of the salvation of the just."'[1]

Passing the basilica, which looks outside like a rather ugly railway station, let us, before entering the grand church (which arose in consequence), visit the scene of the martyrdom—"Ad Aquas Salvias"—at the third milestone on the Via Laurentina.

The road we now traverse is the scene of the legend of Plautilla.

'S. Paul was beheaded by the sword outside the Ostian gate, about two miles from Rome, at a place called Ad Aquas Salvias, now the "Tre Fontane." The legend of his death relates that a certain Roman matron named Plautilla, one of the converts of S. Peter, placed herself on the road by which S. Paul passed to his martyrdom, to behold him for the last time; and when she saw him she wept greatly and besought his blessing. The Apostle then, seeing her faith, turned to her, and begged that she would give him her veil to blind his eyes when he should be beheaded, promising to return it to her after his death. The attendants mocked at such a promise; but Plautilla, with a woman's faith and charity, taking off her veil, presented it to him. After his martyrdom, S. Paul appeared to her, and restored the veil stained with his blood.
'In the ancient representations of the martyrdom of S. Paul, the legend of Plautilla is seldom omitted. In the picture by Giotto in the Sacristy of S. Peter's, Plautilla is seen on an eminence in the background, receiving the veil from the hands of S. Paul, who appears in the clouds above; the same representation, but little varied, is executed in bas-relief on the bronze doors of S. Peter's.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art.'*[2]

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[1] See the Epistle of S. Denis the Areopagite to Timothy.
[2] The handkerchief of Plautilla is mentioned in the *Mirabilia* as being an object of devotion in the twelfth century—'Ad portam sancti Pauli est sudarium domini.'

The lane which leads to the Tre Fontane turns off to the left a little beyond S. Paolo.

'In all the melancholy vicinity of Rome there is not a more melancholy spot than the Tre Fontane. A splendid monastery, rich with all the offerings of Christendom, once existed there: the ravages of that mysterious scourge of the Campagna, the malaria, have rendered it a desert; three ancient churches and some ruins still exist, and a few pale monks wander about the swampy dismal confines of the hollow in which they stand. In winter you approach them through a quagmire; in summer you dare not breathe in their pestilential vicinity; and yet there is a sort of dead beauty about the place, something hallowed as well as sad, which seizes on the fancy.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art.'*

Of late years, the aspect of the Tre Fontane, at least, has been greatly improved by the growth of the eucalyptus groves, which have done something to make the place healthy and habitable, and in which the churches are now almost embosomed. Eucalyptine is sold by the monks. The convent was bestowed in 1867 by Pius IX. upon the French Trappists, and twelve brethren of this severe Order went to reside there. Entering the little enclosure now occupied by a lovely garden, the octagonal church on the right is **S. Maria Scala Coeli**, supposed to occupy the site of the cemetery of S. Zeno, in which the Christians employed in building the Baths of Diocletian were buried. The present edifice was the work of Vignola and Giambattista della Porta in 1582. The name is derived from the legend that here S. Bernard had a vision of a ladder which led to heaven, its foot resting on this church, and of angels on the ladder leading upward the souls whom his prayers had redeemed from purgatory. The mosaics in the apse were the work of *F. Zucca*, a Florentine, in the sixteenth century, and are perhaps the best of modern mosaics. They represent the saints Zeno, Bernard, Vincenzo, and Anastasio, adored by Pope Clement VIII. and Cardinal Aldobrandini, under whom the remodelling of the church took place. A vault is shown as the prison of S. Paul.

The second (and far more interesting, church) is the basilica of **SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio**, founded by Honorius I. (628), and restored by Honorius III. (1221), when it was consecrated afresh. It is approached by an atrium with a penthouse roof, supported by low columns, and adorned by decaying frescoes, among which the figure of Honorius III. may be made out. The interior, which reeks with damp, is almost entirely of the thirteenth century, and, as Gregorovius observes, 'there is no church in Rome where one breathes a greater air of antiquity than here.' The pillars are adorned with coarse frescoes of the apostles, adapted from sketches of Raffaelle, and ruined by repeated restorations. The cloisters are primitive and highly picturesque.

'S. Vincenzo alle Tre Fontane so far deviates from the usual basilican arrangement as almost to deserve the appellation of gothic. It has the same defect as all the rest—its pier arches being too low, for which there is no excuse here; but both internally and externally it shows a uniformity of design, and a desire to make every part ornamental, that produces a very pleasing effect, although the whole is merely a brick, and ornament is so sparingly applied as only just to prevent the building sinking to the class of mere utilitarian erections.'—*Ferguson's 'Handbook of Architecture,'* vol. ii.

The two saints whose relics are said to repose here were in nowise connected in their lifetime. S. Vincenzo, who suffered A.D. 304, was a native of Saragossa, cruelly tortured to death at Valencia, under Dacian, by being racked on a slow fire over a gridiron, 'of which the bars were framed like scythes.' His story is told with horrible detail by Prudentius. Anastasius, who died A.D. 628, was a native of Persia, who had become a Christian and taken the monastic habit at a convent near Jerusalem. He was tortured and finally strangled, under Chosroes, at Barsaloe, in Assyria. He is not known to be represented anywhere in art, save in the almost obliterated frescoes in the atrium of this church.

The third church, **S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane,** was built by Giacomo della Porta for Cardinal Aldobrandini in 1590. It contains the pillar to which S. Paul is said to have been bound, the block of marble upon which he is supposed to have been beheaded, and the three fountains which sprang forth wherever the severed head struck the earth during three bounds which it made after decapitation, crying thrice 'Jesus, Jesus, Jesus.' In support of this story, it is asserted that the water of the first of these fountains is still warm, of the second tepid, of the third cold. Three modern altars above the fountains are each decorated with a head of the apostle in bas-relief.

'A la première, lâme vient à l'instant même de s'échapper du corps. Ce chef glorieux est plein de vie! A la seconde, les ombres de la mort couvrent déjà ses admirables traits; à la troisième, le sommeil éternel les a envahis, et, quoique demeurés tout rayonnants de beauté, ils disent, sans parler, que dans ce monde ces lèvres ne s'entr'ouvriront plus, et que ce regard d'aigle s'est voilé pour toujours.'—'*Une Chrétienne à Rome.*'[1]

The pavement is of ancient mosaic representing the Four Seasons, Hiems, Ver, Aestas, and Autumnus, brought from the excavations of the palace at Ostia, and given by Pius IX. The interior of this church has lately been beautified at the expense of a French nobleman, and the whole enclosure of the Tre Fontane has been improved by Mgr. de Merode, whose plantations of eucalyptus are doing something to modify the malaria, which, until lately, made it impossible for any monks to pass the summer in health here.

'As the martyr and his executioners passed on (from the Ostian gate), their way was crowded with a motley multitude of goers and comers between the metropolis and its harbour—merchants hastening to superintend the unloading of their cargoes—sailors eager to squander the profits of their last voyage in the dissipations of the capital—officials of the government charged with the administration of the provinces, or the command of the legions on the Euphrates or the Rhine—Chaldean astrologers—Phrygian eunuchs—dancing-girls from Syria, with their painted turbans—mendicant priests from Egypt, howling for Osiris—Greek adventurers, eager to coin their national cunning into Roman gold—representatives of the avarice and ambition, the fraud and lust, the superstition and intelligence, of the Imperial world. Through the dust and tumult of that busy throng, the small troop of soldiers threaded their way silently, under the bright sky of an Italian midsummer. They were

[1] The accounts of the apostle's death vary conspicuously: S. Prudentius says that both S. Peter and S. Paul suffered together in the same field, near a swampy ground, on the banks of the Tiber. Some say S. Peter suffered on the same day of the month, but a year before S. Paul. But Eusebius, S. Epiphanius, and most others, affirm that they suffered the same year, and on June 29th.'—*Alban Butler.*

marching, though they knew it not, in a procession more really triumphal than any they had ever followed, in the train of general or emperor, along the Sacred Way. Their prisoner, now at last and for ever delivered from captivity, rejoiced to follow his Lord "without the gate." The place of execution was not far distant, and there the sword of the headsman ended his long course of sufferings, and released that heroic soul from that feeble body. Weeping friends took up his corpse, and carried it for burial to those subterranean labyrinths, where, through many ages of oppression, the persecuted Church found refuge for the living, and sepulchres for the dead.

'Thus died the apostle, the prophet, and the martyr, bequeathing to the Church, in her government and her discipline, the legacy of his apostolic labours; leaving his prophetic words to be her living oracles; pouring forth his blood to be the seed of a thousand martyrdoms. Thenceforth, among the glorious company of the apostles, among the goodly fellowship of the prophets, among the noble army of martyrs, his name has stood pre-eminent. And wheresoever the holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge God, there Paul of Tarsus is revered, as the great teacher of a universal redemption and a catholic religion—the herald of glad tidings to all mankind.'—*Conybeare and Howson.*

Let us now return to the grand double-aisled **Basilica** which arose on this desolate site to commemorate the martyrdom, and which is now itself standing alone on the edge of the Campagna, entirely deserted except by a few monks, who linger in its monastery through the winter months, but take flight to S. Calisto before the summer. In the early Middle Ages, however, S. Paolo was surrounded by the suburb of Joannipolis (fortified by John VIII. against the Saracens, whom he had defeated in the naval battle of Cape Circeo, 877), possession of which was often sharply contested in the wars between the popes and anti-popes. The walls enclose the basilica in a detached fortress, 'Castellum S. Pauli quod vocatur Johannipolis.' Some of its walls remained in 1074.

On the site of the vineyard of the Roman matron Lucina (or Cemetery of Commodilla), where she first gave a burial-place to the Apostle, a *cella memoriae* existed at an early period, one of those cells which were inviolate by Roman law, without regard to the religion of the deceased. In the time of Constantine a small basilica was built facing the Ostian Way.[1] This was succeeded, only fifty years later, by a large basilica built in 386 by the Emperors Valentinian II., Theodosius, and Arcadius,[2] in order to rival S. Peter's. The church was restored by Leo III. (795–816), and every succeeding century increased its beauty and magnificence. On the side towards the river it was approached by a quadriporticus (now rebuilt), in the centre of which a beautiful fountain, surmounted by a cantharus, was erected by Leo I. Court and fountain perished in the fifteenth century. The sovereigns of England, before the Reformation, were protectors of this basilica—as those of France are of S. John Lateran, and those of Spain of S. Maria Maggiore—and the emblem of the Order of the Garter may still be seen amongst its decorations.

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[1] 'Eodem tempore fecit Constantinus basilicam Paulo Apostolo . . . cuius corpus ita recondit in aere, et conclusit sicut Beatri Petri.'—*Liber Pontificalis.*

[2] A curious relic found near this, in the last century, was a plaque attached to a dog's collar, inscribed: 'I belong to the basilica of S. Paul the Apostle, and our three sovereigns, and am in charge of Felicissimus the shepherd.'

'The very abandonment of this huge pile, standing in solitary grandeur on the banks of the Tiber, was one source of its value. While it had been kept in perfect repair, little or nothing had been done to modernise it and alter its primitive form and ornaments, excepting the later addition of some modern chapels above the transept; it stood naked and almost rude, but unencumbered with the lumpish and tasteless plaster encasement of the old basilica in a modern Berninesque church which had disfigured the Lateran cathedral under pretence of supporting it. It remained genuine, though bare, as S. Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna, the city eminently of unspoiled basilicas. No chapels, altars, or mural monuments softened the severity of its outlines; only the series of Papal portraits running round the upper line of the walls redeemed this sternness. But the unbroken files of columns, along each side, carried the eye forward to the great central object, the altar and its "Confession"; while the secondary row of pillars, running behind the principal ones, gave depth and shadow, mass and solidity, to back up the noble avenue along which one glanced.'—*Cardinal Wiseman.*

On the 16th July 1823 this magnificent **Basilica** was almost totally destroyed by fire, on the night which preceded the death of Pope Pius VII.

'Not a word was said to the dying Pius VII. of the destruction of S. Paul's. For at S. Paul's he had lived as a quiet monk, engaged in study and in teaching, and he loved the place with the force of an early attachment. It would have added a mental pang to his bodily sufferings to learn the total destruction of that venerable sanctuary, in which he had drawn down by prayer the blessings of Heaven on his youthful labour.'—*Wiseman, 'Life of Pius VII.'*

The restoration was immediately begun, and a large contribution levied for the purpose from all Roman Catholic countries. In 1854 it was reopened in its present form by Pius IX. Its exterior is not attractive. Its lighthouse-like tower is a copy from the Roman tomb at S. Remy. The western atrium was added 1890–93. Within it is carried by eighty granite columns from Baveno, giving an effect both striking and magnificent; but it is cold and uninteresting when compared with the ancient structure, 'rich with inestimable remains of ancient art, and venerable from a thousand associations.'

If we approach the Basilica by the door on the side of the monastery, we enter first a corinthian **portico**, containing a fine statue of Gregory XVI., and many fragments of the ancient mosaics, collected after the fire. One of the columns (formerly in the north aisle) bears the name of Pope Siricius—'tota mente devotus'—who was governing the church when the early basilica was restored in A.D. 386.

The portico opens into the **transept**, although the principal entrance of the Church is towards the Tiber. Hence we look down upon the **Nave** (290 feet long and 72 feet wide) with its four lines of columns. The cornice above these is adorned with a mosaic series of seventy-four portraits (?) of the Popes, each five feet in diameter —the earlier following the traditional likenesses produced in the fifth century, and either copied before the fire or saved from the flames.[1] The **Triumphal Arch** which separates the transept from

[1] Those of the Popes of the first four centuries were saved, and are preserved in a corridor of the monastery. There were similar heads of the Popes in the old S. Peter's and the old Lateran. Such a chain of heads still exists in the

the nave is a relic of the old Basilica, and was adorned with important mosaic by *Galla Placidia*, the remarkable sister of Honorius, in 440. It is borne by two ionic columns. On the side towards the nave Christ is represented adored by the four-and-twenty elders and the four beasts of the Revelation;—on that toward the transept the figure of the Saviour is seen between S. Peter and S. Paul.

It bears two inscriptions: the first,

> 'Theodosius coepit, perfecit Honorius aulam
> Doctoris mundi sacratam corpore Pauli.'

The other, especially interesting as the only inscription commemorating the great Pope who defended Rome against Attila:

> 'Placidiae pia mens operis decus homne [*sic*] paterni
> Gaudet pontificis studio splendere Leonis.'

The Mosaics of the apse, also preserved from the fire, were the work of Venetians called in by Honorius III. (A.D. 1220), who is seen in miniature kneeling at the feet of Christ. They represent the Saviour with S. Peter and S. Andrew on the right, and S. Paul and S. Luke on the left—and beneath these the twelve apostles and two angels. The Holy Innocents (supposed to be buried in this church?) are represented lying at the feet of our Saviour. The pavement is made of the richest marbles. Right and left of the Tribune are two **Chapels**. The first, on the left, contains a beautiful urn of oriental granite beneath the altar. Here, Ignazio Loyola, in 1541, together with his disciples, took the solemn vows of the new order. The second chapel on the right from the Tribune, dedicated to S. Benedict, contains twelve fluted columns from Veii. The chapel between this and the tribune, the second, the Cappella del Coro, was saved from the fire, and was designed by *Carlo Maderno*.

The mosaics on the back of the arch of Galla Placidia, opposite, are by Pietro Cavallini.

> 'In the mosaics of the old basilica of S. Paolo the Holy Innocents were represented by a group of small figures holding palms, and placed immediately beneath the altar or throne, sustaining the gospel, the cross, and the instruments of the passion of our Lord. Over these figures was the inscription, H. I. S. INNOCENTS.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art.'*

Beneath the arch stands the ugly modern **Baldacchino**, which encloses the Gothic altar canopy, erected, as its inscription tells us, by Arnolphus and his pupil Petrus in 1280. The **Canopy** is carried by four columns of red porphyry. In front is the '**Confessio**,' where the Apostle of the Gentiles is believed to repose. The Liber Pontificalis says that Constantine enclosed the body of the apostle in a bronze coffin, but there is no trace of this now.[1]

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cathedral of Siena. The Basilica Aemilia was similarly adorned with portraits in pre-Christian days. 'The portraits, however, are not properly portraits, but ideal types' (*i.e.* imaginary).—*Armellini.*

[1] Many believe that the tomb of the Apostle was utterly profaned and rifled in 846 by the Saracens, but it may have been only the altar above it that was destroyed by them. The Apostle's head is at the Lateran (?).

Under the altar is a chamber paved with marble slabs, one of which is inscribed PAVLO APOSTOLO MART . . . The inscription is of the fourth century, or as remote from the days of the Apostle as Queen Mary is from King Edward VII. The baldacchino is inscribed:

> 'Tu es vas electionis,
> Sancte Paule Apostole,
> Praedicator veritatis
> In universo mundo.'

This is sustained by four columns of oriental alabaster, presented by Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt. The altars of malachite, at the ends of the transepts, were given by the Emperor Nicholas of Russia.

'Les schismatiques et les musulmans eux-mêmes sont venus rendre hommage à ce souverain de la parole, que entraînait les peuples au martyre et subjugait toutes les nations.'—'*Une Chrétienne à Rome.*'

Query: Would the Catholic world have done a similar act of generosity, if the chief mosque at Medina, or Mecca, had been destroyed?

In a building so entirely modern there are naturally few individual objects of interest. Among those saved from the old basilica is the **Paschal Candlestick**, by Niccolo di Angelo and Pietro Vassalletto, covered with coarse sculpture in high relief, and one of the most curious pieces of mediaeval sculpture at Rome. The altar at the **south** end of the **Transept** has an altar-piece representing the Assumption by *Agricola*, and statues of S. Benedict by *Baini*, and S. Scholastica by *Tenerani*.

The altar at the **north** end of the **Transept** is dedicated to S. Paul, and has a picture of his conversion by *Camuccini* (1773). At the sides are statues of S. Gregory by *Laboureur*, and of S. Romualdo by *Stocchi*.

The upper walls of the nave are decorated with frescoes by *Galiardi*, *Podesti*, and other modern artists. The ancient quadriportico was adorned by Leo I. with a fountain surmounted by a Bacchic Kantharos inscribed with an epigram urging the faithful to purify themselves both inwardly and outwardly before venturing to enter the holy place. The fountain was seen by Cola di Rienzi in the fourteenth century; in the fifteenth it had disappeared. In the seventeenth century all the sacred edifices by which the basilica was surrounded had perished, including the legendary portico—two thousand yards long, supported by a thousand marble columns, and roofed with lead—which connected the basilica with the Ostian gate.

The **Cloister**, formerly a rival to that at the Lateran, is entered at the south-west angle of the transept. It dates from 1215–30, and is the work of members of the Cosmati family-firm. It is surrounded by arcades carried on coupled marble columns of richly varied designs, inlaid with mosaics. The vaulting was badly restored, sixteenth century.

Among the most interesting of the objects saved from the fire

and preserved in the **Sacristy**, are portions of the Byzantine bronze gates ordered by Hildebrand (afterwards Gregory VII.), when Legate, of Staurachios, at Constantinople, for Pantaleone di Amalfi, Roman Consul in 1070, and adorned with fifty-four scriptural compositions, wrought in silver thread, inlaid upon niello. Hildebrand became abbot of the monastery.

The statement so confidently asserted that the original columns of Phrygian (Pavonazzetto) marble here, mostly destroyed by the fire of 1823, were transferred five centuries after the time of Augustus from the Basilica Æmilia in the Forum, belongs to the brilliant realm of archaeological fiction: like the Doric Temple of Janus Quadrifrons; and the noble avenue of Maxentius, imagined to have been destroyed in 1899 by the excavations on the Clivus Sacra Via. Pliny described the columns of the Æmilia as 'Phrygian' when he should have used another term. The suggestion that the transference, moreover, was 'on account of the similarity of their names'—*i.e.* Æmilius Paulus and Paulus Apostolus—is positively naive, like the confusion between Anna Perenna and Anna, the sister of Dido. Of what beautiful marble the Æmilian columns were fashioned any reader may recognise who now pays a visit to the Forum. The facts are very simple: they were not of pavonazzetto, and they were not transferred at all.

The two great **Festivals** of S. Paul are solemnly observed in this Basilica upon January 25th and June 30th, and that of the Holy Innocents upon December 28th.

'As the emperor of Austria was the protector of S. Peter's, the king of France of S. John Lateran, the king of Spain of S. Maria Maggiore, so the kings of England were the defenders of S. Paul without the walls. In the shield of the abbot, above the gate of the adjoining cloisters, we still behold the arm grasping the sword, and the ribbon of the garter with the motto: "Honi soit qui mal y pense."'—*Lanciani, 'New Tales of Old Rome.'*

Between the Basilica and the Porta S. Paolo, the main branch of the Almo, the 'cursuque brevissimus Almo' of Ovid, makes for the Tiber. This is the spot where the disgusting dervishes of Cybele used to wash her statue (in earlier days, her conic black emblem), and the sacred vessels of her temple, and to raise their frantic annual lamentation for the death of her lover, the shepherd Atys:

'Est locus, in Tiberim quo lubricus influit Almo,
Et nomen magno perdit ab amne minor,
Illic purpurea canus cum veste sacerdos
Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* iv. 33.

'Phrygiaeque matris Almo qua levat ferrum.'
—*Martial, Ep.* iii. 47, 2.

The Campagna on this side of Rome was formerly more stricken by malaria than other parts, and is in consequence more deserted. That this scourge has followed upon the destruction of the villas and gardens which once adorned the suburbs of Rome, and that it

did not always dominate the region, is evident from the account of Pliny, who says:

'Such is the happy and beautiful amenity of the Campagna, that it seems to be the work of a rejoicing nature. For truly so it appears in the vital and perennial salubrity of its atmosphere (*vitalis ac perennis salubritatis coeli temperies*), in its fertile plains, sunny hills, healthy woods, thick groves, rich varieties of trees, breezy mountains, fertility in fruits, vines, and olives, its noble flocks of sheep, abundant herds of cattle, numerous lakes, and wealth of rivers and streams pouring in upon it, many seaports, in whose lap the commerce of the world lies, and which run largely into the sea as it were to help mortals.'

Still, the Goddess of Fever owned many altars, even in classical days.

On the other hand, that the dominion of malaria is being rapidly curtailed by the spread of agricultural drainage, &c., is past denying. Every year its hold is being narrowed down, and soon it will be confined to some single spot—a prisoner in its own Campagna.

Under the emperors, the town of Ostia,[1] containing 80,000 inhabitants, reached such a degree of prosperity that its suburbs are described as joining those of Rome, so that one magnificent street almost united the two. This is now, beyond S. Paolo, a road through a desert, only one human habitation here and there breaking the solitude.

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[1] See *Days near Rome* (A. Hare and St. C. Baddeley).

CHAPTER XIX

THE VILLAS, BORGHESE, MADAMA, AND MELLINI

Villa Borghese—Raffaelle's Villa—Casino and Villa of Papa Giulio—(Claude's Villa—Arco Oscuro—Acqua Acetosa)—Chapel of S. Andrew—Ponte-Molle (Castle of Crescenza—Prima Porta—The Cremera—The Allia)—(The Via Cassia)—Villa Madama—Monte Mario—Villa Mellini—Porta Angelica.

IMMEDIATELY outside the **Porta del Popolo**[1]—the Porta Flaminia, where the two fine towers of Sixtus IV. have been recently destroyed,[2] together with remains of a pyramidal monument which were then discovered—on the left was the old English church, a vast cruciform ugly 'upper chamber,' admirably suited for its purpose, pulled down 1888.

The Papal government of Rome had more tolerance for a religion which was not its own than had that of the first Emperor. Augustus refused to allow the performance of Egyptian rites within a mile of the city walls. But then he did not expect to derive profit, while to the Jews both Julius and himself were emphatically friendly.

The corner tower on the walls toward the river, known as **Lo Trullo**, was supposed to be especially haunted by the ghost of Nero—'ubi umbra Neronis diu mansitavit.' The third tower on the left of the gate stands upon an ancient tomb. A curious sepulchral inscription, found in pulling down the gate towers in 1877, invokes curses on any one disturbing the remains of the woman commemorated 'quod inter fideles fidelis fuit, inter alienos pagana fuit.'

On the right of the Gate (going outside) is the entrance to the beautiful **Villa Borghese.** It is, as John Evelyn described it in 1644, 'a real Elysium of delight, a Paradise.' The 'Villa Burghesiae Pincianae' was founded in the beginning of the sixteenth century by Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli Borghese, with the co-operation of his uncle, Paul V., for the benefit of the people of Rome.[3] Almost regal in their habits, their charities, and in public estimation under

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[1] Known first as Porta Flaminia, then till the fifteenth century as Porta S. Valentino, from the neighbouring basilica and catacombs.

[2] In this destruction were discovered bas-reliefs of the five horses, 'Palmatus, Danaus, Ocean, Victor, and Vindex,' which had been removed by the Pope from the tomb of the champion Publius Aelius Gutta Calpurnianus.

[3] See the contemporary biography of the Cardinal, written under his patronage, in the Casanatense Library.

the Papal rule, the Borghese family, after 380 years of sumptuous splendour, have been ruined by speculating in modern house-building, and have been compelled to sell the villa to the State for 3,000,000 lire. It is now intended to join it to the Pincio by bridges over the Via delle Mura.

'The entrance to the Villa Borghese is just outside the Porta del Popolo. Passing beneath that not very impressive specimen of Michelangelo's architecture, a minute's walk will transport the visitor from the small uneasy lava stones of the Roman pavement into broad, gravelled carriage drives, whence a little farther stroll brings him to the soft turf of a beautiful seclusion. A seclusion, but seldom a solitude; for priest, noble, and populace, stranger and native, all who breathe the Roman air, find free admission, and come hither to taste the languid enjoyment of the day-dream which they call life.

'The scenery is such as arrays itself to the imagination when we read the beautiful old myths, and fancy a brighter sky, a softer turf, a more picturesque arrangement of venerable trees, than we find in the rude and untrained landscapes of the western world. The ilex trees, so ancient and time-honoured are they, seemed to have lived for ages undisturbed, and to feel no dread of profanation by the axe any more than overthrow by the thunder-stroke. It has already passed out of their dreamy old memories that only a few years ago they were grievously imperilled by the Gaul's last assault upon the walls of Rome. As if confident in the long peace of their life-time, they assume attitudes of evident repose. They lean over the green turf in ponderous grace, throwing abroad their great branches without danger of interfering with other trees, though other majestic trees grow near enough for dignified society, but too distant for constraint. Never was there a more venerable quietude than that which sleeps among their sheltering boughs; never a sweeter sunshine than that which gladdens the gentle gloom which these leafy patriarchs strive to diffuse over the swelling and subsiding lawns.

'In other portions of the grounds the stone pines lift their dense clumps of branches upon a slender length of stem, so high that they look like green islands in the air, flinging down a shadow upon the turf so far off that you scarcely know which tree has made it.

'Again, there are avenues of cypress, resembling dark flames of huge funeral candles, which spread dusk and twilight round about them instead of cheerful radiance. The more open spots are all a-bloom, early in the season, with anemones of wondrous size, both white and rose-coloured, and violets that betray themselves by their rich fragrance, even if their blue eyes fail to meet your own. Daisies, too, are abundant, but larger than the modest little English flower, and therefore of small account.

'These wooded and flowery lawns are more beautiful than the finest English park scenery, more touching, more impressive, through the neglect that leaves Nature so much to her own ways and methods. Since man seldom interferes with her, she sets to work in her quiet way and makes herself at home. There is enough of human care, it is true, bestowed long ago, and still bestowed, to prevent wildness from growing into deformity; and the result is an ideal landscape, a woodland scene that seems to have been projected out of the poet's mind. If the ancient Faun were other than a mere creation of old poetry, and could reappear anywhere, it must be in such a scene as this.

'In the openings of the wood there are fountains plashing into marble basons, the depths of which are shaggy with water-weeds; or they tumble like natural cascades from rock to rock, sending their murmur afar, to make the quiet and silence more appreciable. Scattered here and there with careless artifice, stand old altars bearing Roman inscriptions. Statues, grey with the long corrosion of even that soft atmosphere, half hide and half reveal themselves, high on pedestals, or perhaps fallen and broken on the turf. Terminal figures, columns of marble or granite porticoes and arches, are seen in the vistas of the woodpaths, either veritable relics of antiquity, or with so exquisite a touch of artful ruin on them that they are better than if really antique. At all events, grass grows on the tops of the shattered pillars, and

weeds and flowers root themselves in the chinks of the massive arches and fronts of temples, as if this were the thousandth summer since their winged seeds alighted there.

'What a strange idea—what a needless labour—to construct artificial ruins in Rome, the native soil of ruin! But even these sportive imitations, wrought by man in emulation of what time has done to temples and palaces, are perhaps centuries old, and, beginning as illusions, have grown to be venerable in sober earnest. The result of all is a scene such as is to be found nowhere save in these princely villa-residences in the neighbourhood of Rome: a scene that must have required generations and ages, during which growth, decay, and man's intelligence wrought kindly together, to render it so gently wild as we behold it now.

'The final charm is bestowed by the malaria. There is a piercing, thrilling, delicious kind of regret in the idea of so much beauty being thrown away, or only enjoyable at its half-development, in winter and early spring, and never to be dwelt amongst, as the home scenery of any human being. For if you come hither in summer, and stray through these glades in the golden sunset, fever walks arm-in-arm with you, and death awaits you in the end of the dim vista. Thus the scene is like Eden in its loveliness: like Eden, too, in the fatal spell that removes it beyond the scope of man's actual possessions.'—*Transformation.*

'Oswald et Corinne terminèrent leur voyage de Rome par la Villa-Borghèse, celui de tous les jardins et de tous les palais romains où les splendeurs de la nature et des arts sont rassemblés avec le plus de goût et d'éclat. On y voit des arbres de toutes les espèces et des eaux magnifiques. Une réunion incroyable de statues, de vases, de sarcophages antiques, se mêlent avec la fraîcheur de la jeune nature du sud. La mythologie des anciens y semble ranimée. Les naïades sont placées sur le bord des ondes, les nymphes dans les bois dignes d'elles, les tombeaux sous les ombrages élyséens; la statue d'Esculape est au milieu d'une île; celle de Vénus semble sortir des ondes; Ovide et Virgile pourraient se promener dans ce beau lieu, et se croire encore au siècle d'Auguste. Les chefs-d'œuvre de sculpture que renferme le palais, lui donnent une magnificence à jamais nouvelle. On aperçoit de lion, à travers les arbres, la ville de Rome et Saint-Pierre, et la campagne, et les longues arcades, débris des aqueducs qui transportaient les sources des montagnes dans l'ancienne Rome. Tout est là pour la pensée, pour l'imagination, pour la rêverie.

'Les sensations les plus pures se confondent avec les plaisirs ne l'âme, et donnent l'idée d'un bonheur parfait; mais quand on demande, pourquoi ce séjour ravissant n'est-il pas habité? l'on vous répond que le mauvais air (*la cattiva aria*) ne permet pas d'y vivre pendant l'été.'—*Madame de Staël.*

All the sarcophagi, marble benches, &c., which till recently were to be seen here, and even the splendid terrace wall in front of the Casino with its fountains, have been removed to the sumptuous villa of Mr. Astor, at Cliveden, near Maidenhead. The terrace has been replaced by a copy, on its old site.

The *Casino*, at the farther end of the villa, built by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, the favourite nephew of Paul V., is visible from 1 to 4—entrance 1 lira. The collection in this villa contains no exceedingly important statues. In the vestibule are three reliefs from the Arch of Claudius in the Corso, destroyed in 1527. The inscription belonging to it was found in 1641, near the Palazzo Sciarra, and commemorates that Emperor's conquest in Britain. The arch was utilised in subsequent times for the 'specus' of the Aqua Virgo, which thus crossed the Corso (Via Flaminia) to the Baths of Agrippa and the Pantheon. The decorations of many of the rooms are by the Scotchmen Gavin Hamilton and David Moore, and J. P. Hackaert, a pupil of Le Soeur and the companion of

Goethe during his Italian travels.[1] We first enter a great hall, with a ceiling painted by *Mario Rossi*, and a floor paved with a third-century mosaic discovered at the Torre Nuova below Tusculum (one of the principal Borghese farms) in 1834.

xxxvi. Colossal Satyr.
xl. Meleager.

Leaving the great hall on the right, we may notice:

1*st Room.*

(*In the Centre.*)

Statue of Princess Pauline Borghese, sister of Napoleon I., as Venus Victrix, by *Canova.*

'Canova esteemed his statue of the Princess Borghese as one of his best works. No one else could have an opportunity of judging of it, for the prince, who certainly was not jealous of his wife's person, was so jealous of her statue, that he kept it locked up in a room in the Borghese Palace, of which he held the key, and not a human being, not even Canova himself, could get access to it.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

Some one remarking to the beautiful Pauline that it must have been rather cold sitting for that statue, she replied, 'But there was a fire.'

Canova took Chantrey to see this statue by night, wishing, as was his wont, to show it by the light of a single taper. Chantrey, wishing to do honour to the artist, insisted upon holding the taper for the best light himself, which gave rise to Moore's lines:

'When he, thy peer in art and fame,
Hung o'er the marble with delight;
And while his ling'ring hand would steal
O'er every grace the taper's rays,
Gave thee, with all the generous zeal
Such master-spirits only feel,
The best of fame—a rival's praise!'

lxiv. The Cassandra torn by Ajax from the statue of Pallas—a relief.

2*nd Room.*

Several Sarcophagi.

(*In the Centre.*)

David with the Sling, executed by Bernini in his eighteenth year.

3*rd Room.*

(*In the Centre.*)

Bernini, 1616. Daphne changed into a Laurel as she fled from the love of Apollo.

'And now despairing, cast a mournful look
Upon the streams of her paternal brook:—
Oh! help (she cry'd), in this extremest need,
If water-gods are deities indeed:
Gape, earth, and this unhappy wretch entomb;
Or change my form, whence all my sorrows come.
Scarce had she finished, when her feet she found
Benumb'd with cold, and fasten'd to the ground:

[1] See the Journal of Miss Berry, who saw the rooms being decorated in 1783–84.

A filmy rind about her body grows;
Her hair to leaves, her arms extended to boughs:
The nymph is all into a laurel gone:
The smoothness of her skin remains alone.'
—*Ovid. Metam.* i. (*Dryden*).

On the base are lines written by Urban VIII. in his youth—

'Quisquis amans sequitur fugitivae gaudia formae,
Fronde manus implet, baccas vel carpit amaras.'

cxvii. Apollo. The head belongs to another statue.
cvii. Marble group for a garden.

4th Room.

A handsome gallery with paintings by *Marchetti* and *De Angelis*, adorned with porphyry busts of eleven Caesars (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).
cxxxv. Ivy-crowned bust of Ariadne—the bust celebrated in Ouida's novel.
clxv. Sepulchral urn of porphyry found in the Mausoleum of Hadrian.

5th Room.

clxxii. The Hermaphrodite; found near S. Maria della Vittoria. Represented dreaming.
clxxvi. 'Fedele,' a copy of the bronze Boy at the Capitol.

6th Room.

(*In the Centre.*)

Aneas carrying off Anchises, executed when Bernini was only fifteen years old.
cic. Asclepios and Telesphoros. Compare this with the statue of the god found at the Lacus Juturnae, in the Forum.

7th Room.

(*In the Centre.*)

Boy on a Dolphin.

8th Room.

ccxxxi. Dionysos and a Girl.
ccxxxiii. Pluto.

(*In the centre.*)

ccxxxii. Satyr.

From the right of the 4th Hall a staircase ascends to the *Picture Gallery*, removed from the Palazzo Borghese after the ruin of the family in 1892. It was the first private collection in Rome. The Government, refusing to allow the owner to accept far larger offers from abroad, purchased the collections here in 1901 for the ludicrously small sum of 140,000 lire, less than the value of the best picture in it. Turning to the right from the entrance, we should especially notice—

1st Hall.

Left Wall—

34. *School of Francia:* Madonna and Child.
35, 40, 44, 49. *Fr. Albani:* The Four Seasons. Much repainted.

'The Seasons, by Francesco Albani, were, beyond all others, my favourite pieces; the beautiful, joyous angel-children—the Loves, were as if creations of my own dreams. How deliciously they were staggering about in the picture of Spring! A crowd of them were sharpening arrows, whilst one of them turned round the great grindstone, and two others, floating above, poured water upon it. In Summer they flew about among the tree-branches, which were loaded with fruit, which they plucked; they swam in the fresh water, and played with it. Autumn brought the pleasures of the chase. Cupid sits, with a torch in his hand, in his little chariot, which two of his companions draw: while Love beckons to the brisk hunter, and shows him the place where they can rest themselves side by side. Winter has lulled all the little ones to sleep; soundly and fast they lie slumbering around. The Nymphs steal their quivers and arrows, which they throw on the fire, that there may be an end of the dangerous weapons.'—*Andersen*, '*The Improvisatore*.'

*42. *Guercino:* The Return of the Prodigal Son. One of the best works of the master.
51. *Guido Cagnacci* (disciple of Guido Reni): A Sibyl.

Wall of Exit—

53. **Domenichino:** La Caccia di Diana, one of the most famous works of the master from profane history, and full of attractive details.

'There is plenty of animation everywhere, and the unity of the work is preserved; from the goddess herself who with her arms raised in the act of applauding, to the girl near her, eagerly marking in a curved attitude the bird falling to the arrow shot by another.'—*A. Venturi.*

Domenichino:[1] S. Cecilia, usually called the Cumaean Sibyl!

'A fine, jolly, buxom figure.'—*T. Smollett, Letter XXIII.*

Window Wall—

*57. *Marco Meloni:* S. Antonio.
60. *Jacopo Boateri:* Holy Family.
*61. *School of Francia:* Madonna and Child.
*65. *Francia:* S. Stephen—splendid in colour. One of his early works.

'Few paintings are so full of the essence of the purest art as this S. Stephen.' —*Morelli.*

2nd Hall.

97. *Moroni* (?): Portrait.
94. *Bronzino* (?): Cosimo de' Medici.
92. *Baldassare Peruzzi:* Venus leaving the Bath.

'[1] Domenichino may be studied at Rome better than anywhere else. His principal frescoes include—the four Evangelists of the Tribune and the cupola of S. Andrea della Valle, the four allegorical figures at S. Carlo a' Catinari, the Martyrdom of S. Andrew at S. Gregorio, the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian at S. Maria degli Angeli, the ceiling of the principal chapel of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, the Assumption on the ceiling of S. Maria in Trastevere, the episodes in the life of S. Jerome in the portico of S. Onofrio, the frescoes of the chapel of S. Cecilia in S. Luigi dei Francesi. His principal pictures include—the Communion of S. Jerome at the Vatican, the Ecstasy of S. Francis at the Cappuccini, the Deliverance of S. Peter at S. Pietro in Vincoli, the Bath of Diana and the so-called Sibyl at the Villa Borghese, another Sibyl at the Capitol, Saul and David at the Palazzo Rospigliosi, and the Terrestrial Paradise at the Palazzo Barberini.

3rd Hall.—Dutch School.

Indifferent specimens.

4th Hall.—Fragments of frescoes: much spoiled by retouching.

303. The Nuptials of Alexander and Roxana.
294. The Nuptials of Vertumnus and Pomona.
300. 'Il Bersaglio dei Dei.' The Archers.

These three frescoes are from the Casino of Raffaelle in the Villa Borghese (destroyed in the siege of Rome in 1849), and are supposed by Passavant to have been painted by his pupil, Pierino del Vaga, from his designs.

5th Hall.—School of Ferrara.

240. *Garofalo:* Madonna and Child with S. Joseph and S. Michael.

'Of the late period of the master: his liquid brown shadows now incline to black.'—*Morelli.*

217. **Dosso Dossi:** The Enchantress Circe—a magnificent specimen of the master.

6th Hall.—The Venetian School.

Entrance Wall—

*133. *Sebastiano del Piombo:* The Flagellation. (A faithful copy.)
137. *Lo Scarsellino* (attributed to Paolo Veronese): S. John Baptist preaching. (Unfinished.)

Left Wall—

101. *Paolo Veronese:* S. Antonio preaching to the Fishes.
115. *Bart. Licino da Pordenone:* Portraits of the artist's family. Compare it with a similar work at Hampton Court.

Wall of Exit—

125. **Correggio: Danae.** In the corner of this picture are the celebrated Cupids sharpening an arrow. This work, painted for Federigo, Duke of Mantua, and which Giulio Romano declared to have no equal, has suffered many wanderings,—to Spain, to the house of Leoni Aretino at Milan, to the Emperor Rudolph at Prague, to Stockholm, Paris, London (for 650 guineas to the Duke of Bridgewater), and to Paris again (1823), where it was purchased by Prince Borghese for £235.

7th Hall.

Entrance Wall—

*176. *Giov. Bellini:* Madonna and Child.
181. *Dosso Dossi:* Portrait.
188. *Titian:* S. Dominic.
*186. *Bonifazio* (the Younger): The Return of the Prodigal Son.
185. **Lorenzo Lotto.** A fine portrait of a gentleman in black, apparently recovered from illness. His right hand covers a faded rose in which is a diminutive skull. Beyond him S. George kills the dragon.
193. *Lorenzo Lotto*, 1508. The Virgin and Child, with S. Onofrio and S. Bernardino.

'An exquisite early work of the master.'—*Morelli.*

Left Wall.

147. **Titian:** so-called **Sacred and Profane Love,** with Cupid fishing in a marble tank. Painted in the master's youth. The same woman is represented in two attitudes.

'An exquisite allegorical romance, with the most poetic landscape imaginable.'—*Morelli.*

'Out of Venice there is nothing of Titian's to compare to his Sacred and Profane Love. It represents two figures: one, a heavenly and youthful form, unclothed, except with a light drapery; the other, a lovely female, dressed in the most splendid attire; both are sitting on the brink of a well, into which a little winged Love is groping, apparently to find his lost dart. . . . Description can give no idea of the consummate beauty of this composition. It has all Titian's matchless warmth of colouring, with a correctness of design no other painter of the Venetian school ever attained. It is nature: but not individual nature: it is ideal beauty in all its perfection, and breathing life in all its truth, that we behold.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'Two female forms are seated on the edge of a sarcophagus-shaped fountain; the one in a rich Venetian costume, with gloves, flowers in her hands, and a plucked rose beside her, is in deep meditation, as if solving some difficult question. The other is unclothed: a red drapery is falling behind her, while she exhibits a form of the utmost beauty and delicacy: she is turning towards the other figure with the sweetest persuasiveness of expression. A Cupid is playing in the fountain; in the distance is a rich, glowing landscape.'—*Kugler.*

'La Fable et la Vérité ferait un meilleur titre, mais le titre exact devrait être la Nature et la Civilisation.'—*E. Montégut.*

149. *Bonifazio* (2): The Woman taken in Adultery.

Window Wall—

*156. *Bonifazio* (the Elder): Christ and the Mother of Zebedee's Children.

Right Wall.

163. *Palma Vecchio:* Holy Family. The Madonna is a Bergamasque peasant girl.
170. **Titian:** Venus blindfolding Cupid. 1565.

8th Hall (returning to the entrance and left).

495. *Marcello Provenzali:* Mosaic Portrait of Paul V., founder of the Borghese fortunes.

9th Hall.

Left Wall—

461. *Andrea Solario* (?): The Cross-Bearing—an interesting specimen of the Milanese School.
459. *Sodoma:* Madonna and Child, with S. Giuseppe. Much spoiled.

Right Wall—

439. *Lorenzo di Credi* (?): Holy Family.
435. *Marco d'Oggiono:* S. John.
433. **Lorenzo di Credi:** Holy Family. (Unfinished, but very beautiful.)
429. *Bern. Luini* (*School of*): S. Agata.

10th Hall.

Entrance Wall—

310. *Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli:* Holy Family. 1511.

Right Wall—

352. *School of Filippo Lippi:* Holy Family.
348. **Botticelli: Holy Family and Angels.**
346. *An indifferent copy from Titian by Sassoferrato:* The Three Ages of Man.[1] Original at Bridgewater House.

Wall of Exit—

340. *Carlo Dolce:* Madonna. Replica of the one in the P. Pitti.
334. *Andrea del Sarto* (?): Madonna and Child with S. John.
331. *Andrea del Sarto* (?): Madonna and Child with three children.
*328. *Andrea del Sarto:* The Magdalen.[2]

Window Wall—

326. *Lucas Cranach:* Venus and Cupid. 1531. Signed with a crowned dragon.

'Sous l'ombre opaque d'une forêt, les pieds dans une herbe épaisse et mouillée, se dresse, comme un fantôme diabolique, une grande femme nue, aux chairs blanches, à la tête blonde, coiffée d'une toque seigneuriale de velours. C'est un grand ver humain né de l'humidité de la terre, une fille de l'ombre et des solitudes verdoyantes.'—*Emile Montégut.*

11*th Hall.*

Entrance Wall—

371. *Florentine:* Maddalena Strozzi as S. Catherine.
*369. **Raffaelle: The Deposition.** 1507.

'This picture was the last work of Raffaelle before he went to Rome. It has a touching story. It was painted for Atalanta Baglioni, the mother of the young chieftain Grifone, slain in a street conflict in the streets of Perugia, July 15, 1500. Being absent in the country at the time, Atalanta was recalled to her dying son, with his young wife Zenobia. As she approached, his murderers stood aside, dreading her malediction, but were surprised by her exhorting him to pardon them with his dying breath. In the picture Atalanta afterwards "laid her own maternal sorrows at the feet of a yet higher and holier suffering." It was placed by her in a chapel in S. Francesco de Conventuali at Perugia: Paul V. bought it for the Borghese. The "Faith, Hope, and Charity" at the Vatican formed a predella for this picture.

'Raffaelle's picture of "Bearing the Body of Christ to the Sepulchre," though meriting all its fame in respect of drawing, expression, and knowledge, has lost all signs of reverential feeling in the persons of the bearers. The reduced size of the winding-sheet is to blame for this, by bringing them rudely in contact with their precious burden. Nothing can be finer than their figures, or more satisfactory than their labour, if we forget what it is they are carrying; but it is the weight of the burden only, and not the character of it, which the painter has kept in view, and we feel that the result would have been the same had these figures been carrying a bag of sand. Here, from the youth of the figure, the bearer at the feet appears to be St. John.'—*Lady Eastlake.*

It left Foligno in 1608 for Rome, where it remained until 1797, when it was taken to Paris. In 1815 it returned to its owners.

355. *Sassoferrato* (*Copy of the Raffaelle at Palazzo Barberini*): The Fornarina.

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[1] See Kugler, ii. 449.

[2] The authenticity of all the other pictures in this gallery, ascribed to Andrea, is doubted by Morelli, though Adolfo Venturi inclines to consider them authentic.

Left Wall—

382. *Sassoferrato:* Madonna and Child. Imitating the Burdett-Coutts Raffaelle.
*386. *Perugino:* S. Sebastian.
390. *L'Ortolano:* The Deposition.

Window Wall—

394. *Eusebio di S. Giorgio* (?): S. Sebastian.
396. *Antonello da Messina:* Portrait.
397. *Pinturicchio* (?): Male Portrait.
398. *T. Zuccaro:* The Dead Christ with Angels.
399. *Timoteo della Vite* (?): Portrait.
*401. *Perugino (School of)*: Madonna and Child.

Right Wall—

408. *Pierino del Vaga*, after Raffaelle (or Pontormo?): Portrait of Cardinal Marcello Cervini (Marcellus II., Pope).
411. *Vandyke:* The Entombment.
413. *Giulio Romano*, after Raffaelle: Portrait of Julius II.
420. *Giulio Romano*, after Raffaelle: S. John in the Wilderness.

In the upper part of the grounds, not far from the walls of Rome, stood the Villa Olgiati (1785), once the *Villa of Raffaelle*, though it is very doubtful if he ever possessed it. It contained three rooms ornamented with frescoes from the hand of some disciple. The best of these are now preserved in the Villa Borghese. The Villa Olgiati was destroyed during the siege of Rome in 1849, when many of the old trees on this side of the grounds were cut down.

We now enter upon the ugly dusty street which leads in a straight line to the Milvian Bridge (Ponte Molle), which the extravagant Gallienus intended to connect with the city by a portico 9000 feet long. By this road the messengers brought the news of the defeat of Hannibal, and by this road the last triumphal procession entered Rome—that of the Emperor Honorius and Stilicho (described by the poet Claudian) in A.D. 404. By it also entered the mediaeval emperors.

The hill on the right of the road, **Monte Parioli**, is composed of a coarse travertine which Vitruvius justly describes as an excellent weather stone, though easily calcined by fire. Under the hill, just beyond where the new road turns off, are the **Catacombs of S. Valentine**, a priest beheaded *c.* 268, on the Flaminian Way, and buried on the property of the matron Lubinella, near the spot of his martyrdom. Close to the entrance of the catacombs are remains of a basilica built by Pope Julius I. *c.* 352, and restored in the seventh century. Around it lies an early Christian burial-ground, in which some of the tombs and sarcophagi still remain. A metrical epitaph praises the virtues of Aurelia Bebrana, wife of Flavius Crescentius, 368. Just beyond the entrance to the catacombs is the **Vigna Glori**, where the Cairoli brothers (commemorated by a monument on the Pincio), taken by the Papal troops, were executed, after their rash attempt against Rome in 1867. On the other side the same hill is undermined by the **Catacombs of SS. Gianutus and Basilla.** A beautiful drive which skirts these hills has been formed (1888–91)

called the **Viale Parioli**, or **Passeggiata Regina Margherita**, from the Porta del Popolo to the Porta Salara.

Half a mile from the gate rises conspicuously on the right of the road the **Casino di Papa Giulio**, with picturesque overhanging cornices and sculptured fountain. The courtyard has a quaint cloister. The destruction or 'removal' of the front of this building has been contemplated under the present government. This is the 'Villino,' and, far behind, but formerly connected with it by a long corridor, is the **Villa di Papa Giulio**, decorated with columns from the Baths of Zenobia, near Bagni. Its inner courts, corridors, and sumptuous fountain, are of great beauty. Several rooms have richly decorated ceilings, painted by *Taddeo Zuccaro*. Michelangelo was consulted by the Pope as to the building of this villa, and Vasari made drawings for it, but 'the actual architect was Vignola, who had to suffer severely, together with all his fellow-workmen, from the tracasseries of the Pope's favourite, the Bishop Aliotti, whom the less-enduring Michelangelo was wont to nickname Monsignor Tante Cose.'

'The villa of Papa Giulio is still visited by the stranger. Restored to the presence of those times, he ascends the spacious steps to the gallery, whence he overlooks the whole extent of Rome, from Monte Mario, with all the windings of the Tiber. The building of this palace, the laying out of its gardens, were the daily occupations of Pope Julius III. The place was designed by himself, but was never completed: every day brought with it some new suggestion or caprice, which the architects must at once set themselves to realise. This pontiff desired to forward the interests of his family, but he was not inclined to involve himself in dangerous perplexities on their account. The pleasant blameless life of his villa was that which was best suited to him. He gave entertainments, which he enlivened with proverbial and other modes of expression, that sometimes mingled blushes with the smiles of his guests. In the important affairs of the church and state he took no other share than was absolutely inevitable. This Pope Julius died March 23, 1555.'—*Ranke's 'History of the Popes.'*

'C'est uniquement comme protecteur des arts et comme prince magnifique que nous pouvons envisager Jules III. Sa mauvaise santé lui faisait rechercher le repos et les douceurs d'une vie grande et libre. Aussi avait-il fait édifier avec une sorte de tendresse paternelle cette belle *villa*, qui est célèbre, dans l'histoire de l'art, sous le nom de Vigne du pape Jules. Michel-Ange, Vasari, Vignole en avaient dessiné les profils; les nymphées et les fontaines étaient d'Ammanati; les peintures de Taddeo Zuccari. Du haut d'une galerie élégante on découvrait les sept collines, et d'ombreuses allées, tracées par Jules III., égaraient les pas du vieillard dans ce dédale de tertres et de vallées qui sépare le pont où périt Maxence de la ville éternelle.'—*Gourneris*, '*Rome Chrétienne*,' ii. 172.

To R. of entrance. (Tickets, 1 lira.)

Room 1. Six cases, containing vases, incense-burners, simpula, amphorae, specchi, strigils, &c., from the Tombs at Falerii (Civita Custellana). In the centre a terra-cotta couch with man and wife reclining. The lady wears lace boots, pointed.

Room 2 (to Left of entrance).

In centre the oak-trunk coffin found at Gabii (Castiglione), 1886, with the much damaged male skeleton within. The funeral vases

and cups, sixteen in all, were found in it; but no one then thought to microscopically examine their contents, as was needful to do. The skeleton measured 6 ft. 3 in.

The tiles all around came from the Tempio dello Scasato at Falerii. (See map of Falerii in the room.)

We now enter the semicircular **ambulatory** and ascend by door on L. a spiral stairway.

Room 3 (after small vestibule) contains ten cases of ritual and other vases and amphorae; some in terra-cotta, some in bronze, decorated and plain. Horses and birds occur among the ornaments.

Room 4. (Cases xi.–xxii.)

Painted vases (Campanian, imported by Etruscans), paterae, amphoretti, necklaces.

Room 5. (Cases xxiii.–xxx.)

Two and four handled vases with appliquée ornament. Inscribed paterae. Case xxx. contains, besides, a bunch of gold wire for hair ornament. The frieze of frescoes in this room, with figures of arts and crafts, is admirable.

Room 6 (small). Fine rings, necklets, and gold ornaments.

We now pass into the upper ambulatory, lined on both sides with continuous cases filled with perfect specimens of olloe and all kinds of 'stipe votive,' and jewellery, from the tombs at Narce. Observe the amber fibulae, made in thirteen sections, from dark Sicilian amber. The learned Director, Prof. Sogliano (of Pompeii), has done a great deal to reinstate the collection in its original glory, illustrating truthfully the successive periods of Etruscan art.

Pope Julius used to come daily hither, with all his court, from the Vatican by water. The richly decorated barge, filled with venerable ecclesiastics, gliding between the osier-fringed banks of the yellow Tiber, with its distant line of churches and palaces, would make a fine subject for a picture. The chambers of the villa are now occupied by a museum of Etruscan antiquities (open from 10 to 4 daily, entrance 1 lira, on Sundays 10 to 12, free) found at Falerii (Civita Castellana). Similar ones have occurred in 1903 at the Sepolcretum in the Forum. In one of the courts is a model of a little temple at Alatri.

The splendid discoveries made some years back at Civita Castellana (Falerii) promised to have made this museum as unique for the students of Etrurian Archaeology as the National Gallery in London is for students of Italian Schools of Painting. With every possible care the entire contents of thirty-seven tombs were transported hither, and we recollect with gratitude the privilege granted us of witnessing the arrival and unpacking of some of these. The objects, including exquisitely painted vases, antifixae, cups, cinerary urns, ornaments of silver, and gold, and zinc, and enamel, represented the growth, culmination, and decadence of Faliscan and also of Greek, imported) art; thus affording the most interesting illustration of the evolution of style in various branches of aesthetic and archaeological study, disposed in clear intellectual sequence. In 1899, however, after months of unpleasant suspicion, it was made

patent that, for reasons which to himself seemed the best in the world, the curator had taken an antipathy, not to the precious objects under his charge, but to the strict natural symmetry in which they disposed themselves. In consequence he re-assorted them so as to suit a taste of his own, which, strange to relate, to the rest of the archaeological world seemed to result in chaos. The effect to us was like that of having looked for a moment on the eyes of a beautiful woman whose body has been for ages, as by a miracle, preserved; and then suddenly having seen them dissolve into formless dust. It is only fair to say that local opinion was driven to the conclusion that Parliament would be a more fitting field for such abilities than a museum, and accordingly the author of our losses has become a Deputy to the same Administration which has fined Prince Chigi £12,000 for selling one of his own family pictures.

Nearly opposite the Casino di Papa Giulio, on the farther bank of the Tiber, was the picturesque *Villa of Claude Lorraine*, whither he was wont to retire during the summer months, residing in winter in the Tempietto at the head of the Trinità steps. This villa was best seen from the walk by the river-side, which is reached by turning at once to the left on coming out of the Porta del Popolo. Hence it made a good foreground to the view of the city and distant heights of the Janiculan. Modern buildings have spoilt the beauty since 1880, and a portion of the villa itself has been mutilated.

'This road is called "Poussin's Walk," because the great painter used to go along it from Rome to his villa near Ponte Molle. One sees here an horizon such as one often finds in Poussin's pictures.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

Close to the Villa di Papa Giulio (L.) is the tunnel called **Arco Oscuro**, passing which, a steep lane, with a beautiful view toward S. Peter's, ascends between the hillsides of Monte Parioli and descends on the other side (following the turn to the right) to join the Viale Parioli near the Tiber bank, about two miles from Rome. Near its junction is situated the **Acqua Acetosa**, a refreshing mineral spring like seltzer water, enclosed in a well-house erected by Bernini for Alexander VII.

'Acqua Acetosa,
Buona per la sposa,'

is a well-known early morning cry in Rome.

There is a lovely view from hence across the Campagna in the direction of Fidenae (Castel Giubbileo) and the Tor di Quinto.

'A green hill, one of those bare table-lands so common in the Campagna, rises on the right. Ascend it to where a broad furrow in the slope seems to mark the site of an ancient road. You are on a plateau, almost quadrangular in form, rising steeply to the height of nearly two hundred feet above the Tiber, and isolated, save at one angle, where it is united to other high ground by a narrow isthmus. Not a tree—not a shrub on its turf-grown surface—not a house—not a ruin—not one stone upon another, to tell you that the site had been inhabited. Yet here once stood Antemnae, the city of many

towers,[1] one of the most ancient of Italy![2] Not a trace remains above-ground. Even the broken pottery, that infallible indicator of bygone civilisation, which marks the site and determines the limits of habitation on many a now desolate spot of classic ground, is here so overgrown with herbage that the eye of an antiquary would alone detect it. It is a site strong by nature, and well adapted for a city, as cities then were; for it is scarcely larger than the Palatine Hill, which, though at first it embraced the whole of Rome, was afterwards too small for a single palace. It has a peculiar interest as one of the three cities of Sabina,[3] whose daughters, ravished by the followers of Romulus, became the mothers of the Roman race. Antemnae was the nearest city to Rome—only three miles distant—and therefore must have suffered most from the inhospitable violence of the Romans.'—*Dennis' 'Cities of Etruria,'* ch. iii.

There is a walk by the river from hence back to the Ponte Molle. Here a beautiful Miss Bathurst was drowned by her horse slipping backwards with her down the bank into the Tiber in 1824.

The river-bank presents a series of picturesque views, though the yellow Tiber scarcely recalls Virgil's description:

> 'Caeruleus Tybris, coelo gratissimus amnis.'
> —*Aen.* viii. 64.

Continuing to follow the main road from the Porta del Popolo, on the left is the round **Church of S. Andrew**, with the doric portico, built by Vignola, in 1527, to commemorate the deliverance of Clement VII. from the Germans.

Farther, on the right, is another **Chapel built** (1462) **in honour of S. Andrew's Head.**

'One of the most curious instances of relique-worship occurred here in the reign of Aeneas Sylvius, Pope Pius II. The head of S. Andrew was brought in stately procession from the fortress of Narni, whither, as the Turks invaded the Morea, it had been brought for safety from Patras. It was intended that the most glorious heads of S. Peter and S. Paul should go forth to meet that of their brother apostle. But the mass of gold which enshrined the cumbrous iron which protected these reliques, was too heavy to be moved; so, without them, the Pope, the cardinals, the whole population of Rome, thronged forth to the meadows near the Milvian Bridge. The Pope made an eloquent address to the head, a hymn was sung entreating the saint's aid in the discomfiture of the Turks. It rested that day on the altar of Santa Maria del Popolo, and was then conveyed through the city, decorated with all splendour, to S. Peter's. Cardinal Bessarion preached a sermon, and the head was deposited with those of his brother apostles under the high altar.'—*Milman's 'Latin Christianity.'*

The picturesque rocks called **Sassi di S. Giuliano**, overhanging the Tiber a little above Ponte Molle, have been recently (1903) quarried away, and stripped of the ilexes which crowned them.

A mile and a half from the gate, the Tiber is crossed by the **Ponte Molle**, built by Pius VII. in 1815, on the site and foundations of the Pons Milvius, which was erected B.C. 109 by the Censor M. Aemilius Scaurus. It was here that, on the night of December 3, B.C. 63, Cicero captured the emissaries of the Allobroges, who were engaged in the conspiracy of Catiline.

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[1] 'Turrigerae Antemnae.'—Virg. *Aen.* vii. 631.

[2] 'Antemnaque prisco
Crustumio prior.'—*Sil. Ital.* viii. 367.

[3] The other two were Caenina and Crustumerium.

'It is obvious that the Allobrogian deputies had lent themselves as spies to the Roman Government, and had carried on the negotiations only with a view to convey into the hands of the latter the desired proofs implicating the ringleaders of the conspiracy.'—*Mommsen.*

Hence, on October 27, A.D. 312, after his defeat by Constantine at the **Saxa Rubra**, Maxentius was thrown or fell with the struggling crowd into the river. The statues of the **Saviour** and John the Baptist, at the farther entrance of the bridge, are by *Mocchi*, author of that of S. Veronica at S. Peter's.

Here are a number of taverns and *trattorie*, much frequented by the lower ranks of the people, reached by tramway from the Porta del Popolo. Similar places of public amusement seem to have existed here from imperial times. Ovid describes the people coming out hither in troops by the Via Flaminia to celebrate the fête ('festum geniale') of Anna Perenna, an old 'goody' who supplied the plebs with cakes during the retreat to the Mons Sacer, but who afterwards, from a similitude of names (?), was confounded with Anna, sister of Dido.

'Idibus est Annae festum geniale Perennae,
  Haud procul a ripis, advena Tibri, tuis.
Plebs venit, ac virides passim disjecta per herbas
  Potat; et accumbit cum pare quisque sua.
Sub Jove pars durat; pauci tentoria ponunt;
  Sunt, quibus e ramis frondea facta casa est:
Pars, sibi pro rigidis calamos statuere columnis,
  Desuper extentas imposuere togas.
Sole tamen vinoque calent; annosque precantur,
  Quot sumunt cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt.
Invenies illic, qui Nestoris ebibat annos:
  Quae sit per calices facta Sibylla suos.
Illic et cantant, quidquid didicere theatris,
  Et jactant faciles ad sua verba manus;
Et ducunt longas posito cratere choreas,
  Cultaque diffusis saltat amica comis.
Cum redeunt, titubant, et sunt spectacula vulgi,
  Et fortunatos obvia turba vocat.
Occurri nuper. Visa est mihi digna relatu
  Pompa: senem potum pota trahebat anus.'
—*Fast.* iii. 523.

Here three roads meet. We will glance at them in order. That on the **right** is the old **Via Flaminia**, begun 220 B.C. by C. Flaminius the censor. This was the great northern road of Italy, which, issuing from the city by the Porta Ratumena, close to the Capitoline tomb of Bibulus, followed a line a little east of the modern Corso, and passed the Aurelian wall by the Porta Flaminia, near the present Porta del Popolo. It extended to Ariminum (Rimini), a distance of 210 miles.

The passage of this bridge by the mediaeval kings of the Romans, coming (*vid* Viterbo) to their coronations in Rome, as Emperors, was almost always disputed on principle by the Roman populace, generally headed by Guelfic barons; sometimes resulting in veritable pitched battles. Even the more peaceable of them, such as Henry VII., was shot at with arrows from a tower near it as he

rode fearlessly over it (May 6, 1312). Next morning he entered the city by the Porta del Popolo, surrounded by his glittering German barons and bishops, attended by his allies the Colonnesi.

Following this road for about 1½ mile, on the left are the ruins called **Tor de Quinto** (situated at the fifth mile from its original commencement). A little farther on the right of the road (beyond the fourth milestone) are some tufo rocks, with an injured tomb of the Nasonii. The rocks have recently been quarried for material for the imposing new Halls of Justice in the Prati di Castello. Following the valley under these rocks to the left, we reach (1½ mile) the **Castle of Crescenza**, now a farmhouse, picturesquely situated on a rocky knoll—once inhabited by Poussin, and reproduced in the background of many of his pictures. In the interior are some remains of ancient frescoes.

It was near this that *Saxa Rubra*[1] was situated, where Constantine (A.D. 312) gained his decisive victory over the unfortunate Maxentius, who, while attempting to escape over the Milvian Bridge, was pushed by the throng of fugitives into the Tiber, and perished. The scene is fancifully depicted in the fresco of Giulio Romano in the stanza of the Vatican. On the opposite side of the river, Castel Giubileo, and the site of **Fidenae**, forms a conspicuous object.

On the right of the road are two large tombs, the first being probably that which Andersen had in his mind when he described the life of a peasant in a Campagna tomb in the *Improvisatore*. This tomb, owing to certain inscriptions found in the seventeenth century, was for a while believed to belong to the family of Ovid, the poet. The pictures which then adorned it have perished. They are given in S. Bartoli.

> 'Experiar quid concedatur in illis,
> Quorum Flaminia tegitur, cinis, atque Latina.'
> —*Juvenal, Sat.* 1.

We now pass the *Osteria di Grotta Rossa*. Close to the *Due Case* the road crosses a bridge, four and a half miles from Rome, near the point where the Tiber receives the little river *Valchetta*, identical with the Cremera.

Seven miles from Rome the road passes *Prima Porta*, a defile between rocks. On the left are remains of a mediaeval tower. At the entrance of the little chapel by the road the basin for the Aqua Santa was the tomb of a cook. Upon the hill on the right, protected by a roof, are the important remains of the **Villa (ad Gallinas Albas) of Livia**,[2] wife of Augustus, and tiresome mother of Tiberius. When first opened (1863), the rooms, supposed to be baths, were covered with beautiful frescoes and arabesques in marvellous

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[1] Masses of reddish rock of volcanic tufo are to be seen here, breaking through the soil of the Campagna. Cicero tells us that Antony coming to Rome stopped at the Inn 'ad saxa rubra,' and thence with a chariot drove in haste to the Capitol.—*Philipp. in Ant. II.* c. 31.

[2] The palm-trees of the villa withered and the white hens died a few days after the extinction of the imperial line in the person of Nero.

preservation. From the character of the paintings, a trellis-work of fruit and flowers, amid which birds and insects are sporting, it is supposed that they are the work of Ludius, described in Pliny, who 'divi Augusti aetate primus instituit amoenissimam parietum picturam, villas et porticus ac topiaria opera, lucos, nemora . . . blandissimo aspectu minimoque impendio.' The frescoes have been spoiled by a German artist, who covered them with a waxy preparation which he believed would preserve them, but which, strange to say, had just the contrary effect. It was here that the statue of Augustus, now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, was discovered in 1863. Many of the taller trees represented here have been identified, including acacia, almond, oleander, arbutus, box, cypress, myrtle, quince, and oak.

> 'Et vos, o lauri, carpam, et te proxima myrte,
> Sic positae quoniam suaves miscetis odores.'
> —*Eclog.* ii.

'What Augustus's affection for Livia was is well known. "Preserve the remembrance of a husband who has loved you very tenderly," were the last words of the Emperor, as he lay on his deathbed. And when asked how she contrived to retain his affection, Dion Cassius tells us that she replied, "My secret is very simple: I have made it the study of my life to please him, and I have never manifested any indiscreet curiosity with regard to his public or private affairs."'—*Weld.*

The union with Livia, however, is too characteristic not to deserve recalling (38 B.C.). Her father was to have given her away, but he was dead. In consequence she was given away by her former husband. 'At the wedding-feast a little incident occurred that set all Rome a-buzzing. Livia had a small page, and when the little fellow saw Livia enter, and seat herself at table with Octavian (Augustus), whereas Tiberius Drusus was placed at another table, "Mistress, Mistress!" shouted the boy, "you've got into the wrong place. There is your husband—yonder." No doubt he had his ears boxed for the uncalled-for correction.' (Cf. *Tragedy of the Caesars*, S. Baring-Gould, i. 170.) Three months later Livia became a mother again.

The **direct road** from the Ponte Molle is the ancient **Via Clodia**, which must be followed for some distance by those who make the interesting excursions to Veii, Galera, and Bracciano, each easily within the compass of a day's expedition. On the left of this road, three miles from Rome, is the sepulchre of Publius Vibius Marianus (Governor of Sardinia) and his wife Reginia Maxima, popularly known as 'Nero's Tomb.'

Following the **road** to the **left** of the Ponte Molle, after passing the flat Prati della Farnesina, we turn up a steep incline to the deserted **Villa Madama**, built by Giulio Romano, from designs by Raffaelle, for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. It derives its name from Margaret of Austria, daughter of Charles V., and wife, first of Alessandro de' Medici, and then of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma; from this second marriage it descended, through Elisabetta Farnese, to the Bourbon kings of Naples. The villa is beautifully situated at the edge of one of the lower spurs

of the hill, has a grand view, and is still a picturesque and desolate spot, abounding in cyclamen and nightingales. Until lately peasants lived in its upper chambers, and cattle beneath them. The lofty halls have well-lighted friezes, and ceilings covered with exquisite stucco and fresco decorations by *Giulio Romano* and *Giovanni da Udine*. These have been engraved by Grüner. They probably owe much to the then recent discovery of the frescoes and arabesques of the Baths of Titus.

'They consist of a series of beautiful little pictures, representing the sports of Satyrs and Loves; Juno, attended by her peacocks; Jupiter and Ganymede; and various subjects of mythology and fable. The paintings in the portico have been of first-rate excellence; and I cannot but regret that designs so beautiful should not be engraved before their last traces disappear for ever. A deep fringe on one of the deserted chambers, representing angels, flowers, caryatides, &c., by Giulio Romano; and also a fine fresco on a ceiling, by Giovanni da Udine, of Phoebus driving his heavenly steeds, are in somewhat better preservation.

'It was in the groves that surrounded Villa Madama that the "Pastor Fido" of Guarini was represented for the first time before a brilliant circle of princes and nobles, such as these scenes will see no more, and Italy itself could not now produce.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The arabesques executed here by Giovanni da Udine were considered at the time as among the most successful of his works. Vasari says that in these he 'wished to be supreme, and to excel himself.' Cardinal de' Medici was so delighted with them that he not only heaped benefits on all the relations of the painter, but rewarded him with a rich canonry, which he was allowed to transfer to his brother.

Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the villa stood a once famous Chapel of the Holy Cross (Oratorium Sanctae Crucis), where a relic of the Cross was in all probability kept and venerated, and where the 'procession of the great litany' from S. Lorenzo in Lucina to S. Peter's by the Via Flaminia and Ponte Milvio, on April 23, halted.

'By the Flaminian Way in Pagan times went a solemn "Pompa" from the city, in order to celebrate in the Campagna the festival of Robigalia (April 25), and by it obtain from the Gods protection for the rising crops. This befell on the Christian festival of S. Mark. The procession of white-robed devotees issuing from the Porta Flaminia made for the bridge over the Tiber, skirting the base of Monte Parioli, where already in the third century arose the cemetery of S. Valentino. Crossing the Pons Milvius it gained the Via Clodia, at the fifth mile of which was situated a sacred grove dedicated to Robigo, the god of mildew and red rust, which at that season imperilled the cereals. There arrived, the Flamen Quirinalis offered up a whelp [1] and a sheep, after which girls and boys ran races. In the latter days of Paganism the Christian festival of S. Mark usurped the place of the Pagan one by attaching to it a nobler signification. The intercession of the saints with God was implored in order to insure a good crop. The procession was formed near S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and thence followed the same route, reciting Kyries and Psalms in place of Hymns to the Gods. It made its first halt beside the cemetery of S. Valentine, and offered prayers. The bridge formed

[1] As a matter of fact, the victims had been slain in the city earlier in the day. Ovid's account (*Fasti*, iv. 905) of his meeting the priestly procession, what he saw, what he heard on the spot, is vivid and interesting. It is all most concisely given with the best of temperate comment in Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals*.

the second "station." But instead of proceeding onward, along the Via Clodia, it turned west and then south, stopping by the way once more, near the Oratory of the Holy Cross. Thence it continued to S. Peter's.'—*Hartmann Grisar*, '*Roma alla Fine del Mondo Antico*,' vol. i. part ii.

Monte Mario, the ancient Mons Vaticanus (450 feet), is ascended by a winding carriage-road from near the Porta Angelica. This hill, in ancient times called Clivus Cinnae, was in the Middle Ages Monte Maio and Mons Gaudii (*i.e.* the Pilgrim's first survey of Rome), and is thus spoken of by Dante (*Paradiso*, xv. 109). Its name changed to Mario through Mario Millini, its possessor in the time of Sixtus IV. (1480). We pass the (sixteenth century) Church of *S. Maria del Rosario*, and the site of the interesting Church of S. Croce de Monte Mario, originally built by Bishop Pontius of Orvieto in 1350, destroyed, with its curious inscriptions and gravestones, in 1883. A gate with an old pine-tree is that of the **Villa Millini**, which formerly possessed a grand ilex avenue, and a magnificent view over Rome from its terraces, lined with cypresses ; but one of the forts erected for the defence of Rome by the present government has been established here, and the villa is closed to the public.

'The Monte Mario, like Cooper's Hill, is the highest, boldest, and most prominent part of the line ; it is about the height and steepness too of Cooper's Hill, and has the Tiber at the foot of it, like the Thames at Anchorwick. To keep up the resemblance, there is a sort of terrace at the top of the Monte Mario, planted with cypresses, and a villa, though dilapidated, crowns the summit, as well as at our old friend above Egham. Here we stood, on a most delicious evening, the ilex and the gum-cistus in great profusion about us, the slope below full of vines and olives, the cypresses above our heads, and before our eyes all that one has read of in Roman history—the course of the Tiber between the hills that bound it, coming down from Fidenae and receiving the Allia and the Anio ; beyond, the Apennines, the distant and higher summits still quite white with snow ; in front, the Alban Hills, on the right, the Campagna to the sea ; and just beneath us the whole length of Rome, ancient and modern—S. Peter's and the Coliseum, rising as the representatives of each—the Pantheon, the Aventine, the Quirinal, all the well-known objects distinctly laid before us. One may safely say that the world cannot contain many views of such mingled beauty and interest as this.'—*Dr. Arnold.*

'Les maisons de campagne des grands signeurs donnent l'idée de cette solitude, de cette indifférence des possesseurs au milieu des plus admirables séjours du monde. On se promène dans ces immenses jardins, sans se douter qu'ils aient un maître. L'herbe croît au millieu des allées : et, dans ces mêmes allées abandonnées, les arbres sont taillés artistement, selon l'ancien gout qui régnait en France : singulière bizarrerie que cette négligence du nécessaire, et cette affectation de l'inutile !'—*Mme. de Staël.*

In the garden, prominent on the hillside, still flourishes the famous *Pine of Monte Mario*, which was saved from destruction by Sir George Beaumont, and whose trunk was embraced by Wordsworth, who wrote a sonnet in honour of it.[1]

In the spring of 1881, the officers of the Engineers, working at the construction of the fort on the summit of Monte Mario, came upon the hypogaeum of an historic tomb, containing five sarcophagi, two cippi, and a beautiful cinerary urn of one Sextus Curius

[1] See Wordsworth's *Poems*, 111, 196.

Eusebius, and, in the centre of the chamber, the beautiful 'Diis Manibus' of the lady for whose family the mausoleum was built, inscribed—D . M . MINICIAE . MARCELLAE . FUNDANI . F . VIX . A . XII . M . XI . D . VII.[1] She was the daughter of C. Minicius Fundanus, often mentioned in inscriptions with C. Vettennius Severus, his colleague in the consulship from May 1 to September 1, A.D. 107 (cf. *Plin. Ep.* vi. 27). He is frequently mentioned by Pliny and Plutarch, who were his intimate friends. It is interesting to read at her monument the letter in which Pliny describes the daughter's death to his friend Marcellinus.

'I feel most grievously the loss of the younger daughter of our Fundanus. A more charming, lovely girl, worthy not only of a longer life, but almost of immortality, I never saw. Although not yet fourteen years old, she showed the quietness and gravity of a matron, with the suavity and modesty of a virgin. How sweet it was to see her embracing her father, welcoming her father's friends, loving her governess and her teachers. In the course of her sickness she confidently gave herself up to the care of the physicians, and tried to keep up the spirits of her sister and of her father by fighting courageously against the violence of the malady. She was already betrothed to a young gentleman of her choice; the day of the wedding had already been settled; we had already received our invitations . . . and now, what a terrible change! I cannot tell you how bitter it was when I heard Fundanus himself ordering that all the money set aside for her *trousseau* and pearls and jewellery should be spent in the funeral ceremonies.'—*Ep.* v. 16.

(Before Monte Mario, about four miles from Rome, is the Church of **S. Onofrio in Campagna**, with a curious ossuary.)

Just outside the site of the Porta Angelica, in the district now defiled by some of the worst abominations of modern Rome, was the vineyard in which Alexander VI. became poisoned (August 18, 1503).

'This is the manner in which Pope Alexander VI. came to his death.

'The cardinal datary, Adrian de Corneto, having received a gracious intimation that the pontiff, together with the Duke Valentinos, designed to come and sup with him in his vineyard, and that his holiness would bring the supper with him, the cardinal suspected that this determination had been taken for the purpose of destroying his life by poison, to the end that the duke might have his riches and appointments, the rather as he knew that the Pope had resolved to put him to death by some means, with a view to seizing his property, as I have said—which was very great. Considering of the means by which he might save himself, he could see but one hope of safety: he sent in good time to the Pope's carver, with whom he had a certain intimacy, desiring that he would come to speak with him; who, when he had come to the said cardinal, was taken by him into a secret place, where they two being retired, the cardinal showed the carver a sum, prepared beforehand, of 10,000 ducats in gold, which the said cardinal persuaded the carver to accept as a gift and to keep for the love of him, and after many words they were at length accepted, the cardinal offering, moreover, all the rest of his wealth at his command—for he was a very rich cardinal—for he said that he could not keep the said riches by any other means than through the said carver's aid, and declared to him, "You know of a certainty what the nature of the Pope is, and I know that he has resolved, with the Duke Valentinos, to procure my life by poison, through your hand,"—wherefore he besought the carver to take pity on him, and to give him his life. And having said this, the carver declared to him the manner in which it was ordered that the poison should be given to him at the supper, but being

[1] This tomb is now in the *Museo delle Terme.*

moved to compassion, he promised to preserve his life. Now the orders were that the carver should present three boxes of sweetmeats, in tablets or lozenges, after the supper, one to the Pope, one to the said cardinal, and another to the duke, and in that for the cardinal there was poison; and thus being told, the said cardinal gave instructions to the aforesaid carver in what manner he should serve them, so as to cause that the box of poisoned confect which was to be for the cardinal should be placed before the Pope, so that he might eat thereof, and so poison himself and die. And the Pope being come accordingly with the duke to supper on the day appointed, the cardinal threw himself at his feet, kissing them and embracing them closely; then he entreated his holiness, with most affectionate words, saying he would never rise from those feet until his holiness had granted him a favour. Being questioned by the pontiff what this favour was, and requested to rise up, he would first have the grace he demanded, and the promise of his holiness to grant it. Now, after much persuasion, the Pope remained sufficiently astonished, seeing the perseverance of the cardinal, and that he would not rise, and promised to grant the favour. Then the cardinal rose up and said, "Holy Father, it is not fitting that when the master comes to the house of his servant, the servant should eat with his master like an equal [*confrezer parimente*]," and therefore the grace he demanded was the just and honest one, that he, the servant, should wait at the table of his master, and this favour the Pope granted him. Then having come to supper, and the time for serving the confectionery having arrived, the carver put the poisoned sweet meats into the box, according to the first order given to him by the Pope, and the cardinal being well informed as to which box had no poison, tasted of that one, and put the poisoned confect before the Pope. Then his holiness, trusting to his carver, and seeing the cardinal tasting, judged that no poison was there, and ate of it heartily; while of the other, which the Pope thought was poisoned, but which was not, the cardinal ate. Now, at the hour accustomed, according to the quality of that poison, his holiness began to feel its effect, and so died thereof; but the cardinal, who was yet much afraid, having physicked himself and vomited, took no harm and escaped, though not without difficulty.'—*Sanuto* iv., *Translation in Ranke's 'History of the Popes.'*

The wine of the Vatican hill has had an evil reputation even from classical times. 'If you like vinegar,' wrote Martial, 'drink the wine of the Vatican'![1] and again, 'To drink the wine of the Vatican is to drink poison.'[2] On the other hand, Alban wine, as to-day, was the favourite.

Here is the entrance of the **Val d'Inferno**, formerly a pleasant winter walk, where, near the beginning of the Cork Woods, are some picturesque remains of an ancient nymphaeum. The soil is rich in *pteropodous* molluscs. In this locality the ancients made their bricks and tiles.

The fine **Bastione di Belvidere**, erected by Antonio da Sangallo, is a great feature on the right, as we approach the walls.

The **Porta Angelica**, built by Pius IV. (1559–66), which led into the Borgo beneath the walls of the Vatican, was destroyed in 1888. It was called in the Middle Ages Porta Viridaria, from the Viridarium or garden which was behind the Vatican palace, and was walled in by Nicholas III. in 1278. The tomb of the shoe merchant Caius Julius Helius was discovered in building one of the new houses near this in 1887.

Above the arch by which the walls of Leo IV. cross the Via

[1] Martial, *Ep.* x. 45, 5.
[2] *Ibid. Ep.* vi. 92, 3.

Angelica are inscriptions which record the work done for him by companies of men from Capracorum (Veii) and Saltisino under one Agatho, who may possibly have been the chief designer of the walls.

Those who return from hence to the English quarter in the evening will realise the vividness of Miss Thackeray's description:—

'They passed groups standing round their doorways: a blacksmith hammering with great straight blows at a copper pot, shouting to a friend, a young baker, naked almost, except for a great sheet flung over his shoulders, and leaning against the door of his shop. The horses tramp on. Listen to the flow of fountains gleaming white against the dark marbles—to the murmur of voices. An old lady, who has apparently hung all her wardrobe out of window, in petticoats and silk handkerchiefs, is looking out from beneath these banners at the passers in the streets. Little babies, tied up tight in swaddling-clothes, are being poised against their mother's hips; a child is trying to raise the great knocker of some feudal-looking arch, hidden in the corner of the street. Then they cross the bridge, and see the last sun's rays flaming from the angel's sacred sword. Driving on through the tranquil streets, populous and thronged with citizens, they see brown-faced, bronze-headed torsos in balconies and window-frames; citizens sitting tranquilly, resting on the kerb-stones, with their feet in the gutters; grand-looking women resting against their doorways. Sibyls out of the Sistine were sitting on the steps of the churches. In one stone archway sat the Fates spinning their web. There was a Holy Family by a lemonade-shop, and a whole heaven of little Correggio angels perching dark-eyed along the road. Then comes a fountain falling into a marble basin, at either end of which two little girls are clinging and climbing. Here is a little lighted May-altar to the Virgin, which the children have put up under the shrine by the street-corner. They don't beg clamorously, but stand leaning against the wall, waiting for a chance miraculous baioch.'—'*Bluebeard's Keys.*'

'Present Rome may be said to be but the monument of Rome pass'd, when she was in that flourish that Saint Austin desired to see her in; she who tam'd the world, tam'd herself at last, and falling under her own weight, fell to be a prey to time; yet there is a Providence seems to have a care of her still, though her air be not so good, nor her circumjacent soil so kindly as it was.'—*Howell*, '*Familiar Letters*,' 1621.

CHAPTER XX

THE JANICULAN

Gate of Santo Spirito—Church, Convent, and Garden of S. Onofrio—The Passeggiata Margherita—The Lungara—Palazzo Salviati—S. Giovanni alla Lungara—Museo Torlonia—Palazzo Corsini—The Farnesina—Porta Settimiana—S. Pietro in Montorio—Fontana Paolina—Villa Lante—Porta and Church of S. Pancrazio—Villa Doria-Pamfili—Chapel of S. Andrew's Head.

THE Janiculan is a steep crest, or long ridge, culminating in Monte Mario, which rises abruptly on the west bank of the Tiber, and breaks imperceptibly away on the other side into the Campagna toward Civita Vecchia. Its lower formation is a marine clay abounding in fossils, but its upper surface is formed of the yellow sand which gave it the ancient name of Mons Aureus—still commemorated in Montorio—S. Pietro in Montorio.

A tradition universally received in ancient times, and adopted by Virgil, derives the name of Janiculum from Janus, 'antiquissime Divum.' Ovid makes Janus speak for himself as to his property:

> 'Arx mea collis erat, quem cultrix nomine nostro
> Nuncupat haec aetas, Janiculumque vocat.'[1]

Fons, the supposed son of Janus, is known to have had an altar here in very early times. Janus Quirinus was a war-god, 'the sun armed with a lance.' Thus, in time of peace, the gates of his temple were closed, both because his worship was then unnecessary, and perhaps from an idea of preventing war from going forth. It was probably in this character that he was honoured on a site which the Romans looked upon as 'the key of Etruria,' while other nations naturally regarded it as 'the key of Rome.'

Janus was represented as having a key in his left hand.

When the first king of Rome, Numa Pompilius, like the darlings of the gods in the golden age, fell asleep full of days,'[2] he was buried upon the sacred hill of his own people, and the books of his sacred laws and ordinances were buried near him in a separate tomb.[3] In the sixth century of the Republic, a monument was discovered on the Janiculan, which was believed to be that of Numa, and certain books were dug up near it, which were de-

[1] *Fast.* i. 245. [2] Niebuhr, i. 240. [3] Arnold, *Hist.* vol. i.

stroyed by the paternal senate, either in the fear that they might tie its religious hands, or else because they were forgeries.

Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome, connected the Janiculan with the rest of the city by building the Pons Sublicius, the first bridge over the Tiber, and erected a citadel on the crest of the hill as a bulwark against Etruria, with which he was constantly at war.[1] Some escarpments, supposed to belong to the fortifications of Ancus, have lately been found behind the Fontana Paolina. It was from this same ridge that his Etruscan successor, Tarquinius Priscus, coming from Tarquinii (Corneto), obtained his first view of the city over which he was to reign, and here the eagle, henceforward to be the emblem of Roman power, replaced upon his head the cap which it had snatched away as he was riding in his chariot. Hence, also, Lars Porsena, king of Etruria, looked upon Rome, when he came to the assistance of Tarquinius Superbus, and retired in fear of his life after he had seen specimens of Roman endurance in Horatius Cocles, who kept the bridge; in Mutius, who sacrificed his hand in the flame; and in the hostage, Cloelia, who swam home across the Tiber—all anecdotes connected with the Janiculan.

After the period of the kings, this hill figures less frequently in history. But it was here that the consul Octavius, the friend of Sulla, was murdered by the partisans of Marius, while seated in his curule chair; near the foot of the hill Julius Caesar had his famous gardens; and on its summit the murdered Emperor Galba was buried by his steward Argius. The Christian associations of the hill will be noticed at the different points to which they belong.

From the Borgo San Michele the unfinished gate called **Porta Santo Spirito**, built by Antonio da San Gallo, 'through which Raffaelle so often passed between love and work,' leads into the Via Lungara, a street three-quarters of a mile long, formed by Sixtus V., and occupying the whole length of the valley between the Tiber and the Janiculan. The neighbouring church of **S. Spirito in Sassia** is the modernised representative of the Schola Saxonum of King Ina (A.D. 688–92). The tower is built in imitation of the mediaeval ones.

Immediately on the right, the steep 'Salita di S. Onofrio,' or the new winding road of Le Colle, leads up the hillside to the **Church of S. Onofrio**, built in 1439 by Nicolo da Forca Palena, in honour of the Egyptian hermit Honophrius.

'S. Onofrius was a monk of Thebes, who retired to the desert, far from the sight of men, and dwelt there in a cave for sixty years, and during all that time never beheld one human being, or uttered one word of his mother-tongue except in prayer. He was unclothed, except by some leaves twisted round his body, and his beard and hair had become like the face of a wild beast. In this state he was discovered by a holy man whose name was Paphuntius, who, seeing him crawling on the ground, knew not at first what live thing it might be.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art.'*

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[1] Niebuhr, i. 352.

From the little platform in front of the convent is one of the loveliest views over the city. The church is approached by a portico, decorated with (glazed) lunette frescoes by *Domenichino.* Those on either side of the door represent the saints of the Hieronymite Order (the adjoining convent belonged to Hieronymites), viz., S. Jerome, S. Paula, S. Eustochius, S. Pietro Gambacorta of Pisa, S. Augustine the hermit, S. Nicolo di Forca Palena, S. Onofrio, and the Blessed Benedict of Sicily, Philip of S. Agatha, Paul of Venice, Bartholomew of Caesarea, Mark of Mantua, Philip of Fulgaria, and John of Catalonia. Over the door is a Madonna and Child. In the side arcade are three scenes in the life of S. Jerome. 1. Represents his baptism as a young man at Rome. 2. Refers to his vision of the Judgment (described in his letter to Eustochius), in which he heard the Judge of the World ask what he was, and he answered, 'I am a Christian.' But the Judge replied, 'No, you lie, for you are a Ciceronian,' and he was condemned to be scourged, but continued to protest that he was a Christian after every lash. 3. Is a scene alluded to in another letter to Eustochius in which Jerome says, 'O how often when alone in the desert with the wild beasts and scorpions, half dead with fasting and penance, have I fancied myself a spectator of the sins of Rome, and of the dances of its young women!'

The **church**, consisting of a simple nave with some side-chapels, has a solemn and picturesque interior. It ends in a **tribune** richly adorned with frescoes, those of the upper section (the Coronation of the Virgin, and eight groups of saints and angels) being by *Pinturicchio* (much-restored), those of the lower (the Virgin and Saints, Nativity, and Flight into Egypt) by *Baldassare Peruzzi.*

On the **L.** of the entrance is the original monument of **Tasso** (with a portrait), erected after his death by Cardinal Bevilacqua. Greatly inferior in interest is a monument recently placed to his memory in the adjoining chapel by subscription, the work of *De Fabris.* Near this is the grave of the poet Alessandro Guidi, ob. 1712. In the third chapel **L.** is the sepulchral inscription of the learned Cardinal Mezzofanti, born at Bologna 1774, died at Rome 1849.

The **1st** chapel **R.**, which is low and vaulted, with stumpy pillars, is covered with frescoes relating to S. Onofrio.

The **2nd** chapel **R.**, which is richly decorated, contains a Madonna (di Loreto) crowned by Angels, by *Annibale Caracci.* Beyond this is the fine tomb of Archbishop Sacchi, ob. 1502. The beautiful lunette of the Madonna teaching the Holy Child to read is by **Pinturicchio.** The tomb is inscribed:

> 'Labor et gloria vita fuit,
> Mors requies.'

The convent is approached by a **cloister**, decorated with frescoes from the life of S. Onofrio.

'S. Onofrio is represented as a meagre old man, with long hair and beard, grey and matted, a leafy branch twisted round his loins, a stick in his hand. The artist generally tries to make him look as haggard and inhuman as possible.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

In a passage on the first floor is a beautiful fresco of the Virgin and Child with the donor, formerly ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, but recent authorities attribute it to Beltraffio.

'To 1513 belongs a Madonna, painted on the wall of the upper corridor of the convent of S. Onofrio. It is on a gold ground: the action of the Madonna is beautiful, displaying the noblest form, and the expression of the countenance is peculiarly sweet; but the Child, notwithstanding its graceful action, is somewhat hard and heavy.'—*Kugler.*

The municipality, with the artistic taste which distinguishes it, destroyed the effect of this picture in 1892 by having a gaudy fresco painted beneath it, and also of Tasso's chamber—untouched till that time—by whitewashing it all over.

Torquato Tasso came to Rome in 1594, on the invitation of Clement VIII., that he might be crowned on the Capitol; but as he arrived in the month of November, and the weather was then very bad, it was decided to postpone the ceremony till late in the following spring. This delay was a source of trouble to Tasso, who was in feeble health, and had a presentiment that his death was near. Before the time for his crowning arrived he had removed to S. Onofrio, saying to the monks who received him at the entrance, 'My fathers, I have come to die amongst you!' and he wrote to one of his friends, 'I am come to begin my conversation in heaven in this elevated place, and in the society of these holy fathers.' During the fourteen days of his illness, he became perfectly absorbed in the contemplation of divine subjects, and upon the last day of his life, when he received the Papal absolution, exclaimed, 'I believe that the crown which I looked for upon the Capitol is to be changed for a better crown in heaven.' Throughout the last night a monk prayed by his side till the morning, when Tasso was heard to murmur, 'In manus tuas, Domine,' and then he died. The room in which he expired, April 25, 1595, contains his bust, crucifix, inkstand, autograph, a mask taken from his face after death, and other relics. The archives of S. Onofrio contain this entry:

'Torquato Tasso, illustrious from his genius, died thus in our monastery of S. Onofrio. In April 1595 he caused himself to be brought here, that he might prepare for death with greater devotion and security, as he felt his end approaching. He was received courteously by our fathers, and conducted to chambers in the loggia, where everything was ready for him. Soon afterwards he became dangerously ill, and desired to confess and receive the most Holy Sacrament from the prior. Being asked to write his will, he said that he wished to be buried at S. Onofrio, and he left to the convent his crucifix and fifty scudi for alms, that so many masses might be said for his soul, in the manner that is read in the book of legacies in our archives. Pope Clement VIII. was requested for his benediction, which he gave amply for the remission of sins. In his last days he received extreme unction, and then, with the crucifix in his hand, contemplating and kissing the sacred image, with Christian contrition and devotion, being surrounded by our fathers, he gave up his spirit to the Creator, on April 25, 1595, between the eleventh and twelfth hours [*i.e.* between 7 and 8 A.M.], in the fiftieth year of his age. In the evening his body was interred with universal concourse in our church, near the steps of the high altar, the Cardinal Giulio Aldobrandini, under whose protection he had lived during the last years, being minded to erect to him, as soon as possible, a sumptuous sepulchre, which,

however, was never carried into effect; but after the death of the latter, the Lord Cardinal Bevilacqua raised to his memory the monument which is seen on entering the church on the left side.'

The Convent is now used for the hospital for poor children—**Ospedale del Gesù Bambino**—founded by the Duchess Salviati, and admirably managed by the sisters of S. Vincent de Paul, an institution well worthy of support.

The garden of the convent was a lovely plot of ground, fresh with running streams and sprinkled with ruins, but it has been desecrated, its trees cut down, and part of it turned into a vulgar tea-garden. The view over the city and the Campagna beyond S. Paolo is delightful: the detestable modern box-houses of the Prati destroy the view to the north. At the farther extremity, near a picturesque group of cypresses, supported by a modern buttress, are remains of the oak planted by Tasso, the greater part of which was blown down in 1842. A young sapling is shooting up beside it. Beyond this is the little amphitheatre, overgrown with grass and flowers, where S. Filippo Neri used to teach children, and assemble them 'for the half-dramatic musical performances which were an original form of his oratorios. Here, every 25th of April, a musical entertainment of the Accademia is held in memory of Tasso—his bust, taken from the cast after death, being placed in the centre of the amphitheatre, and crowned with laurel wreaths.'[1]

An attractive drive—**Le Colle** or **Passeggiata Margherita**—has been recently constructed along the crest of the Janiculan, from S. Onofrio to S. Pietro in Montorio, and, with the lovely foregrounds afforded by the upper part of the Colonna gardens, has some of the most enchanting views in Rome. Had the grand ilex avenues of the Corsini been preserved, this might have been one of the most beautiful drives in the world. An equestrian *Statue of Garibaldi*, by Gallori, 1895, occupies a conspicuous position, and many were the fine trees and interesting buildings destroyed in order that the figure might gaze across Rome at the statue of Victor Emmanuel, who heartily disliked him. The gardens on the slope of the hill occupy the site of the Horti Getae, which Septimius Severus laid out, and named after his ill-fated youngest son.

Returning to the Lungara, on the left is a Lunatic Asylum, founded by Pius IX. (with a pompous inscription), and beyond it, a chain bridge to S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini. On the right is the handsome **Palazzo Salviati**, which formerly contained a fine collection of pictures, removed to the Borghese Palace. It was erected for the reception of Henry III. of France by Cardinal Barnardo Salviati, from designs of Nanni di Baccio. Under the present rule it is occupied by *Tribunali di Guerra e Marina*. The adjoining garden, formerly a botanic garden belonging to the Sapienza, is now that of a military college. The modernised church of **S. Giovanni alla Lungara** dates from the time of Leo IV. (845-857). On the right is a large **Convent of the Buon Pastore.**

[1] Hemans.

In the *Via delle Scuderie* (right), so called from the stables of the Corsini and Queen Christina, is the entrance to the **Torlonia Museum**, containing the magnificent collection of sculpture formed within the last thirty years by Alessandro Torlonia, Prince of Musignano, &c., with the assistance of Baron Visconti and Professor Guaccarini. The collection is beautifully arranged in separate cabinets, so that the eye is never fatigued by seeing too much at once, and each masterpiece can be examined at leisure with undistracted attention ; moreover, the catalogue is good reading. Unfortunately, however, the Restorer and the Upholsterer together have played havoc here, with such singular effect that the value of the collection is only to be appreciated by students of these respective professions, and no detailed account of the sculptures will be given. It is, however, necessary to notice—

Pallas, from the palace of Trajan at Porto ; by many considered superior in its solemn beauty to similar statues at the Capitol and Vatican, from which casts (for comparison) are placed near it.
49. Aristotle, from Porto d'Anzio—a bust.
61. Carneades, the orator of Cyrene—a bust.
62. The Empress Livia—'mater patriae, genitrix orbis, magna mater'—from the villa of the Gordians at Torre degli Schiavi.
77. A seated female statue.
80. A philosopher, from the Giustiniani collection.
92, 93. Asclepios and Hygiea, from Porto.
98. Prometheus, from the Giustiniani collection.
104. Venus.
115. Hortensius the Orator—'the king of the Forum'—from his own villa at Laurentum.
174. Eros and Psyche, found near the Pretorian camp.
230. Apollo, from Porto. He holds the bow in his left hand, and his right arm leans upon the sacred tripod, with a serpent twining round it.
388. Heracles and Telephos, found by Visconti, in small fragments, in the Temple of Hercules at Porto.
395. Hestia (the goddess of fire)—an archaic statue from the Giustiniani collection, which formed the nucleus of the present Torlonia Museum.

We now reach, on the right, the magnificent **Palazzo Corsini**, built originally by the Riario family, from whom it was bought by Clement XII. in 1729 for his nephew, Cardinal Neri Corsini, for whom it was altered to its present form by *Fuga*.

This palace was in turn the resort of Caterina Sforza, the brave Duchess of Imola ; of the learned Poet-Cardinal di S. Giorgio ; of Michelangelo, who remained here more than a year on a visit to the Cardinal, 'who,' says Vasari, 'being of small understanding in art, gave him no commission ;' and of Erasmus, who always remembered the pleasant conversations ('confabulationes mellifluae') of the 'Riario Palace,' as it was then called. In the seventeenth century the palace became the residence of Queen Christina of Sweden, who died here on April 19, 1689, in a room which is distinguished by two columns of painted wood.

'With her residence in Rome, the habits of Christina became more tranquil and better regulated. She obtained some mastery over herself, suffered

certain considerations of what was due to others to prevail, and consented to acknowledge the necessities incident to the peculiarities of her chosen residence. She took a constantly increasing part in the splendour, the life, and the business of the Curia, becoming indeed eventually altogether identified with its interests. The collections she had brought with her from Sweden, she now enlarged by so liberal an expenditure, and with so much taste, judgment, and success, that she surpassed even the native families, and elevated the pursuit from a mere gratification of curiosity to a higher and more significant importance both for learning and art. Men such as Spanheim and Havercamp thought the illustration of her coins and medals an object not unworthy of their labours, and Santi Bartolo devoted his practised hand to her cameos. The Correggios of Christina's collection have always been the richest ornament of every gallery into which the changes of time have carried them. The MSS. of her choice have contributed in no small degree to maintain the reputation of the Vatican Library, into which they were subsequently incorporated. Acquisitions and possessions of this kind filled up the hours of her daily life, with an enjoyment that was at least harmless. She also took interest and an active part in scientific pursuits; and it is much to her credit that she received the poor exiled Borelli, who was compelled to resort in his old age to teaching as a means of subsistence. The queen supported him with her utmost power, and caused his renowned and still unsurpassed work on the mechanics of animal motion, by which physiological science has been so importantly influenced and advanced, to be printed at her own cost. Nay, I think we may even venture to affirm, that she herself, when her character and intellect had been improved and matured, exerted a powerfully efficient and enduring influence on the period, more particularly on Italian literature. In the year 1680 she founded an academy in her own residence for the discussion of literary and political subjects; and the first rule of this institution was, that its members should carefully abstain from the turgid style, overloaded with false ornament, which prevailed at the time, and be guided only by sound sense and the models of the Augustan and Medicean ages. From the queen's academy proceeded such men as Alessandro Guidi, who had previously been addicted to the style then used; but after some time passed in the society of Christina, he not only resolved to abandon it, but even formed a league with some of his friends for the purpose of labouring to abolish it altogether. The Arcadia, an academy to which the merit of completing this good work is attributed, arose out of the society which assembled around the Swedish queen. On the whole, it must needs be admitted that, in the midst of the various influences pressing around her, Christina preserved a noble independence of mind. To the necessity for evincing that ostentatious piety usually expected from converts, or which they impose on themselves, she would by no means subject herself. Entirely Catholic as she was, and though continually repeating her conviction of the Pope's infallibility, and of the necessity for believing all doctrines enjoined either by himself or the Church, she had nevertheless an extreme detestation of bigots, and utterly abhorred the direction of father confessors, who were at that time the exclusive rulers of all social and domestic life. She would not be prevented from enjoying the amusements of the carnival, concerts, dramatic entertainments, or whatever else might be offered by the habits of life at Rome; above all, she refused to be withheld from the internal movement of an intellectual and animated society. She acknowledged a love of satires, and took pleasure in Pasquin. We find her constantly mingled in the intrigues of the court, the dissensions of the Papal houses, and the factions of the cardinals. . . . She attached herself to the mode of life presented to her with a passionate love, and even thought it impossible to live if she did not breathe the atmosphere of Rome.' —*Ranke's 'Hist. of the Popes.'*

The reading of her will an hour after her death dried many eyes. She left next to nothing to either her family or dependants.

In 1797 this palace was used as the French embassy, and on the 28th of December was the scene of a terrible skirmish, when Joseph Bonaparte, then ambassador, attempted to interfere between the

French democratic party and the Papal dragoons, and when young General Duphot, who was about to be married to Joseph Bonaparte's sister-in-law, was shot by his side in a balcony. These events, after which Joseph Bonaparte immediately demanded his passports and departed, were among the chief causes which led to the invasion of Rome by Berthier, and the imprisonment of Pius VI. The pictures here still belong to Prince Corsini; but the palace has been recently sold to the municipality, who immediately, as usual, began to destroy all the beauty and interest connected with it.

'This is said to have been one of the few palaces in Rome which contained one of those deadly shafts, closed by a balanced trap-door that dropped the living victim who stepped upon it a hundred and odd feet at a fall, out of hearing and out of sight for ever. When the Corsini began to repair it, they found the bones of the nameless dead in heaps far down among the foundations.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The collections in the palace before 1884 were all formed since the death of Queen Christina. The pictures bequeathed to the city of Rome by Don Giovanni Torlonia, 1829, have been brought from the Palazzo Torlonia in the Piazza di Venezia and added to the Corsini collection. The **Picture Gallery** is open to the public daily from 9 to 3, admission 1 fr.; Sundays, 9 to 1, free.

The following criticism, applicable to all the private galleries in Rome, is perhaps especially so to this:—

'You may generally form a tolerably correct conjecture of what a gallery will contain, as to subject, before you enter it: a certain quantity of Landscapes, a great many Holy Families, a few Crucifixions, two or three Pietàs, a reasonable proportion of S. Jeromes, a mixture of other Saints and Martyrdoms, and a large assortment of Madonnas and Magdalenes, make up the principal part of all the collections in Rome; which are generally comprised of many more bad than good paintings.'

Room I. is chiefly occupied by pretty but unimportant landscapes by *Orizzonte* and *Vanvitelli*, and figure pieces by *Locatelli*.

Horace Vernet: Himself.
G. Van Wittel: Twelve pictures of old Rome.
G. Pannini: The Porticus of Octavia.

Room II.—

220. *Vandyke:* Madonna and Child.
204–214. *Pierino del Vaga:* Fragments of decoration from the destroyed Palazzo Altoviti, near the P. S. Angelo.
G. L. Bernini: Portrait of G. B. Gaulli (Il Bacciccia), 1639–1709.
294. *Guido Reni:* Ecce Homo.
245. *J. Both:* Sunset.
Battle scenes by *Salvator Rosa* and *Marzio Masturzo.*

On a table 'the Corsini vase,' in silver (found in the sand near Porto d'Anzio), with reliefs representing the judgment of Areopagus upon the matricide of Orestes.

Room III.—

National Print Collection. Note the beautiful designs of Stefano della Bella, Theodore de Bry, G. P. Schnorr, Jacque le Pautre, and G. B. Monnoyer (flowers especially).

Room IV.—

712. *Ercole Grandi:* S. George (called Francia).
732. *Fra Angelico.*
700. Shield of a Corsini Pontiff.

'A Last Judgment by Angelico da Fiesole, with wings containing the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, is in the Corsini Gallery. Here we perceive a great richness of expression and beauty of drapery; the rapture of the blessed is told chiefly by their embraces and by their attitudes of prayer and praise. It is a remarkable feature, and one indicative of the master, that the ranks of the condemned are entirely filled by monks.'—*Kugler.*

Room V., in which Christina died (cabinet), has a ceiling by the *Zuccari.*

Holbein: Henry VIII.

Room VI. (with an alabaster vase in centre).—

Fra Bartolommeo: Madonna, Joseph, and the two children. Much restored.
Rocco Marconi: The Woman taken in Adultery (1520).
Cariani (G. Busi): Holy Family.
Bartolommeo Veneto: A man's portrait, with fur mantle and black hat, on which is fastened a jewelled ornament, inscribed 'Probaste cognovit.'

Room VII.—

Andrea del Sarto.
Guercino: Herodias.
Bronzino: Portrait of Stefano Colonna.

Room X.—

Murillo: Madonna.

The *Accademia dei Lincei*, which deals with the whole ground of human knowledge, holds its meetings in the palace.

The **Corsini Library**—Biblioteca Corsiniana—(open every day except Sundays and Wednesdays, Nov. to March, 1–4: April to July, 2–5), contains a collection of MSS. and engravings, founded by Cardinal Neri Corsini. The most interesting MS. is the Chronicle of Villani. It has also some beautiful original drawings by old masters. Behind the palace, on the slope of the Janiculan, are large **Gardens**, adorned with fountains, cypresses, and some grand old plane-trees, but not improved by recent alterations. Instead of preserving the magnificent avenues of immemorial ilexes (the finest in the world except those of Albano), to give dignity to their drive along the Janiculan, the authorities, with the hatred of trees till quite lately usual here, at once ordered their destruction. The injury to Rome was so great that the Queen of Italy was induced to go in person to intercede in their behalf, but was told that it was useless, as the trees were already sold for firewood! It was under these trees that Queen Christina delighted to preside over the first meetings of the Arcadian Academy, and to receive their bombastic flatteries as her recompense.

'A magnificent porter in cocked hat and grand livery conducted the visitors across the quadrangle, unlocked the ponderous iron gates of the gardens, and let them through, leaving them to their own devices, and closing and locking the gates with a crash. They now stood in a wide avenue of ilex, whose gloomy boughs, interlacing overhead, effectually excluded the sunlight; nearly a gloomy walk of a mile farther on, the ilexes were replaced by box and bay trees, beneath which the sun and shade divided the path between them, trembling and flickering on the ground and invading each other's dominions with every breath of wind. The strangers heard the splash of fountains as they walked onwards by banks precipitous as a hillside and covered with wild rank herbage and tall trees. Stooping to gather a flower, they almost started as, looking up, they saw, rising against a sky fabulously blue, the unfamiliar green ilex and dark cypress spire.'—*Mademoiselle Mori.*

Opposite the Corsini is the beautiful palace, 'la Perla senza pari,' called **La Farnesina** (open 10 to 3.30 on Mondays and Fridays, except on festas: 1 fr.). This villa, so poetically described by Vasari as 'non murato ma nato,' was erected in 1506 by Baldassare Peruzzi for the famous banker Agostino Chigi, who here gave his sumptuous and extravagant entertainments to Leo X. and his court —banquets (1518) at which three fish are fabled to have cost as much as 250 crowns, and after which the plate that had been used was all thrown into the Tiber. Chigi was one of the greatest of art patrons, and has handed down to us not only the decorations of the Farnesina, but the Sibyls of S. Maria della Pace, for which he also drew upon the genius of Raffaelle.

'Le jour où Léon X. alla prendre possession de la basilique de Latéran, l'opulent Chigi se distingua. Le théâtre qui s'élevait devant son palais était rempli des envoyés de tous les peuples, blancs, cuivrés, et noirs; au milieu d'eux on distinguait les images de Vénus, de Mars, de Minerve, allusion singulière aux trois pontificats d'Alexandre VI., de Jules II., et de Léon X. *Vénus a eu son temps:* disait l'inscription; *Mars a eu le sien; c'est aujourd'hui le règne de Minerve.* Antoine de San-Marino, qui demeurait près de Chigi, répondit aussitôt en plaçant sur sa botique la statue isolée de Vénus, avec ce peu de mots: Mars a régné, Minerve régne, Vénus régnera toujours.'—*Gournerie,* '*Rome Chrétienne,*' ii. 109.

The Farnesina contains some of the most beautiful existing frescoes of Raffaelle and his school. The principal hall (five bays by two) was once unglazed, but has now been closed with glass casement in order to preserve the paintings. Its ceiling was designed by **Raffaelle** (1518–20), and painted by *Giulio Romano* and *Francesco Penni,* with twelve scenes from the story of Psyche as narrated by Apuleius:

A king had three daughters. The youngest was named Psyche, and was more lovely than the sunshine. Venus, the queen of beauty, became jealous of her, and bade her son Cupid to destroy her charms by inspiring her with an unworthy love (1). But Cupid, when he beheld Psyche, loved her himself, showed her to the Graces (2), and carried her off. He only visited her in the darkness of night, and bade her always to repress her curiosity as to his appearance. But while Cupid was sleeping, Psyche lighted a lamp and looked upon him—and a drop of the hot oil fell upon him and he awoke. Then he left her alone in grief and solitude. Venus in the meantime learned that Cupid was faithless to her, and imprisoned him, and sought assistance from Juno and Ceres that she might find Psyche, but they refused to aid her (3). Then she drove to seek Jupiter in her chariot drawn by doves (4), and implored him to send Mercury to her assistance (5). Jupiter listened to her prayer, and Mercury was sent forth to seek for Psyche (6). Venus then

showed her spite against Psyche, and imposed harsh tasks upon her, which she was nevertheless enabled to perform. At length she was ordered to bring a casket from the infernal regions (7), and even this, to the amazement of Venus, she succeeded in effecting (8). Cupid, escaped from captivity, then implored Jupiter to restore Psyche to him. Jupiter embraced him (9), and bade Mercury summon the gods to a council on the subject (see the ceiling on the right). Psyche was then brought to Olympus (10), and became immortal, and the gods celebrated her nuptial banquet (ceiling painting on the left).

'On the flat of the ceiling are two large compositions, with numerous figures—the Judgment of the Gods, who decide the dispute between Venus and Cupid, and the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche in the festal assembly of the gods. In the lunettes of the ceiling are *amorini*, with the attributes of those gods who have done homage to the power of Love. In the triangular compartments between the lunettes are different groups, illustrative of the incidents in the fable. They are of great beauty, and are examples of the most tasteful disposition in a given space. The picture of the three Graces; that in which Cupid stands in an imploring attitude before Jupiter; a third where Psyche is borne away by Loves—are extremely graceful. Peevish critics have designed these representations as common and sensual, but the noble spirit visible in all Raffaelle's works prevails also in these: religious feeling could naturally find no place in them; but they are conceived in a spirit of the purest artlessness, always a proof of true moral feeling, and to which a narrow taste alone could object. In the execution, indeed, we recognise little of Raffaelle's fine feeling; the greatest part is by his scholars, after his cartoons, especially by G. Romano. The nearest of the three Graces, in the group before alluded to, appears to be by Raffaelle's own hand.' —*Kugler.*

The paintings were retouched with too hard a blue ground by *Carlo Maratta.* The garlands around them are by *Giovanni da Udine.*

The **second room** contains the beautiful fresco of **Galatea** floating in a shell drawn by dolphins, by **Raffaelle** himself.

'Raffaelle not only designed, but executed this fresco; and faded as is its colouring, the mind must be dead to the highest beauties of painting that can contemplate it without admiration. The spirit and beauty of the composition, the pure and perfect design, the flowing outline, the soft and graceful contours, and the sentiment and sweetness of the expression, all remain unchanged; for time, till it totally obliterates, has no power to injure them. . . . The figures of the attendant Nereid, and of the triumphant Triton who embraces her, are beautiful beyond description.'—*Eaton's* '*Rome.*'

'The fresco of Galatea was painted in 1514. The greater part of this is Raffaelle's own work, and the execution is consequently much superior to that of the others. It represents the goddess of the sea borne over the waves in her shell; tritons and sea-nymphs sport joyously around her; *amorini*, discharging their arrows, appear in the air like an angel-glory. The utmost sweetness, the most ardent sense of pleasure, breathe from this work; everything lives, feels, vibrates with enjoyment.'—*Kugler.*

The **frescoes** of the ceiling, representing Diana in her car drawn by bulls, and the story of Medusa, are by *Baldassare Peruzzi;* the lunettes are by *Sebastiano del Piombo* and *Daniele da Volterra.* Michelangelo came one day to visit the latter, and not finding him at his work, left the colossal head, which remains in a lunette of the left wall, as a sign of his visit. Its great size is supposed to have been intended as a hint to Raffaelle that his work was too small for the size of the room.

In the **upper storey** are two rooms: the **first**, adorned with a frieze of subjects from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, contains large paintings by *Baldassare Peruzzi;* the **second** displays Alexander offering a crown to Roxana; and the family of Darius in the presence of Alexander, by **Sodoma**. The difficulty of access to these latter exquisite works is much to be regretted. Special permits can be obtained, however, from the Minister of Public Instruction in **Piazza Minerva**.

Alessandro Chigi desired Baldassare Peruzzi so to design the Farnesina that the villa and its gardens should form one complete composition. This was nobly effected in the glorious ilex avenue, which ended in the pavilion where Chigi entertained Leo X. and all the famous men of his time. The greater part of these beautiful gardens with their avenue was destroyed by the Municipality in 1878–80, hastening the death from grief of their owner, the Duca di Ripalda, when, in accordance with a scheme of Garibaldi, and to flatter that aged patriot, the course of the Tiber was attempted to be changed, to the annihilation of the beauty of this part of the city. In the spared portion of the gardens all the magnificent old trees have been cut down. The frescoes of the Farnesina have already shown unmistakable signs of injury, and it is still doubtful whether by an experiment of consummate folly Rome has not ruined one of the most precious jewels in her possession. During the destruction of the gardens, in 1880, a remarkable tomb belonging to the *Gens Sulpicia Platorina*[1] was discovered here, containing several funeral urns and some busts of members of the family, with one of the Emperor Tiberius, now removed to the Museo delle Terme. The tombs found here included those of Antonia and Marcia Furnilla. At the same time several remarkable private houses were found, richly decorated with stuccoes of exquisite beauty. All these buildings have been destroyed, and the few paintings preserved have been ruined in removal, besides having lost their interest, through separation from their architectural 'ambiente.' One of the paintings was signed by the artist Seleukos. Close to the Platorina tomb, the Bridge of Agrippa, of which nothing remains, crossed the Tiber, leading direct to the Theatre of Pompey.

From hence the Via delle Fornaci ascends the hill, and leads to the broad new carriage-road, formed in 1867 under the superintendence of the Cav. Trochi. A Via Crucis with a staircase will conduct the pedestrian by a shorter way to the platform on the hill-top.

The succession of beggars who infest this hill and stretch out their maimed limbs or kiss their hands to the passer-by will call to mind the lines of Juvenal:

> 'Caecus adulator, dirusque a ponte satelles,
> Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
> Blandaque devexae jactaret basia rhedae.'—*Sat.* iv. 116.

[1] Caius Sulpicius Platorinus was a magistrate in the time of Augustus. His cousin, Sulpicia Platorina, was the wife of a Cornelius Priscus.

On the right of the ascent, near the Vigna Corsini, is the approach to the **Bosco Parrasio**, where Gian Maria dei Crescimbeni founded the Arcadian Academy, in which the poems of Metastasio and the improvisations of Bernardino Perfetti first became known to the world. Its tangled garden has an interest from its many associations with the so-called shepherds and shepherdesses whose professed object was to revive the simplicity and innocence of the golden age and to reform the literature of Italy. At the summit of its picturesque winding ascent is a circular space with seats, where many open-air meetings of the Academy have been held. Inscribed tablets on the surrounding walls still commemorate celebrated members; but their portraits, which hung till recently in the neglected villa, have been removed to the hall of the Academy in the town. They included likenesses of Faustina Maratta (daughter of Carlo), of the famous or infamous Corilla Olympica (1728–1800), and many others whose almost forgotten names were once familiar throughout Europe.

The wall on the right of the ascent, once very handsome, was of interest as having been paid for by a bequest in the prison-made Will of Beatrice Cenci.

The **Church of S. Pietro in Montorio** was built for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain (1472), from designs of Meo del Caprino, on the site of an earlier thirteenth-century church, which marked the spot then supposed to be that of S. Peter's crucifixion. Within, it consists of a nave, with chapels in the form of large niches. The tribune is hexagonal. Some columns of Numidian *giallo* found in the gardens of Sallust were cut up for the altar-rails of this church.

The first chapel on the right belongs to the Barberini, and contains pictures which cost the six years' labour of **Sebastiano del Piombo** (painted in oil upon slate, a process which has caused them to be much blackened by time), from drawings of Michelangelo. The central picture represents the Scourging of Christ, a subject of which Sebastian was especially fond, as it gave the opportunity of displaying his great anatomical power. On the left is S. Peter, on the right S. Francis—on the ceiling is the Transfiguration—outside the arch are a prophet and a sibyl. The second chapel on the right has paintings by pupils of Perugino; the fifth contains S. Paul healed by Ananias, by *Vasari*.

The fourth chapel on the right is of some interest in the history of art. Julius III. had it greatly at heart to build and beautify this chapel as a memorial to his family, to contain the tombs of his uncle Cardinal Antonio de' Monti, and of Fabiano, who first initiated the splendours of his house. The work was entrusted to Michelangelo and Vasari, who were at that time on terms of friendship. They disputed about their subordinates. Vasari wished to employ Simone Mosca for the ornaments, and Raffaello da Montelupo for the statues; Michelangelo objected to having any ornamental work at all, saying that where marble figures were to be there ought to be nothing else, and he condemned Montelupo

because his figures for the tomb of Julius II. had turned out so ill. When the chapel was finished Michelangelo confessed himself in the wrong for not having permitted more ornament. The statues were entrusted to Bartolommeo Ammanati.

The first chapel on the left has S. Francis receiving the stigmata, attributed to *Giovanni de' Vecchi.*

'A barber to the Cardinal di S. Giorgio was an artist, who painted very well in tempera, but had no idea of design. He made friends with Michelangelo, who made him a cartoon of a S. Francis receiving the stigmata, which the barber carefully carried out in colour, and his picture is now placed in the first chapel on the left of the entrance of S. Pietro in Montorio.'—*Vasari*, vi.

The third chapel on the left contains a Virgin and Child with S. Anne, of the school of Perugino; the fourth a fine Entombment, by Vasari; the fifth, the Baptism of Christ, by *Daniele da Volterra.*

The **Transfiguration** of **Raffaelle** was presented to this church and remained here till the French invasion. When it was returned from the Louvre it was kept at the Vatican. Had it been restored to this church, it would have been destroyed in the siege of 1849, when the tribune and bell-tower were thrown down. Here, in front of the high altar, the unhappy Beatrice Cenci was buried without monument. It used to be customary with the people to scatter flowers here on the anniversary of her death.

Irish travellers may be interested in the gravestones, in the nave, of the once famous Hugh O'Neil of Tyrone, Baron Dungannon (1616), and of O'Donnell of Tyrconnell (1608). Near the door is the tomb, with the beautiful sleeping figure of Julian, Archbishop of Ragusa, ob. 1510, inscribed 'Bonis et Mors et Vita dulcis est.' An inscription below the steps in front of the church commemorates the translation hither of a miraculous image of the Virgin in 1714.

In the cloister is the circular **Tempietto**, a small domed building carried by sixteen doric columns, finished by Bramante in 1502, on the plan of a chapel executed seventeen years before by Civitali at Lucca. It was built at the cost of King Ferdinand. The dome is not Bramante's, which was loftier, but dates from 1628. It occupies the spot where S. Peter's cross is said erroneously to have stood, from the notion (which prevailed when the first church here was built in the thirteenth century) that the description of S. Peter's martyrdom, 'inter duas metas,' referred to the Meta Romuli, a pyramidal tomb near S. Maria Traspontina, and the Meta Remi, which name was then given to the pyramid of Caius Cestius; this point representing, to the mediaeval topographer, the half-way. A few grains of the sacred sand from the hole in the centre of the chapel are given to visitors by the monks as a relic.

'In Rome there is a story, also found in the old writers of the Roman Church, that the Ararat on which Noah's ark, the Church's emblem, rested when the waters of the deluge sank, was not the Armenian mountain of that name, but Mons Janiculus at Rome; and that Peter's cross was raised upon the very spot whereon the progenitor of the new race of men set his foot as he stepped out of the ark. The rock on which the ship of salvation remained standing, and the rock on which the Church was built, are thus brought into relation with each other.'—*Rydberg's 'Roman Days.'*

In the cloister is established the Spanish Academy of Fine Arts.

The view over Rome from the front of the church is almost unrivalled. In the open space here, where Pius IX. intended to erect a column commemorative of the Vatican Council, the bones of the liberal Ciceruacchio, and others who fell in the revolutions of 1849 and 1870, were buried in September 1879. The materials used here for the foundations were plundered by the Pope from the Porta Tiburtina.

Behind the church is the famous **Fontana Paolina**, whose name, by a curious coincidence, combines those of its architect, Fontana, and its originator, Paul V. It was erected in 1611, in imitation of the castellum of Trajan, which occupied the site, and is supplied with water from springs near the Lake of Bracciano, by the aqueduct of the Aqua Trajana, thirty-five miles in length. Much of the marble used on the fountain came from the Temple of Minerva in the Forum Transitorium.

'Il n'y a rien encore, dans quelque état que ce soit, à opposer aux magnifiques fontaines qu'on voit à Rome dans les places et les carrefours, ni à l'abondance des eaux qui ne cessent jamais de couler : magnificence d'autant plus louable que l'utilité publique y est jointe.'—*Duclos.*

On the right, below the *Villa Aurelia*, occupying the site of the Church of S. Angelo in Janiculo, and which was the headquarters of Garibaldi during the siege of Rome by the French, is the entrance to the new drive leading to S. Onofrio. It is well designed, has glorious views, and would be most beautiful if the first act of the authorities on taking possession of the Corsini gardens had not been to rob the beautiful slopes of most of their trees. The fury of goats and municipal rulers against trees, especially ilex and pine, until quite recently, knew no bounds—'Cut it down, root it up, carry it utterly away,' has been their unfailing order. The ancients delighted in trees and baths.

A little beyond the fountain is the modern **Porta S. Pancrazio**, built near the site of the ancient Porta Aurelia or Aurea,[1] by Pius IX. in 1857, to replace the gate of Urban VIII. destroyed by the French under Oudinot in 1849, when Rome was so fiercely defended by its republicans, and when it was gravely proposed to line the walls, from the Porta S. Pancrazio to the Porta Portese, with the nuns from all the convents, to put an end to the firing. Several buildings outside the gate, injured at that time, still remain ruinous.

The lane on the right, inside the gate, leads to the **Villa Lante** (now the residence of Professor Wolfgang Helbig, to whom Archaeology must always be grateful), built in 1524 by Giulio Romano for Monsignor Baldassare Turisi da Pescia, secretary to Clement VII. It still contains some frescoes of *Giulio Romano*, though most of them were removed by the Borghese. In the reign of Alexander VI., Donna Plautilla Lante was murdered in the villa

[1] A church of S. Giovanni in Mica Aurea (of the golden morsel) formerly existed on the Janiculan.

by her brother Fabrizio Massimo, because she corresponded with a lover forbidden by her family.

Not far outside the gate are the **Church and Convent of S. Pancrazio**, founded in the sixth century by Pope Symmachus, who provided it with a bath for pilgrims—'fecit in eadem balneum.' It was modernised in 1609 by Cardinal Torres. Here Narses, after the defeat of Totila, was met by the Pope and cardinals, and conducted in triumph to S. Peter's to return thanks for his victory; here Crescenzio Nomentano, the famous consul of Rome in the tenth century, is buried; here also Peter II. of Arragon was crowned by Innocent III.

A flight of steps leads from the church to the **Catacomb of Calepodius**, where many of the early popes and martyrs were buried. It has no especial characteristic to make it worth visiting. Another flight of steps leads to the spot where S. Pancrazio was martyred (A.D. 304). His body rests with that of S. Victor beneath the altar. A parish church in London is dedicated to S. Pancras, in whose name kings of France used to confirm their treaties, a sort of Deus Fidius.

'In the persecution under Diocletian, this young saint, who was only fourteen years of age, offered himself voluntarily as a martyr, defending boldly before the Emperor the cause of the Christians. He was therefore beheaded by the sword, and his body was honourably buried by Christian women. His church, near the gate of S. Pancrazio, has existed since the year 550. S. Pancras was in the Middle Ages regarded as the protector against false oaths, and the avenger of perjury. It was believed that those who swore falsely by S. Pancras were immediately and visibly punished; hence his popularity.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art.'*

Turning to the left from the gate, on the side of the hill between this and the Porta Portese, is the **Catacomb of S. Ponziano**, where the popes Anastasius and Innocent I. are buried.

'Here is the only perfect specimen still extant of a primitive subterranean baptistery. A small stream of water runs through this cemetery, and at this one place the channel has been deepened so as to form a kind of reservoir, in which a certain quantity of water is retained. We descend into it by a flight of steps, and the depth of water it contains varies with the height of the Tiber. When that river is swollen so as to block up the exit by which this stream usually empties itself, the waters are sometimes so dammed back as to inundate the adjacent galleries of the catacomb; at other times there are not above three or four feet of water. At the back of the font, and springing out of the water, is painted a beautiful Latin cross, from whose sides leaves and flowers are budding forth, and on the two arms rest ten candlesticks, with the letters Alpha and Omega suspended by a little chain below them. On the front of the arch over the font is the Baptism of our Lord in the river Jordan by S. John, whilst S. Abdon, S. Sennen, S. Miles, and other saints of the Oriental Church occupy the sides. These paintings are all of late date, perhaps of the seventh or eighth century; but there is no reason to doubt but that the baptistery had been so used from the earliest times. We have distinct evidence in the Acts of the Martyrs that the sacrament was not unfrequently administered in the cemeteries.'—*Northcote, 'The Roman Catacombs.'*

In the catacomb is an early **Portrait of Christ**, much resembling that at SS. Nereo ed Achilleo.

'The figure is, however, draped, and the whole work has certain peculiarities which appear to mark a later period of art. Both these portraits agree, if not

strictly, yet in general features, with the description in Lentulus's letter (to the Roman senate): and portraits and descriptions together serve to prove that the earliest Christian delineators of the person of the Saviour followed no arbitrary conception of their own, but were guided, rather by a particular traditional type, differing materally from the Grecian ideal, and which they transmitted in a great measure to future ages.'—*Kugler*, i. 16.

In this vicinity are the *Catacombs of SS. Abdon and Sennen*, and *S. Julius*.

Opposite the Porta S. Pancrazio is the entrance of the beautiful **Villa Pamfili Doria** (open to pedestrians and to *two-horse* carriages after 1 P.M. on Mondays and Fridays), called by the Italians 'Belrespiro.' It was built, &c., for Camillo Pamfili by G. B. Falda and A. Algardi. The *Casino* was built on the site of thirty-four ancient tombs of great beauty, forming, as it were, says Bartoli, 'a small village with streets, side-walks, and squares.[1] It contains a few ancient statues, and some views of Venice in the seventeenth century by *Heintzius*. The garden, for which especial permission must be obtained, abounds with azalea, camellia, and oleander.

From the ilex-fringed terrace in front of the casino is one of the best views of S. Peter's, which is here seen without the town,—backed by the Campagna, the Sabines, and the isolated blue ridge of Soracte, the sacred mount of Apollo. The road to the left leads through pine-shaded lawns and woods, and by some modern ruins, to the lake above which is a graceful fountain. A small temple raised in 1851 commemorates the French who fell thick around here during the siege of Rome in 1849. The word 'Mary' in large letters of clipped box on the other side of the grounds is a memorial of the Lady Mary Talbot, Princess Doria. White violets grow wild here.

The site of the Villa Doria was once occupied by part of the gardens of Galba (Horti Sulpiciani), and here the murdered Emperor is said to have been buried, A.D. 69.

The foundation of the Villa Pamfili Doria is due to the wealth accumulated by Olympia Maidalchini during the reign of her brother-in-law, Innocent X. (1644–55). (See his portrait by Velasquez in the Doria Palace.)

'Innocent X. fut, pour ainsi dire, contraint de fonder la maison Pamphili. Les casuistes et les jurisconsultes levèrent ses scrupules, car in en avait. Ils lui prouvèrent que la pape était en droit d'économiser sur les revenus du saint-siège pour assurer l'avenir de sa famille. Ils fixèrent, avec une modération qui nous fait dresser les cheveux sur la tête, le chiffre des libéralités permises à chaque pape. Suivant eux, le souverain pontife pouvait, sans abuser, établir un majorat de quatre cent mille francs de rente nette, fonder une seconde géniture en faveur de quelque parent moins avantagé, et donner neuf cent mille francs de dot à chacune de ses nièces. Le général des Jésuites, R. P. Vitelleschi, approuva cette décision. Là-dessus, Innocent X. se mit à fonder la maison Pamphili, à construire le palais Pamphili, à créer la villa Pamphili, et à pamphiliser, tant qu'il put, les finances de l'église et de l'Etat.'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine*.'

Until the occupation of Rome by royal troops, the road from the Porta S. Pancrazio to the Porta Portese was one of the favourite

[1] Pietro Sante Bartoli, *Gli Antichi Sepolcri*. These flanked the Via Aurelia.

walks of the cardinals. They came hither in their coaches, drawn by black horses with long flowing tails, and, alighting outside the gates, paced meditatively, followed by two servants, all who met them bowing low or curtseying, or stooping to kiss the hand of his Eminence. But these sights are of the past.

There are two ways of returning to Rome from the Villa Doria—one, which descends straight into the valley to the Porta Cavalleggieri, passing on the left the *Church of S. Maria delle Fornaci* (1683); the other, skirting the walls of the city beneath the Villa Lante, which passes a *Chapel* where S. Andrew's head, lost one day by the canons of S. Peter's, was miraculously rediscovered.

'If the earthly Rome shine so gloriously through her monuments, what, indeed, shall be the perfection of heavenly Jerusalem? And if such honour and magnificence already surrounded mortals here, to what splendour shall not the elect attain in the celestial mansions,—even those who have held in scorn the pomp of this world?'—*Vita Fulgentii*, c. 13, n. 27.

'Therefore farewell, ye hills, and ye, ye envineyarded ruins!
Therefore farewell, ye walls, palaces, pillars and domes!
Therefore farewell, far seen, ye peaks of the mythic Albano,
Seen from Montorio's height, Tibur and Aesula's hills!
Ah, could we once, ere we go, could we stand, while, to ocean descending,
Sinks o'er the yellow dark plain slowly the yellow broad sun,
Stand, from the forest emerging at sunset, at once in the champaign,
Open, but studded with trees, chestnuts umbrageous and old,
E'en in those fair open fields that incurve to thy beautiful hollow,
Nemi, embedded in wood, Nemi, incurved in the hill!—
Therefore farewell, ye plains and ye hills, and the City Eternal:
Therefore farewell! we depart,—but to behold you again!'
—*Clough.*

'Eine Welt zwar bist Du, O Rom; doch ohne die Liebe
Wäre die Welt nicht die Welt, wäre denn Rom nicht Rom.'
—*Goethe.*

CHAPTER XXI

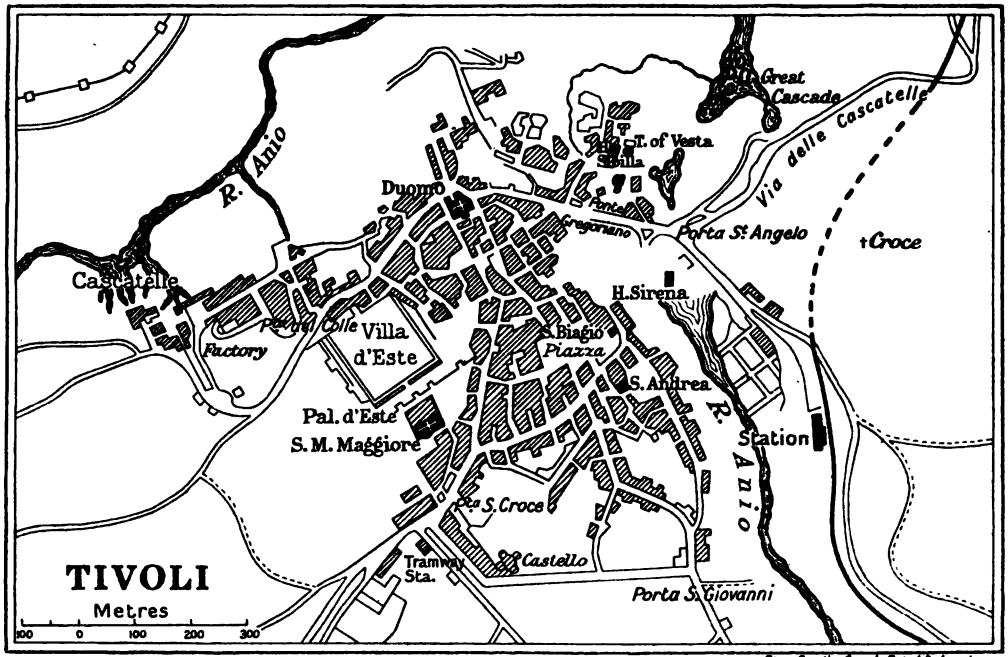
TIVOLI

(Reached by train from the **Central Station :** or by steam-tramway at **Porta S. Lorenzo,** reached from the **Dogana** by tram.)

Tivoli, 18 miles distant, is the most attractive of all the places in the neighbourhood of Rome, and the one excursion which none should omit, even if they are only at Rome for a week. The excursion is made by the tram-railway from the **Porta S. Lorenzo,** by which there are four trains each way daily occupying an hour and three-quarters. The line follows the high road, or Via Tiburtina, so that everything is as well seen as from a carriage, but there is no great beauty on the way to Tivoli. Those who wish to visit Adrian's Villa may be set down by one tram at the station called **Villa Hadriana,** and go on to Tivoli, or return to Rome, by the next. The terminus is close to the gate of Tivoli and the Villa d'Este. Guides are quite unnecessary, except to save time. It is best to proceed direct through the town to the easily-seen Temple of the **Sibyl,** and then see the **cascades** (fee, 1 lira), the exquisite view of the Cascatelle, and finally the **Villa d'Este.** Those who are not strong enough for the whole round should see the Cascatelle and the Villa d'Este. The round which Tivoli guides and donkey-men take strangers, through the woods and underneath the waterfalls, is long, wasteful of time, and fatiguing. It is far best not to do Tivoli and the Villa Hadriana in the same day. There are two hotels at Tivoli, **La Regina** (in the town), which is comfortable, clean, and well furnished, but where it is necessary to come to a very strict agreement as to prices on arriving, and **La Sibylla,** far humbler, but not uncomfortable, and in the most attractive situation. In the former, guests are received *en pension* at 8 lire, at the latter at 6 lire a day. Those who stay long will find endless points of interest both in the place itself and the many excursions which may be made from it. In order to learn the topography of Tivoli easily, after leaving the station (railway) walk to the entrance to the Falls, and pass it and the bridge ; then turn to the right into Via Sibylla for the hotel of that name.

THE road from Rome to Tivoli follows the ancient Via Tiburtina for the greater part of its course, and leads through one of the least interesting parts of the Campagna. Issuing from the Porta S. Lorenzo, we pass the great basilica of the same name, and the Campo Verano, with its graves and cypresses, and descending into the valley of the Anio, we cross the river by a modern bridge, near the ancient **Ponte Mammolo,** which possibly took its name (Pons Mammaeus) from Mammaea, mother of Alexander Severus.

The little Teverone, or Anio, in which Silvia, the reputed mother of Romulus and Remus, exchanged her earthly life for that of a goddess, adds greatly to the charm of the Campagna. It rises near Treba (**Trevi**) in the Simbrivinian hills, and flows through the gorges of Subiaco and the country of the Aequi until it forms the falls of



Stanford's Geog. Estab., London.

Tivoli. After this stormy beginning it assumes a most peaceful character, gliding gently between deep banks, and usually marked along the brown reaches of the Campagna by its fringe of tender green willows. Silius calls it 'sulphureus,' from the sulphuretted hydrogen which is poured into it at one point by the springs of Albula (Bagni).

> 'Sulphureis gelidus qua serpit leniter undis
> Ad genitorem Anio labens sine murmure Tybrim.'
> —*Sil. Ital.* xii. 539.

On its way through the plain several historical brooks pour their waters into the Anio. Of these, the most remarkable are the Marrana, and the Osa, which flowed beneath the walls of Collatia (**Lunghezza**). Nibby says that 'anciently the Anio was navigable from the Ponte Lucano to its mouth.' Strabo mentions 'that the blocks of travertine from the quarries near Tibur (Cave di Barco), and of *lapis gabinus* from Gabii, were brought to Rome by means of it.' But in the dark ages the channel was neglected, and the navigation interrupted and abandoned. The course of the Acqua Marcia conduit can be traced by white points.

When we reach the dismal farm-buildings, which encircle the Osteria del Fornaccio, the caves of Cervara and the thirteenth-century towers of Rustica and Cervara are visible at no great distance, rising above the Campagna on the opposite bank of the Anio. There is nothing more of interest except, here and there, the pavement of the ancient road, till we pass, on the left, the ruins of the mediaeval Castel l' Arcione. Across the Campagna, on the left, near the Sabine mountains, the picturesque hills called Monti Corniculani may be seen, their three summits occupied by the villages of S. Angelo, Colle Cesi, and Monticelli; on the right we overlook the sites of Collatia (**Lunghezza**) and far off Gabii (Castiglione), and of other cities of the plain, whose exact positions are not yet identified. After traversing the site, not precisely ascertained, where Hannibal encamped, and leaving to the left the now drained Lago de' Tartari, a smell of sulphur announces the neighbourhood, about a mile distant on the left, of the lakes of the **Solfatara**, the Aquae Albulae, from which a canal, cut in 1549 by Cardinal d'Este, carries their rushing milk-white waters over the travertine bed toward the Anio.

'But now there spreads around us a region covered with a thick jungle of dwarf ilex and lentisk bushes, among which long-horned, semi-wild cattle wander, cropping the coarse twigs at will. This is that great bed of "Travertine" which has been here deposited during uncounted ages by the Anio itself, and over which, again, in parts is being deposited the overflow of the little sulphur lakes called Aquae Albulae, or Bagni; the narrow blue stream of which, confined to an artificial trench, can be now descried flowing in a long, narrow streak away from us westward toward the lower lands. In fact, the too powerful odour advertises us that we have reached that fourteenth mile on the ancient Via Tiburtina, of which Martial writes, "Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis," though we have not, as apparently have some of our fellow-travellers from Rome, come either to drink or to bathe in these waters; albeit Strabo, and the Roman doctors of to-day with him, declare both these treatments to be most effectual. We are quite ready

to believe them. We have come to visit the great Quarries whence the Theatre of Marcellus, that of Balbus, and that of Pompey (probably) before them, and the everlasting Coliseum after them, derived their stone; and one must to these add the Bernini Colonnade of S. Peter's, in more recent days. For that was not fashioned from plundered antiquities.

'And for this purpose we now strike off to the right of the railway, and presently remark, a low modern wall largely built up with fine polygonal lava paving-stones. Are we then in the vicinity of the ancient road along which Horace and Vopiscus, and hosts of important or illustrious people have travelled to or from the glorious villas at Tibur? Indeed, such is the case. The line of it, if we look carefully, is seen to be a little raised above the ground we are treading, and within a few feet of the said wall: and there, to be sure, is one of the classic milestones belonging to it, lying broken and prone beside it!

'The evidences only increase as we proceed. The concrete humps of masonry we meet with here and there are all that remains of marble-faced tombs. The grey crows that fly croaking over us, to a mediaeval mind, might have been regarded as evil creatures, probably intimately connected with the tenants of these tombs. These are the only birds we encounter, save a flight of goldfinches that spring up from feeding, like a spray of jewels flying before us. But what are these rough, yet neat, little arches running along beside us? An aqueduct! Such it is. The now vanished conduit, or specus, once bore drinking water to supply the army of thirsty slaves that lived and hewed, and went blind and died, in the Quarries. For yonder where the land dips deeply one can now descry long artificial slicings of the stratum, forming terraces above terraces; and hark at the sound of the chipping! A rail runs down into the Quarries so as to bring away the blocks after they are dressed. And yet there are perhaps but two hundred men at work there, instead of thousands. Here the moderns prefer to cut; there, out beyond, are the ancient lines. And just beyond those rise three or four grass-covered hillocks, the biggest of which is some sixty feet in height. This is believed, owing to its being composed entirely of chips, to represent the quarrying for Vespasian's Amphitheatre, and it may well be the fact. The deep, sudden precipices made by these aforetime operations become doubly impressive when one considers the generation of human hard labour in servitude it must represent. Unwritten tragedy salutes us everywhere over this lovely land! And how easy it thus becomes to understand why during the Empire the great art of literary drama could not flourish! For who would go to see a tragedy on the stage when they could see the real thing going on day by day in the Coliseum, or in the Circuses? Every stone we brush by in a ruin, every marble we pick up in our walks, is consecrated by the fact that it has been worked out and brought from often remote over-sea quarries, at infinite expense and by tragic labour of unregarded lives.

'When we leave the travertine quarries and their hillocks of ancient chippings, now so freshly embroidered with reviving herbs and grasses—a veil of tender poetry over that bitter servitude—we continue along the Via Tiburtina Antica, its ancient paving stones still occurring here and there, darkly spotting the low walls of neighbouring enclosures, against which occasionally struggles a Briarian prickly-pear, and from within which, securely and serenely, peeps an almond tree in full bloom, queen of the demesne. Beyond us but a few hundred yards, in all the glory of its orange and silver tints of time, rises the well-known circular turret-tomb of Plautius Lucanus; while, away to the right, and at a mile's distance, stand the dark cypress groups that flank the limits of **Hadrian's Villa**—all these being boldly relieved against the olive-sandalled hills which rise immediately behind them. But for a casual mounted "Buttero," or overseer, clad in goat-skins, cloak, and sombrero, and his gun across the saddle (much resembling a gaucho of the Pampas), we meet with no human being. But besides the whisper of the stone-pines now beside us, we catch the soft thunder of the distant falls at Tivoli.'

There are now three lakelets near Bagni. On the largest, the **Lago delle Isole Natanti**, are some floating islands formed by matted

weeds. The ruins near it, called Bagni della Regina, are supposed to have been the baths of beautiful Queen Zenobia of Palmyra during her semi-captivity at Tibur, A.D. 273. The two smaller lakes have the names of *Lago di S. Giovanni* and *Lago delle Colonnelle.*

Two miles beyond the canal is the **Ponte Lucano**, well known from engravings and by the beautiful picture by G. Poussin in the Doria Palace. Close beyond the bridge rises, embattled into a thirteenth-century tower, the massive circular tomb of the Plautii, built by M. Plautius Silvanus in B.C. 1, and long used by his descendants.

'And this finds us at the Ponte Lucano, with its four arches spanning the swirling green Anio, and the sixteenth mile from Rome.

'Apart from the fine inscriptions in front of the tomb, relating to various distinguished members of the Plautian Gens of the first century A.D., the swallow-tail battlements crowning it tell as clearly as is the case with its renowned rival on the Via Appia, that it was held in the thirteenth century as a fortress, defending the confines of Tivoli and the important bridge below it, against the Papal forces of Rome. For the people of Tibur revived their ancient hostility to Rome in mediaeval days, and welcomed the Hohenstaufen Emperors within their gates. Barbarossa, Manfred, Conradin, and Dante's ill-fated ideal Emperor, Henry VII., have all crossed this bridge, surrounded by bands of German knights and prelates, heavily-armed against all foes except deadly malaria, which then played a very commanding rôle in the politics of the Eternal City.

'But we pass on toward the olive-shadowed mountain, on whose flank Tivoli is throned whitely above us: and soon the road takes a bold sweep round to our left, leading us past a miserable wayside den, on which is boldly painted, "Osteria, con ottima cucina." Behind it flourish olive orchards; and flights of goldfinches are sporting there among the olives. "Ottima cucina" perhaps indirectly refers to such little birds and game-pies. Why cannot they read, and avoid? But a second glance at the tenement soon reassures one. The roof has fallen in, and the Apician delicacies of that spot, whatever they may have been, are no more.'

About a mile beyond the bridge a lane to the R. leads (1 mile) to the gates of the **Villa Adriana**. It is believed to have been ruined during the siege of Tibur by Totila. The chief interest of the ruins arose from their vast extent, the masterpieces found there, and from the lovely carpet of shrubs and flowers with which Nature surrounded them. In spring nothing can exceed the beauty of the violets and anemones here. Successive generations of antiquaries have occupied themselves with the nomenclature of the different masses of ruin, and they seldom agree: most travellers will consider such discussions of little consequence, and will rest satisfied in the knowledge that the so-called villa was once a stupendous eclectic conglomeration of beautiful buildings—a fancy-city.

'The Villa at Tivoli stands out above everything that Hadrian created, and unlike anything else in the world, forms his most splendid monument. It cast into the shade Nero's Golden House. He began to build his villa early in his reign, and went on with it until his death. It may be doubted whether the site he selected was happily chosen. . . . But he required a large even space. It stood on a gentle elevation well below Tibur, where the view on the one side was limited by high mountains, but on the other side extended to Rome and its majestic Campagna, as far as the sea. From the Ponte Lucano, near which it is conjectured was the main entrance to the villa, were to be seen for miles the wonderful pleasure-grounds stretching over hill and dale. The villa was as large as a city, and contained everything that makes a city beautiful and gay: the ordinary and the commonplace were

not to be found there. Gardens, fountains, groves, colonnades, shady corridors and cool domes, baths and lakes, basilicas, libraries, theatres, circuses, and temples of the Gods, shining with precious marble and filled with works of Art, were all gathered together round this Imperial Palace.

'The large household, the stewards with their bands of slaves, the body-guard, the swarms of artists, singers and players, the ladies, and distinguished courtesans, the various priests, the men of science and poets, the friends and guests of Hadrian: these all composed the population of the villa; and this crowd of courtiers, idlers, and slaves had no other object but to cheer one single man who was weary of the world, to dispel his ennui by feasts of Dionysus, and to delude him into thinking that each day was an Olympian Festival. Hadrian here beguiled the time in the recollections of his Odysseus-like wanderings, for this villa was built according to his own design, was the copy and the reflection of the most beautiful things which he had admired in the world. The names of the buildings in Athens were given to special parts of the villa. The Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytaneum, the Poecile, even the vale of Tempe with the Peneus flowing through it, and indeed Elysium and Tartarus were all there. At a sign from the Emperor these groves, valleys, and halls, would become alive with the mythology of Olympus, swarms of Bacchantes might wander through the vale of Tempe, choruses of Euripides might be heard in the Greek Theatre, and in the sham fight the fleets would repeat the battle of Salamis. Hadrian might have written over the great gate of his villa "Magna Domus, parva quies." We do not know how often he stayed here; it was his favourite resort in his later years, and it was there that he dictated his memoirs to Phlegon. He possessed other beautiful houses at Preneste and Antium. He died at Baiæ, not in his villa at Tivoli. After his time the villa was more and more rarely inhabited by the Emperors, until it suffered the fate of all country-seats. Constantine was doubtless the first to plunder it in order to carry off its marbles and works of art to Byzantium. At the time of the Gothic wars it existed only as a desolate world of wonders: the warriors of Belisarius were the first to encamp in it, and then those of Totila. Its ruins in the middle ages were called Ancient Tivoli. . . . Antiquities were first looked for in the villa in the time of Alexander VI. (Borgia), when statues of the Muses were found. In the sixteenth century Pirro Ligorio made a plan of it. In 1871 the Italian Government took possession of it.'—*Gregorovius*, '*Life of Hadrian*' (M. Robinson), p. 367–71.

'I went down to Adrian's Villa with exalted ideas of its extent, variety, and magnificence. On approaching it, I saw ruins overgrown with trees and bushes; I saw mixt-reticular walls stretching along the side of the hill, in all the confusion of a demolished town; but I saw no grandeur of elevation, no correspondence in the parts. I went on. The extent and its variety opened before me—baths, academies, porticos, a library, a *palestra*, a *hippodrome*, a menagerie, a *naumachia*, an aqueduct, theatres both Greek and Latin, temples for different rites, and every appurtenance suitable to an imperial seat. But its magnificence is gone: it is removed to the Vatican, it is scattered over Italy, it may be traced in France. Anywhere but at Tivoli you may look for the statues and *caryatides*, the columns, the oriental marbles, and the mosaics, with which the villa was once adorned, or supported, or wainscoted, or floored.'—*Forsyth*.

The Villa, which has furnished columns for all the churches in Tivoli, and statues for all the museums of Rome, formed part of a large estate purchased by Pius VI., who planted the pine-trees. It became the property of his representative, Duke Braschi; and now belongs to the Italian Government.

Hadrian's villa (admission, 1 lira) should be visited on a bright day so as to obtain the values of all the beautiful contrasts it can offer, when the light-brown tufa walls show off their golden lichens, and through their embrasures gloom the dark gnarled trunks of

ilex, while the sunshine sweeps down over these into the green hollows and glades, upon beds of anemone quivering in the breeze. Among the olive-avenues wild thickets occur over-canopied with bramble and honeysuckle, and below crimson with cyclamen; while golden-crested wrens will be singing in the trees above, or leaping from cypress to cypress. Above the rounded hills, perhaps, will linger elongated domes of silvery cloud: while, out beyond, Monte Gennaro shows his calm grey slopes that scarcely look solid through the diaphanous haze. Below him occurs a hollow break, and then the eye is gratified with the Monticelli crowned with their picturesque grey villages.

At Colle Faustiniano, which rises behind the Villa Adriana, to the south of Tivoli, some authorities place the site of the town of Aesula. The mountain of Tivoli divides into three portions: Ripoli, towards the town; Spaccato, in the centre; and Monte Affliano, at the southern extremity. Porphyrion (says Gell) has accurately described the position of Aesula as on this southern extremity of the mountain of Tibur.

'Udum Tibur propter aquarum copiam. . . . Aesula, nomen urbis alterius in latere montis constitutae.'

'Aesulae
Declive contempleris arvum.'
—*Horace, Od.* iii. 29, 6.

Monte Affliano was pierced by Domitian's engineer, Lucius Pomedius Festus, in connection with a reconstruction of the Claudian aqueduct. In gratitude for his success Festus rebuilt the temple of the Bona Dea on the summit of the hill. This became a church and monastery dedicated to S. Mary and S. Michael in 1130, remains of which lie in the thickets up there.

A winding road, constructed by the Braschi, leads up the hill from the Villa to Tivoli, through magnificent olive-groves, the silvery trunks of the old trees being caverned, loopholed, and twisted in every possible contortion.

'It is well to have seen and felt the olive-tree; to have loved it for Christ's sake, partly also for the helmed Wisdom's sake which was to the heathen in some sort as that nobler Wisdom which stood at God's right hand, when He founded the earth and established the heavens: to have loved it, even to the hoary dimness of its delicate foliage, subdued and faint of hue, as if the ashes of the Gethsemane agony had been cast upon it for ever: and to have traced, line by line, the gnarled writhing of its intricate branches, and the pointed petals of its light and narrow leaves, inlaid on the blue field of the sky, and the small rosy-white stars of its spring blossoming, and the beads of sable fruit scattered by autumn along its topmost boughs—the right, in Israel, of the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow,—and, more than all, the softness of the mantle, silver grey, and tender like the down on a bird's breast, with which, far away, it veils the undulation of the mountains.'—*Ruskin*, '*Stones of Venice*,' iii. 176.

As we drive slowly up the ascent it may be pleasant to consider the history of Tibur, which claims to go back to remoter antiquity than that of Rome. Dionysius says that it was a city of the Siculi, and called Siculetum or Sicilio, and others that the original in

habitants were expelled by Tiburtus, Coras, and Catillus, the three grandsons of Amphiaraus, the king and prophet of Thebes, who flourished a century before the Trojan war. Tibur was named after the eldest of the brothers.

> 'Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia moenia linquunt,
> Fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem,
> Catillusque, acerque Coras, Argiva juventus.'
> —*Aen.* vii. 670.

Ovid thought it founded by the Greeks, long before Rome.

> 'Jam moenia Tiburis udi
> Stabant, Argolicae quod posuere manus.'
> —*Ovid*, *Fast.* iv. 71.

Horace tells his friend Varus to plant the vine.

> 'Nullam, Vare, sacrâ vite prius severis arborem
> Circa mite solum Tiburis, et moenia Catili.'
> —*Horace*, *Od.* I. xviii. 1.

> 'Hic tua Tiburtes Faunos chelys et juvat ipsum
> Alcidem dictumque lyra majore Catillum.'
> —*Statius*, *Silv.* i. 3, 99.

The inhabitants of Tibur frequently incurred the anger of Rome by assistance they gave to the Gauls during their inroads into Latium, and they were completely subdued by Camillus in B.C. 352. Ovid narrates how when they were requested to send back the Roman pipers, 'tibicines,' who had seceded to Tibur, having taken offence at an edict of the censors, they made them drunk, and sent them thus in carts to the Forum.

> 'Exsilio mutant urbem, Tiburque recedunt!
> —Exsilium quodam tempore Tibur erat!—
> Quaeritur in scena cava tibia, quaeritur aris,
> Ducit supremos naenia nulla choros.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> 'Alliciunt somnos tempus motusque merumque,
> Potaque se Tibur turba redire putat.
> Jamque per Esquilias Romanam intraverat urbem;
> Et mane in medio plaustra fuere foro.'
> —*Fasti*, vi. 665.

The second line of this passage expresses the fact that Tibur was an asylum for Roman fugitives, a result of its never having been admitted to the Roman franchise.

In his Pontic Epistles, also, Ovid says:—

> 'Quid referam veteres Romanae gentis, apud quos
> Exsulibus tellus ultima Tibur erat?'
> —*Ex. Pont. Ep.* i. 3.

Brutus and Cassius are said to have fled thither after the murder of Caesar. Under the earlier emperors, **Tibur** was the favourite retreat of wealthy Romans—the Richmond of Rome—and, as such, it was celebrated by the poets. It was also the scene of the nominal imprisonment of Zenobia, the brave and handsome Queen of Palmyra, who lived here, after having appeared with golden manacles, in the city-triumph of Aurelian. She was presented with

a beautiful villa by the gallant Emperor. 'Here the Syrian queen insensibly sunk into a Roman matron, her daughters married into noble families, and her race was not yet extinct in the fifth century.'[1] In an earlier age, Syphax, king of Numidia, died here 201 B.C., having been brought from Africa to adorn the triumph of Scipio. The town was surrendered by the Isaurian garrisons, which Belisarius had placed there, to the Goths under Totila, who both burnt and rebuilt it (A.D. 547). In the eighth century the name was changed to Tivoli. In the wars of the Guelfs and Ghibellines it bore a prominent part and was generally on the imperial side.

The sound of the falling waters was esteemed a cure for insomnia: from which both Maecenas and Augustus are known to have suffered, and the latter certainly visited Tibur. But modern poetry does not flatter the climate:—

> 'Tivoli di mal conforto,
> O piove, o tira vento, o suona a morte.'

As we ascend the hill, its wonderful beauty becomes more striking at every turn.

Close to the Sta. Croce gate of the town (tramway station) on the right, is the picturesque five-towered **Castle**, built by Pius II. (1458–64) (Piccolomini), on the site of the amphitheatre. Not far, on our left, will be found the Villa D'Este and S. Maria Maggiore. If we enter Tivoli here, we must walk a quarter mile across the town by a street which leads to *the Hotel Regina* (Piazza del Plebiscito) and on to *the Sibylla*, in the narrow street called after it, which all artists will prefer, and which, we trust, never merited the description of George Sand:—

> 'L'affreuse auberge de la Sibylle, un vrai coupe-gorge de l'Opéra-Comique.'

It stands on the edge of a precipice, though no longer on—

> 'The green steep whence Anio leaps
> In floods of snow-white foam.'
> —*Macaulay.*

This is an almost isolated quarter of the town, occupying a distinct point of rock, called **Castro Vetere**, which is supposed to have been the *arx* or citadel of ancient Tibur—probably the Sicelion of Dionysius. Here, on the verge of the abyss, with coloured cloths hanging out over its parapet wall, as we have so often seen it in pictures, stands the beautiful little building which has been known for ages as the *Temple of the Sibyl*, but really that of Vesta. It was once encircled by eighteen Corinthian columns, and of these ten still remain. The ruined cella is of 'Opus Incertum.' It displays a niche for a statue, one of its windows, and a doorway. It was formerly used as a church. In its delicate form and rich orange colour, standing out against the opposite heights of Monte Sterparo, it is impossible to conceive anything more picturesque.

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[1] Gibbon, ch. xi.

Close behind the circular temple (only ten feet distant from it) is a little oblong temple of travertine, with engaged Ionic columns, until lately the Church of S. Giorgio. Those who contend that the circular temple was dedicated to Vesta, call this the Temple of the Sibyl; others say it is the Temple of Tiburtus, the founder of the city. We know from Lactantius that the tenth and last of the Sibyls, whose name was Albunea, was worshipped at Tivoli, and her temple seems to be coupled by the poets with a shrine of Tiburtus above the Anio.

Close to the temples an iron gate will admit visitors (½ lira) into the beautiful descending walks begun by General Miollis, and finished under the Papal Government. Those who are not equal to a long round, should not enter upon these, and in taking a local guide (tariff 2 lire, to include Grotte and Villa d'Este. Carriages for Villa Hadriana must be bargained for) it should be recollected that there is scarcely the slightest ground for anything they say, and that the names they give to villas and temples are generally convenient inventions.

The walks, however, are charming, and lead by gradual descent to the caves called the *Grottoes of Neptune and the Sirens*, into the chasm beneath which the Anio fell magnificently until 1826,[1] when an inundation occurred which carried away a church and twenty-six houses. This led the Papal Government, in 1834, to divert the course of the river, and to open a new artificial cascade, 320 feet high, in order to prevent the temples from being carried away also. The Anio at Tivoli, as the Velino at Terni, possesses extraordinary petrifying properties, and the mass of stalactites and petrified vegetation hanging everywhere from the rocks adds greatly to their picturesqueness.

'Above the cold deep dell into which you dive to see the mysteries of Anio's urn, raised high on a pedestal of sharply-cut rock and seated as on a throne of velvet verdure, towers, like a pinnacle projected on the deep blue sky, the graceful temple of the Sibyl, that most exquisite specimen of art crowning nature, in perfect harmony of beauties.'—*Cardinal Wiseman.*

The small ruins of two Roman bridges were rendered visible when the course of the river was changed, and by one of these the ancient **Via Valeria** passed. Ascending again the upper road beyond the falls, guides, on no authority whatever, point out some ruins as those of the Villa of Vopiscus, a poet of the time of Domitian. That he owned a property at Tibur, we know from the verses of Statius, who has left a pleasant account of the villa of his friend. His grounds appear to have extended on both sides of the river. But Tibur owned over a hundred villas.

We now follow round the base of Monte Catillo passing under the railway bridge and S. Antonio to the point opposite the Cascatelle, which is known to have borne the name of Quintiliolo in the tenth century, and where a little church is still called **La**

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[1] This fall, though natural, was itself the result of an inundation in A.D. 105, which is recorded by Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* viii. 17).

Madonna di Quintiliolo. It is practically certain this name derives from Quintilius Varus, the loser of the Augustan legions, and that his villa, mentioend by Horace[1] as near the town, is the vast one on three terraces, in this immediate neighbourhood.

Nothing can exceed the loveliness of the views from the road (*viâ* delle Cascatelle), which leads from Tivoli by the priory chapel and villino of S. Antonio to this church. On the opposite height climbs the town with its classic temples, its old brown-tiled houses and towered churches, clinging to the edge of the cliffs, which are overhung with luxuriant vegetation; and beyond, beneath the piles of building on the site formerly known as the Villa of Maecenas, the noisy cataracts of the Cascatelle leap forth beneath the old masonry, and sparkle and dance and foam through the green—and all this is only foreground to vast distances of dreamy campagna (seen through the gnarled hoary stems of veteran olive-trees)—hued with every delicate tint of emerald and amethyst, and melting into palest sapphire, where the solitary dome of S. Peter's guards the horizon.

And the beauty is not confined to the views alone. Each turn of the winding road forms a picture: deep ravines of solemn olives that waken into silver light as the wind lifts their leaves—old convents and chapels recessed in shady nooks on the mountain-side—thickets of laurustinus, roses, genista, and the lovely styrax—banks of lilies and hyacinths, anemones and violets—grand masses of grey rock, up which white-bearded goats scramble to nibble myrtle and rosemary or wild asparagus, knocking down showers of the red earth—and a road, with stone seats, winding along the flank of the hill through a constant diorama of loveliness, peopled by groups of peasants returning from work, singing wild nasal canzonetti which echo in the hills, or by women washing at way-side fountains, or marching, with brazen *conche* poised upon their heads, like stately goddesses!

'The pencil only can describe Tivoli; and though, unlike other scenes, the beauty of which is generally exaggerated in pictures, no representation has done justice to it, it is yet impossible that some part of its peculiar charms should not be transferred upon the canvas. It almost seems as if Nature herself had turned painter when she formed this beautiful and perfect composition.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

Far below Quintiliolo, easily reached by a good winding path through grand old olive-woods, is **Ponte dell' Acquoria**—'the bridge of the golden water,' so called from a beautiful spring which rises near it. It is a single arch of travertine, crossed by the ancient Via Tiburtina. This probably dates back to the first century, and the limpid golden-gleaming waters that flow beneath it help to bring out its beauty. Adjoining it are remains of a brick continuation of the bridge, belonging to the second or third century. It is at first thought difficult to understand why brick was used in a land of travertine; but we remember that the greatest of brick-

[1] *Carm.* i. 18.

builders, Hadrian, had been unusually energetic in the neighbourhood before this restoration or expansion of the bridge was made. We may have, while admiring the scene, to take refuge in a green salad-garden beside the rivulet in order to let a small herd of long-horned iron-grey cattle pass by on their way to the daily drink in the river-bed beyond. They are quite gentle beasts; but their horns have an imposing spread not convenient on this narrow bridge.

Passengers now cross the Anio by a wooden brigde, and ascend the Clivus Tiburtinus to Tivoli on the other side. Much of the ancient pavement remains. On the right of the road in a vineyard is the small octagonal-domed building, somewhat resembling the Nymphaeum called Minerva Medica at Rome, and named by local antiquaries **Il Tempio della Tosse**, or 'The Temple of Cough'; but with much more likelihood attributable to the sepulchre of the Turcia family, one of the members of which, Lucius Arterius Turcius, is shown by an inscription to have repaired the neighbouring road in the time of Constans. In the interior are some remains of frescoes, which indicate that this was once used as a Christian church. It was possibly a nymphaeum, like the above-mentioned building.

The **Via Constantina**, which leads into the town from the Ponte Lucano, falls into the Via Tiburtina near this. An inscription of Constantius and Constans records how the Roman Senate and people levelled the Clivus Tiburtinus.

On the brow of the hill, we may now visit the immense ruins formerly called *The Villa of Maecenas*, though there is no reason whatever to suppose that it was a villa, or even that he had a villa at Tibur at all. The idea was started by Ligorio when building Villa d'Este.

'It was an immense quadrilateral edifice, 637½ feet long, and 450 broad, surrounded on three sides by sumptuous porticoes. The fourth side, or that which looks toward Rome, which is one of the long sides, had a theatre in the middle of it, with a hall or saloon on each side. The porticoes are arched, and adorned on the side towards the area with half-columns of the Doric order. Behind is a series of chambers. An oblong tumulus now marks the site of the house, or, according to Nibby (who regards it as the temple of Hercules), of the Cella. The pillars were of travertine, and of a beautiful Ionic order. One of them existed on the ruins as late as 1812. This immense building intercepted the ancient road, for which, as appears from an inscription preserved in the Vatican, a vault or tunnel was constructed, part of which is still extant. Hence it gave name to the *Porta Scura* or *Obscura*, mentioned in the Bull of Benedict, which it continued to bear at least as late as the fifteenth century.'—*Smith's 'Dictionary of Roman and Greek Geography.'*

The site called the Villa of Maecenas is the only one in Tivoli which at all corresponds with the allusions in the poets to the Heracleum, or Temple of Hercules, which was of such a size as to be quoted, with the waterfall, by Strabo as a characteristic feature of Tivoli, just as the great Temple of Fortune was the distinguishing feature of Praeneste. It contained a library, and had an oracle, which answered by '**sortes**' (or lots) like that of Praeneste. Augustus, when at Tibur, sometimes administered justice in the portico of the Temple of Hercules. The electrical works now occupy the site, in the making of which were found endless votive

offerings in terra-cotta, as well as many inscribed pedestals belonging to the Hall of the Guild of the Augustales and the porticus, or colonnade pertaining to it. To trace all the poetical allusions to it would be endless: here are a few of them:—

> 'Curva te in Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur.'
> —*Propertius*, ii. 32.

> 'Tibur in Herculeum migravit nigra Lycoris.'
> —*Martial*, iv. 62.

> 'Venit in Herculeos colles. Quid Tiburis alti
> Aura valet!'
> —*Mart.* vii. 13.

> 'Nec mihi plus Nemee priscumque habitabitur Argos,
> Nec Tiburna domus, solisque cubilia Gades.'
> —*Stat. Silv.* iii. 1. 182.

> 'Quosque sub Herculeis taciturno flumine muris
> Pomifera arva creant Anienicolae Catilli.'
> —*Sil. Ital.* iv. 224.

We re-enter the town by a gate with swallow-tailed battlements (Pta. del Colle), near which are curious mediaeval houses, one with a beautiful outside loggia (by Vicolo Leoncini). Passing up the steep street called Via di S. Valerio, where copper-smiths abound, we pass a picturesque archway covered with cactus, and a thirteenth-century tower, and so reach a little square (Piazza del Olmo), one side of which is occupied by the **Cathedral of S. Lorenzo**, a picturesque building containing four bays, with a good rose-window. Behind the choir is a noble *cella* (of opus incertum) of the age of Augustus, which antiquaries have referred to the temple of Hercules Saxana. In the bold apse (behind the modern one) is seen the square-headed niche for the statue.

The **2nd Chapel (R.)** has columns of marmor Celticum.

The **3rd** has an altar-front of Pietra-dura. In the **Sacristy** are two columns of 'Cipollino,' and a fragment of 'opus Cosmatescum adorns the Piscina.

In order to visit the **Villa d'Este** (where we are admitted on ringing a bell), if we have come by the tramway, we have merely to keep to the **left** within the Porta S. Croce, to reach the Piazza di **S. Maria Maggiore**, or follow **Via degli Estense**, and we are at the entrance. Crossing a courtyard, and descending a long vaulted passage, we are allowed to enter and wander about in one of the grandest and most impressive terraced gardens in the world. The villa itself, built in 1549, by Pirro Ligorio, for Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, son of Alfonso II., Duke of Ferrara, is stately and imposing in its vast forms, bold outlines, and deeply-projecting cornices. Within, it is decorated by frescoes of the Zuccari, and Muziano. Beneath it runs a broad terrace (formerly haunted by Liszt), ending in an archway, which none but an artist would have placed where it stands, in glorious relief against the soft distances of the many-hued Campagna. Beneath the twisted gentle staircases which lead down from this terrace, fountains jet forth silvery spray on each succeeding

level against the dark green of the lofty cypresses, which line the main avenue of the garden, and which also, interspersed with the verdure of acacia and Judas-trees, snowy or crimson with flowers, stand in groups on the hill-side, with the old churches of Tivoli and the heights of Monte Catillo seen between and beyond them. The fountains at the sides of the garden are colossal, like everything else here, and overgrown with maidenhair fern. Water glitters everywhere along stone channels running through the dark arcades of foliage. Flowers there are few, except the masses of roses, guelder roses, and violets, which grow and blossom where they will. The villa now belongs to the Austrian descendants of its founder.

Here for many years lived Cardinal Hohenlohe who, until his suspicious death, used to draw around him such delightful guests as the Abbe Liszt, whose music has resounded over the terrace-gardens, summer after summer; Ezekiel, the sculptor, and Giacomo Boni.

In Via del Trevio (75, on left) will be seen a very lovely biforate French-gothic window between renaissance pilaster-jambs. In the crown of it are seen the Colonna arms.

Outside the Porta S. Croce are the old Jesuits' College, with its charming terrace called **La Veduta**, and the **Villa Braschi**, passing through the cellar of which, the aqueduct of the Anio Novus may be seen. Some disappointment will be felt at the extreme uncertainty which hangs over the homes of the poets at Tivoli, especially over that of Horace, which rose near a grove of Tiburnus; but although the actual ruins pointed out to us by the craft and subtlety of Ciceroni may not have belonged to them, there is so much of which they tell us that remains unchanged, the luxuriant woods, the resounding Anio, the thymy uplands, that the very atmosphere is alive with their verses; and amid such soul-inspiring loveliness, one cannot wonder that Tibur was beloved by them.

'Mihi jam non regia Roma,
Sed vacuum Tibur placet.'
—*Horace, Ep.* i. 7. 44.

But the poet nowhere says that he had a house here.

'Vester, Camoenae, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos: seu mihi frigidum
Praeneste, seu Tibur supinum,
Seu liquidae placuere Baiae.'
—*Carm.* iii. 4, 21.

'. . . Ego, apis Matinae
More modoque
Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
Carmina fingo.'
—*Carm.* iv. 2, 27.

'Sed quae Tibur aquæ fertile præfluunt,
Et spissae nemorum comae,
Fingent Aeolio carmine nobilem.'
—*Carm.* iv. 3, 10.

Catullus had a villa here on the boundary between the Sabine and Tiburtine territories, but which he chose to consider in the latter, while his friends, if they wished to tease him, that said it was Sabine:—

> 'O funde noster, seu Sabine, seu Tiburs
> (Nam te esse Tiburtem autumant, quibus non est
> Cordi Catullum laedere: at quibus cordist,
> Quovis Sabinum pignore esse contendunt),
> Sed seu Sabine sive verius Tiburs,
> Fui libenter in tua suburbana
> Villa malamque pectoris expuli tussim.'
> —*Carm.* xliv 1.

It cured him of gastric catarrh.

Here also lived 'Cynthia,' whose real name was Hostia, the beloved of Propertius, who did not hesitate to test his devotion by summoning him to face the dangers of the road from Rome to Tibur at midnight.

> 'Nox media, et dominae mihi venit epistola nostrae,
> Tibure me missa jussit adesse mora;
> Candida qua geminas ostendunt culmina turres,
> Et cadit in patulos lympha Aniena lacus.'
> —*Prop.* iii. 16.

And here she died and was buried, and her spirit, appearing to her lover, besought him to take care of her grave.

> 'Pelle hederam tumulo, mihi quae pugnante corymbo
> Mollia contortis alligat ossa comis,
> Pomosis Anio qua spumifer incubat arvis,
> Et nunquam Herculeo numine pallet ebur.
> Hic carmen media dignum me scribe columna,
> Sed breve, quod currens vector ab urbe legat:
> Hic Tiburtina jacet aurea Cynthia terra:
> Accessit ripae laus, Aniene, tuae.'
> —iv. 7.

Beyond the Porta S. Croce is the suburb **Carciano**, a corruption perhaps, from Cassianum, its name in the tenth century from the villa of the gens Cassia, of which there are considerable remains in the olive woods below the Greek College. From the excavations made here in the reign of Pius VI. many of the finest statues in the Vatican were obtained, especially those in the Hall of the Muses.

Painters, and all who stay long enough at Tivoli, should not fail to visit the picturesque ruins of the Marcian and Claudian aqueducts up the valley beyond the Porta S. Giovanni. Delightful excursions may also be made to Subiaco, to S. Cosimato and Licenza, to Monte Gennaro, Monticelli, and Palombara. A pleasant road leads by the old castle of **Passerano** (8 kilos.) and Zagarolo to Palestrina.

Passerano (ancient Scaptia?) crowns a ridge of wood abounding in wild-flowers (anemone Appennina, &c.), and besides a few cottages, has the ruins of a XV. cent. castle built on to the fortress or acropolis of the first (opus reticulatum). On the N. side may be found opus quadratum. It belonged to the Colonnesi, whose arms are seen

upon the western tower. The famous Senator Brancaleone, who defied the nobles of Rome and threw down one hundred and forty of their towers, was imprisoned here, and badly treated (1255).

'Perhaps we shall have to pay more heavily than we anticipated for the privileges allowed us by the weather both during January and ever since then! The last month of the ancient Roman year, however, in Italy is apt to behave like our own native "Fill-dyke." And this reminds us that in the region to which to-day's excursion should take us in olden times we should upon this particular day have found the country-folk celebrating their festival of the God Terminus—him who presided over the landmarks; and we should have seen some of the boundary-stones standing up among the vivid green wheat, sprinkled with the bright blood of a fresh-slain sacrificial lamb, and a little farther on would have heard strange hymns of praise and not too quiet feastings in honour of that divinity. Such casual musings have come upon us, however, sitting in the train which is to take us out to Bagni in the direction of those ever-beautiful hills so beloved of Horace, Mecænas, and Hadrian. The elaborate Italian precautions for starting a mere train have just sounded in rapid succession; "Pronto," at the top of the voice, followed by a virile blast on a cow's horn, and finally a wild scream from the engine whistle and presently we are off, gliding past the graceful nympheum of Gallienus (called "Minerva Medica") that once adorned his family (Liciniani) gardens, past the mighty Porta Maggiore, and so out again to the Campagna by the great colony of ever-increasing white tombs in the Campo Verano, beneath its forest of mourning cypresses and the tower of San Lorenzo; and, so, from afar off, we obtain a free view of lofty Monte Gennaro sweeping boldly down to the foot-hills crowned with the dirty but picturesque villages of S. Angelo and Monticelio on the left; and on the right by many a rocky ridge of treeless limestone, towards ancient Tivoli, throned like a hoary monarch above a prosperous realm of patriarchal olives.'

After leaving Ponte Lucano walkers, not bound for Villa Hadriana, are strongly recommended to turn off sharp to the left just before the Tramway Station of Villa Hadriana is reached, in order to visit the terraces of the great and picturesque Villa of Quintilius Varus. The walk dull at first for half a mile, then becomes fascinating. No guides needed.

'The "roar of waters from the headlong height" now becomes majestic; for, though the falls are at some distance, and are not actually visible to us, owing to the contour of the cliffs, we have turned into the ascending vale of the Anio, which we shall again cross presently by the Ponte Acquoria; while below us, at some fifty feet, that river rushes along down its many-winding channels to find its way out to the broad Campagna. On both sides of it, the rich olive woods, rising steeply, seem to enjoy the music of its motion, and display to us the silvery undersides of their leaves—an effect of beauty in this tree which no Roman can appreciate. A slight incline now carries us on, still by the ancient road, to the above-mentioned bridge—thought to be named "Acquoria" from the limpid golden gleam of the waters that flow beneath it. The main stream of the Anio, however, has forsaken its early bed and the ancient travertine bridge, and consequently has, all to itself, an iron one, over which we have just crossed. And at this point we have to take refuge in a salad garden beside the streamlet, in order to let a small herd of long-horned iron-grey cattle pass the old bridge on their way to drink in the new river-bed beyond. They are quite gentle beasts: but their horns have an imposing spread not intended for this somewhat narrow crossing. Truly, with the golden light now pouring into this beautiful and widening vale, with the winding stream, the wooded cliffs—with the azure sky above it streaked with long scarves of transparent cirrus, and out beyond the lonely

Campagna "stretching far away"—it is not difficult to recognise for which famous painter this should have proved a truly sympathetic landscape.

'The bridge itself is archaeologically interesting. One good travertine arch is preserved, which probably dates to the days of Augustus; and the bright green cresses that sway with the flow of the water beneath it, help to bring out its beauty. Adjoining it are remains of a brick continuation of the bridge, belonging to the second or third century; and it is difficult to understand why, if some of the more ancient structure was destroyed, it was not repaired in the same local material. But we remember that the greatest of contractors in brick—Hadrian—had been hard at work in the neighbourhood before this restoration was made. Looking at the crystal water, it is not to be marvelled at that Æsculapius, or one of the medical divinities of the Romans, had a temple close by, of which, however, the evidences consist only in votive offerings.

'But it is time to quit this enchanting spot for one still more fascinating; and this, indeed, is the objective of our walk, namely, the Villa of Quintilius Varus, some 400 feet above us, among the hoary patriarchal olives. Crocus and violets in colonies, at the roots of the gnarled tree-trunks, invite us to pick, but we have a steep climb and an afternoon before us; so we merely stop occasionally so as to ease the ascent, or to take a refreshing view, through an opening, of the splendid prospect over the wide Campagna that, presently, will most surely reward us for our toil. The birds are singing, and the anemones are open, as we reach the lowest of the majestic terraces that once allowed all the dwellers in this princeliest of villas to enjoy a perpetual view of the Falls of the Anio. Where we are now standing, Horace and Catullus must often have stood and surveyed this wonderful scene, which, alas! needs a more powerful pen to describe.'

The return to Tivoli can be made by the upper winding road, past Madonna di Quintiliolo and S. Antonio (1½ miles), to the railway terminus for the afternoon train back to Rome. It is often best to come out thus by tramway and return by rail. For the above excursion one descends from the tramway at Ponte Lucano, and walks across the bridge, and turns then to the left, direct.

CHAPTER XXII

FRASCATI, TUSCULUM

Grand Albergo Frascati : near the station ; expensive ; and beware of the water. It is usually empty for several months. Lodgings easily to be found. There are several trains daily and a tramway between Rome and Frascati which allow time for a pleasant sight of Frascati, and for a ride or walk to Tusculum (3-4 hours) and the Villa Mondragone, or to Tusculum and Grotta Ferrata. Donkeys cost five lire for the day, including a guide ; but a distinct agreement must be made. A carriage to Albano, Nemi, and Genzano, 20-lire (two horses). To Rocca di Papa, 6-8 lire.

IT is an hour by rail to Frascati (Faggots), and the change is so complete and reviving, that it is strange more sojourners at Rome do not take advantage of it.

Even the railway journey is delightful and characteristic. The train runs close to the aqueducts, the Paoline first, and then the nobler, but ruined, Claudian. As we pass beyond the **Porta Furba,** (5 kil.) the artificial sepulchral mound called **Monte del Grano** (in which the Portland Vase was found) is seen on the left, with the Via Tuscolana, and then the vast ruins called *Sette Basse* (Septimius Bassus), belonging to a suburban villa of Hadrianic date, and, as the light streams through their ruined windows, forming a beautiful foreground to the delicate distances of mountain and plain. In the distance, on the left, are seen the beautiful stone-pines on the farm of **Torre Nuova**, on the Via Labicana, where some place Pupinia, the villa of Attilius Regulus. We also see fragments in hollow places of the aqueduct of Alexander Severus, called Alessandrina.

'Arches after arches in unending lines stretching across the uninhabited wilderness, the blue defined lines of the mountains seen between them ; masses of nameless ruin standing like rocks out of the plain, and the plain itself, with its billowy and unequal surface, announce the neighbourhood of Rome.'—*Shelley's 'Letters.'*

As we approach nearer the Hills, Colonna is seen far away on their left on its knoll, then Monte Porzio and Monte Compatri (the ancient Labicum). When the lights and shadows are favourable, the difference between the two chief craters of this volcanic chain of hills now becomes strikingly evident.

'The Alban hills form a totally distinct group, consisting of two principal extinct volcanic craters, somewhat resembling in their relation to each other the great Neapolitan craters of Vesuvius and Somma. One of them lies within the embrace of the other, just as Vesuvius lies half enclosed by Monte Somma. The walls of the outer Alban crater are of peperino, while those of

the inner are basaltic. Both are broken away on the northern side towards Grotta Ferrata and Marino; but on the southern side they are tolerably perfect.

'The outer crescent-shaped crater beginning from Frascati extends to Monte Porzio and Rocca Priora, and then curves round by Monte Algido, Monte Ariano, and Monte Artemisio. The inner crescent includes the height of Monte Cavo, and surrounds the flat meadows known by the name of Campo d'Annibale. Besides the two principal craters, the ages of which are probably as distinct as those of Vesuvius and Somma, there are traces of at least four others to be found in the lakes of Castel Gandolfo, commonly called the Alban lake, and of Nemi, and in the two small cliff-encircled valleys of the Vallis Aricina and Laghetto.'—*Burn*, '*Rome and the Campagna.*'

The effect of the Campagna here, as everywhere, is quite different upon different minds. The French almost always find it as depressing as the English do captivating and exhilarating.

Beyond **Ciampino** (station), the railroad ascends at **Galleria**, out of the Campagna into the undulant land of corn and olives. Masses of pink nectarine and almond-trees bloom in spring amid the green, while everywhere the vines are trained to stacked canes (a cannochia), making the vineyards resemble a rifle-camp. On the right, we get glimpses of the great ruined castle of *Borghetto*, which, probably built by the Conti of Tusculum, belonged to the Savelli in the twelfth century. Outside the station of **Frascati** one ascends the flight of steps leading directly to the public garden and the town. The road to the right, up a slope, leads direct to Grotta Ferrata (3 kilos.) and Marino, and Rocca di Papa; that to the left, to Tusculum and Camaldoli. The new tramway to Albano renders everything more easy.

The **cathedral** (S. Pietro) (in Piazza Vitt. Emanuele) only dates from 1700, but we must enter it if we would visit the monument (near the door), which Cardinal York put up to his brother Prince Charles Edward, Duke of Albany, who died Jan. 31, 1788. It is inscribed:—

'Hic sepultus est Carolus Odoardus cui Pater Jacobus III. Rex Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, Hiberniae: Primus natorum, paterni juris et regiae dignitatis successor et haeres, qui domicilio sibi Romae delecto Comes Albaniensis dictus est.

'Vixit Annos LXVII. et mensem; decessit in pace, pridie Kal. Feb. Anno MDCCLXXXVIII.'

There is an older cathedral, **Duomo Vecchio**, now called SS. Sebastiano e Rocco (1309), and near it a fountain erected in 1480 by Cardinal d'Estouteville, the French Ambassador. The streets are dirty and ugly; but the little town is important as being the centre of the villas and vineyards which give Frascati much of her charm. The origin of Frascati as a town can be traced to the VI. cent., when the Benedictine monks came into possession of the place at the hands of the Anicii Tertulli, to which family S. Benedict belonged. Before them the Flavian emperors had possessed the site, surrounded with noble villas, rivalling Tivoli. Most of the modern villas date only from the seventeenth century, and, with the exception of the Villa Mondragone, the buildings are seldom remarkable, but they are situated amid groves of old trees, and amid these are fountains and waterfalls which, though artificial,

have been long since adopted by Nature as her own, while from the terraces the views over the Campagna are of ever varying loveliness. In many of these villas, far too large for any single family, vast airy suites of apartments may be hired for the summer *villeggiatura*, and, though scantily furnished, form delightful retreats during the hot season.

'At Frascati and Albano there are good lodgings to be had. Noble old villas may be hired on the Alban slopes for a small rent, with gardens going to ruin, but beautifully picturesque—old fountains and waterworks painted with moss, and decorated with maidenhair, vines, and flowers—shady groves where nightingales sing all the day—avenues of lopped ilexes that, standing on either side like great chandeliers, weave together their branches overhead into a dense roof—and long paths of tall, polished laurel, where you may walk in shadow at morning and evening. The air here is not, however, "above suspicion"; and one must be careful at nightfall lest the fever prowling round the damp alleys seize you as its prey. The views from these villas are truly exquisite. Before you lies the undulating plain of the Campagna, with every hue and changing tone of colour; far off against the horizon flashes the level line of the Mediterranean; the grand Sabine hills rise all along on the west, with Soracte lifting from the rolling inland sea at their base; and in the distance swells the dome of S. Peter's. The splendours of sunset as they stream over this landscape are indescribable, and in the noon the sunshine seems to mesmerise it into a magic sleep.'—*Story's 'Roba di Roma.'*

Nothing can describe the charm of the villa-life of Frascati,—the freshness of the never-ceasing fountains, the deep shade of the thick woods, the splendour of the summer fruits, and, above all, the changing glories of the view, which is unlike any other in the world, over the vast historic plain, in which the world's capitol seems almost to be lost in the immensity and luminousness of the soft haze.

Opposite to the station and to R. of the Public Gardens is the *Villa Conti-Torlonia* (formerly Ludovisi)—the Pincio of Frascati—and the great resort of its inhabitants. The villa itself is not worth visiting, but the view from its terrace is most beautiful, and a grand waterfall tumbles down a steep behind the house, through the magnificent ilex-groves. Annibale Caro, the Poet and translator of the Æneid, lived here 1663–6.

Below the Villa Torlonia, the *Villa Pallavicini*, with an ilex-crested terrace, projects over the plain. Above the Public Gardens is the imposing *Villa Aldobrandini*, with far-flashing windows, standing spaciously upon a succession of terraces, designed by Giacomo della Porta, and finished by Giovanni Fontana for Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of Clement VIII. The villa is adorned internally with frescoes by *Cav. d'Arpino.* Behind it a succession of waterfalls tumble through a glorious old ilex-grove, into a circle of fantastic statues. The scene may once have been ridiculous, but Nature has now made it most beautiful. Tusculum can be reached by taking the path to left of the upper cascade.

'At the Villa Aldobrandini, or Belvidere, we were introduced to the most multifarious collection of monsters I ever hope to behold. Giants, centaurs, fauns, cyclops, wild beasts, and gods blew, bellowed, and squeaked, without mercy or intermission; and horns, pan's-pipes, organs, and trumpets, set up their combined notes in such a dissonant chorus, that we were fain to fly

before them; when the strains that suddenly burst forth from Apollo and the Nine Muses, who were in a place apart, compelled us to stop our ears, and face about again in the opposite direction.

'When this horrible din was over, we were carried back to admire the now silent Apollo and the Muses—a set of painted wooden dolls, seated on a little mossy Parnassus, in a summer-house—a plaything we should have been almost ashamed to have made even for the amusement of children. All these creatures, in the mean time, were spouting out water. The lions and tigers, however, contrary to their usual habits, did nothing else; and the "great globe itself," which Atlas was bearing on his shoulders, instead of "the solid earth," proved a mere aqueous ball, and was overwhelmed in a second deluge.' —*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

Both Frascati (which perhaps owes its origin to the Villa of Lucullus) and Tusculum became Imperial properties, enjoyed by Vespasian, and perhaps Flavius Clemens. Hence we may be certain that great transformations had taken place there after Cicero's days; and we should accept all attributions with caution.

Those who are not good walkers should engage donkeys for the excursion to **Tusculum** (famous as the birth-place of Cato), to which a steep ascent leads from the piazza of the town, between the walls (L.) of the villas Aldobrandini and Falconieri (1550), now a Trappist convent. The latter has a picturesque old gate, with a falcon over it. Just beyond the latter, an inscription marks the retreat of the learned Cardinal Baronius. Within, a noble oblong basin is lined with veteran cypresses. Voss, the German novelist, lived and wrote here, and his bust was placed here in 1902. A steep path leads (¼ hour) to the Convent of the Cappuccini, but we continue through the shady and delightful walks of the *Villa Rufinella*, which is now the property of Prince Lancellotti, having formerly belonged to the Bonaparte, and before these, to the Sacchetti. The casino was built by Vanvitelli. The chapel contains monuments of the Bonaparte family. During the residence of Lucien Bonaparte here (Nov. 1818), this villa was the scene of one of the boldest acts of brigandage known in the Papal States. A party of robbers, who had their rendezvous at Tusculum, first seized the old priest of the family as he was out walking, and having plundered and stripped him, bound him hand and foot. As they surmised, when the family dinner-hour arrived, and the priest was missing, a servant was sent out in search of him, and left the door open, through which five bandits entered, and attacking the servants they met, forced them to silence by threats of instant death. One maid-servant, however, escaped, and gave warning to the party in the dining-room, who all had time to hide themselves, except the Prince's secretary, a French painter, who had already left the room to discover the cause of the noise, and who was carried off, together with the butler, and a *facchino*. The priest meanwhile contrived to free himself and hide in some straw.

The next day the *facchino* was sent back to treat with the Prince, and to say that unless he sent a ransom of 4000 crowns the prisoners would be immediately put to death. He sent 2000 and an order on his banker for the remainder. The brigands, greatly irritated, returned the order torn up with a demand for 4000 crowns more,

and with this the Prince was forced to comply in order to preserve the lives of his attendants. The brigands escaped scot free! The Prince sold the Villa to the Duchess de Chablis in 1820.

Cicero was accustomed to borrow books and fetch them personally from the library of his friend Lucullus. The scholiast on Horace describes the Villa of Cicero as being 'ad latera superiora' of the hill, and it is locally believed that its site was that now occupied by the Villa Rufinella, and that the Casino stands on the site of his Academica, which had shady walks like those of Plato's Garden—precursors of the walks which we still see.

The Tusculan Disputations of Cicero take their name from this favourite villa of his, concerning which (after its spoliation by the mob) he bitterly complained of the Roman consuls valuing it at only 'quingentis millibus'—between £4000 and £5000. A complete picture of the villa may be derived from the many allusions to it in the works of Cicero. Thus:—

'We learn that it contained two *gymnasia* (*Div.* i. 5), an upper one called the Lyceum, in which, like Aristotle, he was accustomed to walk and debate in the morning (*Tusc. Disp.* ii. 3), and to which a library was attached (*Div.* ii. 3); and a lower one called the Academy (*Tusc. Disp.* ii. 4). Both were adorned with beautiful statues in marble and bronze (*Ep. ad. Att.* i. 8, 9, 10). The villa likewise contained a little atrium ("atriolum," *ib.* i. 10; *ad Quint. Fr.* iii. 1), a small portico with exedria (*ad Fam.* vii. 23), a bath (*ib.* xiv. 20), a covered promenade ("tecta ambulatiuncula," *ad Att.* xiii. 29), and a horologium (*ad Fam.* xvi. 18). The villa, like the town and neighbourhood, was supplied by the Aqua Crabra (*De Leg. Agr.* iii. 31).'—*Smith's 'Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography.'*

In his Essay on Old Age, Cicero describes the delights of country life as enjoyed in a villa of this kind. He had four other such retreats.

'Where the master of the house is a good and careful manager, his wine-cellar, his oil-stores, his larder, are always well-stocked; there is a fulness throughout the whole establishment; pigs, kids, lambs, poultry, milk, cheese, honey—all are in abundance. The produce of the garden is always equal, as our country-folk say, to a second course. And all these good things acquire a double relish from the voluntary labours of fowling and the chase. What need to dwell upon the charm of the green fields, the well-ordered plantations, the beauty of the vineyards and olive-groves? In short, nothing can be more luxuriant in produce, or more delightful to the eye, than a well-cultivated estate.'—*Trans. by Lucas Collins.*

Leaving the Villa Rufinella by shady avenues of laurel and laurustinus, the path to Tusculum emerges on the hillside, where, between banks perfectly carpeted with blue anemones and violets in spring, the ancient road paved with polygonal blocks of lava has been laid bare. On the left, in a hollow, are remains of the small (70 m. × 58) *Amphitheatre* (opus reticulatum); all the seats of the cavea have perished, and it is only recognisable by its form. Beyond, also on the left, are the ruins of a reticulated villa, called, without authority, *Scuola di Cicerone.* On the left are remains of baths.

The path leads directly up to the most important of the ruins, the **Theatre**, which was excavated in 1839 by Maria Cristina, Queen-dowager of Sardinia. With the exception of the walls of the *scena*,

the lower walls are almost perfect, and the fifteen rows of seats of the lower circle (*cavea*) remain intact, though the upper rows have perished. The spectators, facing the west, had a magnificent view over the plains of Latium, with Rome in the distance. Close below the Theatre are the remains of a very ancient piscina with a pointed roof, and the fountain supplied from it by a leaden pipe.

Behind the theatre (¼ hour) rises the steep hill which was once crowned by the **Arx** of Tusculum—of great strength (artificially helped) in early times (2360 feet). It was besieged by the Aequians in B.C. 457, and only taken when the garrison were starved out. It had two entrances. In B.C. 374 it was successfully defended against the Latins. Dionysius mentions the advantage it received from its lofty position, which enabled its defenders to see a Roman army as it issued from the Porta Latina and approached. The view is indeed most beautiful, over plain and mountains, the foreground formed by the remains of—

> 'the white streets of Tusculum,
> The proudest town of all,'[1]

scattered sparsely amongst the furze and thorn-bushes, but the ruins which now exist belong chiefly, not to early times, but to the mediaeval fortress of the Counts of Tusculum.

We may, however, see a fine fragment of the ancient North wall restored in opus reticulatum, to the left of the ascent. The western town gate may also be seen behind the theatre, or rather the two rocks which formed the gate-posts.

Including the Arx, the town of Tusculum was about 1¼ mile in circuit. The Roman poets ascribe the foundation of the city to Telegonus, the son of Circe and Ulysses.

> 'Inter Aricinos Albanaque tempora constat,
> Factaque Telegoni moenia celsa manu.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* iii. 91.

> 'Et jam Telegoni, jam moenia Tiburis udi
> Stabant, Argolicae quod posuere manus.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* iv. 71.

> 'At Cato, tum prima sparsus lanugine malas,
> Quod peperere decus Circaeo Tuscula dorso
> Moenia, Laërtae quondam regnata nepoti,
> . . . . . .
> Cunctantem impellebat equum.'
> —*Sil. Ital.* vii. 691.

> 'Linquens Telegoni pulsatos ariete muros,
> Haud dignam inter tanta moram.'
> —*Sil. Ital.* xii. 535.[2]

Tusculum was remarkable for the steadiness of its friendship for Rome, which was only interrupted in B.C. 379, when in consequence of a number of Tusculans having been found amongst the prisoners

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[1] Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome.*
[2] See also Horace, *Epod.* i. 29; and Statius, *Silv.* i. 3. 83.

made in the Volscian campaign, war was declared, and Camillus was sent against the city.

'But the Tusculans would not accept this declaration of hostilities, and opposed the Roman arms in a manner that has scarcely been paralleled before or since. When Camillus entered their territory he found the peasants engaged in their usual avocations; provisions of all sorts were offered to his army, the gates of the town were standing open; and as the legions defiled through the streets in all the panoply of war, the citizens within, like the countrymen without, were seen intent upon their daily business, the schools resounded with the hum of pupils, and not the slightest token of hostile preparation could be discerned. Then Camillus invited the Tusculan dictator to Rome. When he appeared before the senate in the Curia Hostilia, not only were the existing treaties with Tusculum confirmed, but the Roman franchise was shortly afterwards bestowed upon it, a privilege at that time rarely conferred.'—*Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.'*

'In the times of the Latin League, from the fall of Alba to the battle of the Lake Regillus, Tusculum was the most prominent town in Latium. It suffered, like the other towns in Latium, a complete eclipse during the later Republic and the Imperial times; but in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, under the Counts of Tusculum, it became again a place of great importance and power, no less than seven popes of the house of Tusculum having sat in the chair of S. Peter. The final destruction of the city is placed by Nibby, following the account given in the records of the Podestà of Reggio, in 1191, on the 1st of April, in which year the city was given up to the Romans by the Emperor Henry VI., and, after the withdrawal of the German garrison, was sacked and razed to the ground. Those of the inhabitants who escaped collected round the Church of S. Sebastian, at the foot of the hill, in the district called Frascati, whence the town of Frascati took its origin and name.'—*Burn, 'Rome and the Campagna.'*

Descending from the Arx, a path to the right leads through woods full of flowers to the Eremo di *Camaldoli* (1611). Formerly nobody could pass the cross at the foot of the hill on which the convent stands, upon pain of excommunication. Here Cardinal Passionei lived in retirement, and occupied himself by collecting eight hundred inscriptions found amongst the ruins of Tusculum.

Eight of the Camaldoli monks were carried off during an audacious outbreak of brigandage, under Gasparoni, in the reign of Pius VII. (1821). That famous King of the Wood hoped to have caught the celebrated Cardinal Pacca at the Convent, but he had left it the previous day. Two monks were sent back to demand 7000 scudi, the other six escaped during a skirmish with the Papal troops sent to their rescue. Since then the buildings have been surrounded with defensive walls with loopholes for the discharge of firearms. The aspect of the place is beautifully described by Cardinal Wiseman.

'The English College possesses a country house, deliciously situated in the village of Monte Porzio. Like most villages in the Tusculan territory, this crowns a knoll, which in this instance looks as if it had been kneaded up from the valleys beneath it, so round, so shapely, so richly bosoming does it swell upwards; and so luxuriously clothed is it with the three gifts whereby "men are multiplied" (Ps. iv. 8), that the village and its church seem not to sit upon a rocky summit, but to be half sunk into the lap of the olive, the vine, and the waving corn, that reach the very houses. While the entrance and front of this villa are upon the regular streets of the little town, the garden side stands upon the very verge of the hill-top; and the view, after plunging at once to the depths of the valley, along which runs a shady road, rises up a gentle acclivity, vine and olive clad, above which is clasped a belt of stately

chestnuts, the bread-tree of the Italian peasant, and thence springs a round craggy mound, looking stern and defiant, like what it was—the citadel of Tusculum. Upon its rocky front the English students have planted a huge cross.'

Below Camaldoli we reach the gates of the *Villa Mondragone* (called so on account of a fountain adorned with four dragons), the Queen of Frascati villas. It occupies the site of an ancient villa. It belonged to the family of Borghese; but is now a Jesuit College. The casino, built, from designs of Vasanzio, by Cardinal Altemps in the reign of Gregory XIII., is exceedingly magnificent, but still more so is the view from the vast and stately terrace in front, adorned with a grand fountain (by Girolamo Fontana) and tall columns. The Loggia is by Vignola. The Villa is said to have originally had 365 windows in memory of the reform of the Calendar by Gregory.

'Imaginez-vous un château qui a trois cent soixante quatorze fenêtres, un château compliqué comme ceux d'Anne Radcliffe, un monde d'énigmes à débrouiller, un enchaînement de surprises, un rêve de Piranèse.

'Ce palais fut bâti au seizième siècle. On y entre par un vaste corps de logis, sorte de caserne destinée à la suite armée. Lorsque, plus tard, le pape Paul V. en fit une simple *villégiature*, il relia un des côtés de ce corps de garde au palais par une longue galerie, de plainpied avec la cour intérieure, dont les arcades élégantes s'ouvraient, au couchant, sur un escarpement assez considérable, et laissent aujourd'hui passer le vent et la pluie. Les voûtes suintent, la frésque est devenue une croûte des stalactites bizarrées; des ronces et des orties poussent dans le pavé disjoint; les deux étages superposés au-dessus de cette galerie s'écroulent tranquillement. Il n'y a plus de toiture; les entablements du dernier étage se penchent et s'affaissent aux risques et périls des passants, quand passants il y a, autour de cette thébaïde.

'Cependant, la villa Mondragone, resté dans la famille Borghèse, à laquelle appartenait Paul V., était encore une demeure splendide, il y a une cinquantaine d'années, et elle revêt aujourd'hui un caractère de désolation riante, tout à fait particulier à ces ruines prématurées. C'est durant nos guerres d'Italie, au commencement du siècle, que les Autrichiens l'ont ravagée, bombardée, et pillée. Il en est résulté ce qui arrive toujours en ce pays-ci après une secousse politique; le dégoût et l'abandon. Pourtant la majeure partie du corps de logis principal, la *parte media*, est assez saine pour qu'en supprimant les dépendances inutiles, on puisse encore trouver de quoi restaurer une délicieuse *villégiature*.'—*George Sand*, '*La Daniella*.'

Joining the grounds of the Mondragone are those of the *Villa Taverna* built for Cardinal Taverna in the sixteenth century, from designs of Girolamo Rainaldi. It was much used, until the change of Government, as a summer residence by the Borghese. It is now a convent.

A beautiful road along the ridge of the hillside leads back to Frascati, or we may go on to the right towards Colonna, about four miles distant.

Not far below the Villa Mondragone, in the plain, is the volcanic *Lake of Cornufelle*. There is no longer any water here, but its bed is a crater having a considerable diameter, and is perhaps the place described by Pliny, where there was a grove of beeches (probably hornbeams—*carpini*) dedicated to Diana, one of which was so much admired by Passienus Crispus, the orator, consul, and stepfather of Nero, that he used to embrace it, sleep under it, and pour wine

upon it. This, with six other sites, claims to be the spot described in Macaulay's Lays, as that

> 'where, by Lake Regillus,
> Under the Porcian height,
> All in the lands of Tusculum,
> Was fought the glorious fight.'

'The Battle of the Lake Regillus, as described by Livy, is not an engagement between two armies; it is a conflict of heroes, like those in the Iliad. All the leaders encounter hand to hand; and by them the victory is thrown now into one scale, now into the other; while the troops fight without any effect. The dictator Postumius wounds King Tarquinius, who at the first onset advances to meet him. T. Aebutius, the master of the horse, wounds the Latin dictator: but he himself too is disabled, and forced to quit the field. Mamilius, only aroused by his hurt, leads the cohort of the Roman emigrants to the charge, and breaks the front lines of the enemy; this glory the Roman lays could not allow to any but fellow-citizens, under whatever banner they might be fighting. M. Valerius, surnamed Maximus, falls as he is checking their progress. Publius and Marcus, the sons of Publicola, meet their death in rescuing the body of their uncle, but the dictator with his cohort avenges them all, repulses the emigrants, and puts them to flight. In vain does Mamilius strive to retrieve the day; he is slain by T. Herminius, the comrade of Cocles. Herminius again is pierced through with a javelin, while stripping the Latin general of his arms. At length the Roman knights, fighting on foot before the standards, decided the victory: then they mounted their horses, and routed the yielding foe. During the battle the dictator had vowed a temple to the Dioscuri. Two gigantic youths on white horses were seen fighting in the van: and from its being said, immediately after the mention of the vow, that the dictator promised rewards to the first two who should scale the wall of the enemy's camp, I surmise that the poem related, nobody challenged these prizes, because the way for the legions had been opened by the Tyndarids. The pursuit was not yet over, when the two deities appeared at Rome, covered with dust and blood. They washed themselves and their arms in the fountain of Juturna beside the temple of Vesta, and announced the events of the day to the people assembled in the Comitium. On the other side of the fountain the promised temple was built. The print of a horse's hoof in the basalt on the field of battle remained to attest the presence of the heavenly combatants.'—*Niebuhr's 'History of Rome,'* i. 557.

Beyond this, on the right, is **Monte Compatri**, the site probably of the ancient **Labicum** (to which the Via Labicana led), a large village, cresting another hill, and belonging to the Borghese. Farther on is **Rocca Priora**, crowned by another Savelli castle, and by some identified with Corbio, the first place attacked by the Latin confederates in behalf of Tarquin, who, when they had expelled the garrison, ravaged all the surrounding country.

The plain which separated Mons Algidus (M. Ariano) from the heights near Tusculum was frequently a battle-field. In B.C. 458 Cincinnatus gained here his great victory over the Aequians under Cloelius Gracchus; and here, in B.C. 428, Postumius Tubertus conquered the combined armies of the Aequians and Volscians.

> 'Scilicet hic olim Volscos Aequosque fugatos
> Viderat in campis, Algida terra, tuis.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 721.

Horace mentions the cold climate of Algidus:—

> 'Gelido prominet Algido.'
> —*Carm.* i. 21, 6.

CHAPTER XXIII

ALBANO

Albano (Stat.) *Carriages* can be had for excursions from the station.
Inns. *Salustri:* close to station in the Piazza Umberto. *Albergo della Posta*, tolerable, with a few good rooms toward the Campagna. All these hotels make high charges, and it is necessary to bargain on arriving for *everything*.
Carriages extortionate, at prices as by agreement. Omnibus to Genzano: 40 cents. Carriage fare, 1 horse, 2 persons, to Nemi, 8 lire. *Donkeys*, 4 lire the day; *Donkeyman*, 4 lire; *Guide*, 7 lire; these prices include the whole excursion by Monte Cavo and Nemi. To Monte Cavo by carriage, calling at Rocca di Papa and continuing to Frascati, 12-15 lire.

ON emerging from the walls of Rome, after passing the so-called Temple of Minerva Medica (nymphaeum Licinianum) and the great Porta Maggiore, the train runs close to the aqueducts—first the Paoline, then the ruined Claudian. Passing outside the Porta Furba, the artificial sepulchral mound called **Monte del Grano** is seen on the left, and then the vast ruins known as **Sette Basse** (Septimius Bassus), belonging to a villa of Hadrian's date. On the right Cecilia Metella, and further along the Appia, the great ruins of the palace of the Quintilii. Approaching the Alban Hills, Frascati is seen to the left with its many palaces, then farther off, Colonna, crowning a hill of its own, then Monte Porzio. When the lights and shadows are favourable, the two craters of the volcanic group of the Alban Hills are distinctly manifest, the outer crater beginning from Frascati and extending to Monte Porzio and Rocca Priora, and then curving round by Monte Algido, Monte Ariano, and the long ridge of Monte Artemisio; the inner crater including the height of Monte Cavo. To the right of Frascati the castellated Basilian monastery of Grotta Ferrata may be seen upon the green slopes; then Marino, a famous stronghold of the Orsini, and the sacred wood (Bosco sacro) of the Parco Colonna, where Turnus Herdonius was drowned; and above all, the white building and grove on the highest and steepest crest (Monte Cavo) of the chain, which marks the summit of the Alban Mount, and the site of the great temple of Jupiter Latiaris—the federal sanctuary of the Latin tribes.

Now we cross the Via Appia, with its avenue of tombs and mounds of ruin, just below the site of **Bovillae**, where Clodius was killed, and where the body of Augustus rested for a month, on its way from Nola to Rome. On the left (standing above the edge of the Alban Lake, still invisible in the hills) is Castel Gandolfo,

the favourite summer residence of the popes during the last two hundred and fifty years; but unvisited by them since 1870.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the beauty of the surroundings of Albano. At the farther end of the ugly, stony street, just below the modern road to Ariccia, is the reputed *Tomb of Aruns*, son of Porsenna—a quadrangular base, with four cones rising from it at the angles. Below this, the ancient road (Appia) to Ariccia, a favourite resort of landscape painters, winds through the hollow called *Vallericcia*, which before historic times was a sheet of water. Some remains beside this lower road, under the town of Ariccia, have been formerly attributed to the temple of Diana. The steep ascent from the valley to Ariccia is commemorated by the poets, as well as the facilities which it then afforded to beggars:—

> 'Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
> Blandaque devexae jactaret basia redae.'
> —*Juvenal, Sat.* iv. 117.

Ariccia is of ancient origin, being first mentioned in the story of Tarquinius Superbus, when Turnus Herdonius, its king, was drowned in the Aqua Ferentina (at Marino). As the birthplace of Atia, mother of Augustus, it was extolled by Cicero in his third Philippic. Now the little town is chiefly remarkable for the well-proportioned *Church of the Assumption* and the imposing **Palace** of the Chigi family, both built by *Bernini*. Between them are two graceful fountains covered with saxifrage, opposite which the road from Albano enters Ariccia by a stately viaduct (1854), whence the view is very beautiful—on the left, over the Campagna, on the right, looking into the depths of the immemorial wood known as the **Parco Chigi**, and abounding with nightingales. The roofs are golden with lichen.

Delightful lanes fringed with cyclamen lead under the arch at the back of the Chigi Palace, and skirt the walls of the wood leading to the **Convent of the Cappuccini**, from whose ilex groves there are glorious views in every direction. The convent occupies the site of the Amphitheatre of Domitian, frequently alluded to by the poets. A door in the wall on the right of the lane which leads hence towards Albano gives admission to the **Amphitheatre** (now used as a fold for goats), which was the scene of some of the worst cruelties of that Emperor, during his residence.

Turning the rocky corner beyond the Cappuccini, we come at once upon one of the most exquisite scenes in this land of beauty, and look down upon the **Lake of Albano** (6 m. in circuit), at the other end of which (to our left) Castel Gandolfo stands on the hillside, embossed against the delicate hues of the distant Campagna. Far beneath us, buried in verdure, is the famous Emissarium, to which a visit will prove rewarding; above the opposite shore stands the convent of Palazzuolo; and the Alban Mount towers behind it.

Following the beautiful avenue of ilexes, known as the **Galleria di Sopra**, so far as the convent of S. Francesco, we shall find a little path winding through thickets of cistus and genista down to the

water's edge, where we may see the **Emissarium.** It was constructed B.C. 394, during the siege of Veii, to let out and control the waters of the Alban Lake, in accordance with the counsel sent from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. The entrance is enclosed in a nymphaeum of imperial date, such as is beautifully described in the lines of Virgil:—

> 'Fronte sub adversâ scopulis pendentibus antrum;
> Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo;
> Nympharum domus.'
>
> —*Aen.* i. 167.

Clambering up the hill again, we find the height crested by the pine-trees overhanging the wall of the **Villa Barberini**, of which the grounds present an immense variety of views, from a foreground, half cultivated and half wild, ending in a grand old avenue of stone pines. The ruins, which we see here in such abundance, are remains of the villa of Pompey, or of the 'insane structures,' as Cicero calls them, belonging to the villa of Clodius. Domitian, at a later day, joined these two properties together to form his Palace-villa. It was here that he tried and condemned Cornelia, the Vestalis Maxima.

Close to the entrance of the villa is the town-gate of **Castel Gandolfo**. This was the fortress of the Gandolfi family in the twelfth century, when Otho Gandolfi was Senator of Rome. It afterwards passed into the hands of the powerful Savelli, by whom it was sold to the Holy See. Urban VIII. (Barberini) adopted it as a residence in 1604, and built the palace from designs of Carlo Maderno, Bartolommeo Breccioli, and Domenico Castelli. Pius IX. spent part of each summer here before 1870, and every afternoon saw him riding on his white mule in the avenues, or on the terraced paths above the lake, followed by his cardinals in their scarlet robes —a picturesque and mediaeval scene. The *Church of S. Thomas of Villanuova*, built by Bernini for Alexander VII., has an altar-piece by *Pietro da Cortona*. Here in the house of the then suppressed Jesuits, and occupied by Edward Jenkins, the British Consul, Goethe lodged in October 1787, loved la bella Milanese, and revised his Roman Elegies.

The *Site of Alba Longa*, the mother city of Rome, is now ascertained with tolerable certainty to have been that of Castel Gandolfo. Alba was the religious metropolis of the towns of Latium before the building of Rome. Its foundation is ascribed by the Latin poets to Ascanius, and its name fancifully to the white sow of Aeneas, with her thirty little pigs. The city was entirely destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, who carried off its inhabitants to Rome and established them upon the Coelian. It is from outside its Roman Gate that the hut-urns of its primitive inhabitants have been derived. They lie beneath a compact bed of volcanic scoriæ deposited since their burial.

The **Galleria di Sotto** leads back from Castel Gandolfo to Albano, by an avenue of ilexes planted by Urban VIII., or even of older

date. At the end, outside the Roman Gate of Albano, we see the lofty brick monument locally known as the *Tomb of Pompey*. On the opposite side of the Via Appia is the **Villa Altieri**, consecrated to the Italian heart as the residence of the noble and self-devoted cardinal who died a martyr to his self-sacrifice during the cholera of 1867. His monument is the only object of interest in the *Cathedral*, which stands in a small square behind the principal street.

On the right of the main street, on entering the lately-ruined Roman gate, is the **Villa Doria**, whose grounds, abounding in ancient ilex groves, and in fragments of ruin of imperial date, are of extreme beauty.

About a mile below the town towards the coast, the ruins of the **Castello Savelli** (thirteenth century) crown a conical hill above the plain, and form a pleasant object for a short excursion.

No one should stay at Albano without making the excursions to Monte Cavo (3115 ft.), Nemi (Genzano), and Civita Lavinia.

We must turn to the right by the tempting path overlooking the water below the Cappuccini, between woods and rocks and banks of flowers, to reach the Franciscan monastery of *Palazzuolo*, above the southern end of the lake. Arrived here, at the pathside, above the convent garden, is a **Consular Tomb** cut in the rock, attributed to C. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus, consul and pontifex-maximus, who was seized with an apoplectic fit during the celebration of his 'ovatio' on the Alban Hill. Hence a path leads upward through the woods to the little sanctuary of the **Madonna del Tufo**, whence a beautiful terrace fringed with ilexes extends to the steep village of **Rocca di Papa**, occupying a volcanic cone, detached from the rest of the mountain-side, and crowned by the ruins of a castle, alternately a stronghold of Colonna and Orsini. The place derives its name from its having been the residence of the antipope John, A.D. 1190. By a steep path above the house-tops of Rocca di Papa, we reach the wide grassy crater-plain (2460 ft.) known as **Campo di Annibale**,[1] from a spurious tradition that Hannibal encamped there when marching against Rome, and enter thence the forest, where, in a hollow way, we find the great lava blocks (Selce) of the ancient pavement of the Via Triumphalis, with the marks of chariot wheels still traceable. This we can follow to the top.

> 'Quaque iter est Latiis ad summam fascibus Albam :
> Excelsa de rupe procul jam conspicit urbem.'
>
> —*Lucan*, iii. 87.

On the grassy platform at the top of the mount is a *Passionist Convent*, built in 1788 by Cardinal York, who deliberately destroyed the renowned temple of Jupiter Latiaris for the purpose. The only remains of the latter are some massive fragments (opus quadratum) of wall, and the huge blocks of masonry which surround a grand

[1] Really Campo degli Annibaldi,—one of the great feudal mediaeval families.

old wych-elm in front of the convent. The Latin *Feriae* had always been celebrated on the Alban Mount; and there Tarquin erected the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, probably with the idea of doing something popular, in using a site consecrated to the protecting god of the Latin Confederation.

Hence by the green lanes of **La Fajola**, and by winding pathlets through woods (difficult to find without a map in hand), we may descend upon the lovely **Lake of Nemi** (Lo specchio di Diana), and should turn to the village of Nemi, occupying the site of the ancient Nemus, and dominated by a fine old castle, which, after passing through the hands of Colonna, Orsini, and those of many other historic families, is now the property of Prince Ruspoli.

Genzano, crowning the crater-rim, on the opposite side of the lake, is reached by a circuitous walk along the ridges of the hills, or better, by descending to the Artemisium, or Temple of Diana, below Nemi, and taking paths as they come, through pretty orchards direct, and then mounting to it. It was near the temple of Diana, in a sacred grove, that there lived the mysterious assassin-priest who guarded the mistletoe-bough; ever on the alert for his own assassin-successor. In the lake in front of this site lie the sunken barges made for Caligula (A.D. 37). On the slopes above the water are the beautiful woods and gardens belonging to the **Palazzo Cesarini** (ask at the Palace for the key). The village is celebrated for the festival of the *Infiorata*, which takes place upon the eighth day after Corpus Domini, when the Sacrament is carried through the street upon a beautiful carpet of flowers, arranged in patterns, which entirely conceal the pavement.[1]

Standing out from the main line of hills below Genzano are two projecting spurs. The higher one is **Monte Due Torre**, once crowned by two towers, of which only one is now standing. The lower, covered with vineyards and gardens, and only surmounted by a tower and some farm buildings, is now called **Monte Giove**, but is thought to have been the site of the ancient Corioli, the Volscian city, which gave the title of Coriolanus to its captor, C. Marcius, and was once at the head of a confederation almost too strong for Rome. It is supposed that the present name of the hill commemorates a temple of Jupiter, which may have existed till far later times, but there are no remains now. The walk to Albano through Ariccia is about two miles.

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[1] It is good to taste the excellent white wine here in order to appreciate the artificial mixture sold to the travellers as Genzano wine in the hotels in Rome.

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THE END

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St Maria Antiqua has some
remarkable details of furniture and interior
h. elements: altar, ambo, screen, marble.
" first mosaic with character
! painting in apse.